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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR

A VIEW

OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

OF THE YEAR M.DCCC.XI.

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PREFACE.

THE Debates upon the Regency Bill form the most, or perhaps the only important part of the Domestic History of the year 1811. That great question having been once set at rest, the discussions which took place during the remainder of the Parliamentary Session were unusually devoid of interest. There was no struggle of parties; indeed, while the recovery of the King was yet possible and even probable, both Ministers and the Opposition felt a degree of uncertainty as to the nature of their respective positions, which necessarily affected the character of their proceedings; and the Whigs, in particular, from their long political connection with the Prince Regent, were disinclined to embarrass his administration by a regular or systematic opposition. The two parties therefore seem to have rested upon their oars, awaiting in anxious expectation the period when the duration of the King's malady should have assumed a more decided character, and the cessation of the constitutional restrictions imposed on the exercise of the regal powers in the hands of the Regent, left his Royal Highness at liberty to consult his own inclinations and sense of right, in the selection of the individuals who were to form his Cabinet. Accordingly we shall find that none of the great questions which divide the political opinion of the country came directly under discussion in the course of this session. Catholic Emancipation was touched upon

only by allusion in debates occasioned by Mr. Wellesley Pole's circular letter; and Sir Samuel Romilly's bills for the amendment of our criminal laws, were the only motions for reform which the Parliamentary labours of the year afford.

Perhaps something of the same want of event and change may be observed in the foreign history of the year; at any rate, as compared with that either of the year preceding or the year following, it is certainly deficient in interest. On the Continent all was passive and silent; with the exception of heroic Spain, who still persevered, at every expence and sacrifice, in her struggle, against the invader. The disasters which befel the Spanish armies in the field, only render more conspicuous that inextinguishable ardour of spirit, and inflexible obstinacy of purpose which have ever distinguished the Spanish character, and never more strikingly than in the whole course of the present war. Spain had now lost her last army and her almost last fortress; yet the French must have felt that the war was as far from its termination as ever; they might indeed retain possession of their robbery by means of a garrison of three hundred thousand men; but on no one point had there appeared, among the people, the slightest indication of that passive acquiescence in their wrongs, which would justify the French ruler in withdrawing a single one of the battalions, which for the last three years had been incessantly pouring over the Pyrenees. The success of his arms indeed only showed in a stronger light the inconceivable impolicy of the war itself.

By the disasters of the Spanish army, under Blake, the burden of the war in the field was thrown almost wholly upon the British; and however disproportionate his means, Lord Wellington showed no disposition to evade the conflict. The result of the campaign, indeed, had been singularly glorious to our arms; Massena, after all the vaunts and menaces both of his master and himself, was compelled to recross the Portuguese frontier; and the battles of Albuera, Fuentes d'Onoro, and Barrosa, gave new and decisive testimonies of the superiority of the British soldier in the day of battle.

The history of the rest of the Continent for the present year, contains, as we have already observed, little or nothing of moment. The most important event, perhaps, was the birth of a son to Buonaparte. This fulfilment of his wishes seemed likely to add materially to the consolidation and permanence of the Empire he had erected. It was at the moment of the acme of his fortune and glory that the child was born; and none, perhaps, ever came into the world under auspices so splendid. There is something almost terrific in the recollection of the reverse of fortune which followed. The infant's reason had not sufficiently dawned to enable him to distinguish the glory of inheritance which seemed to await him—when it was gone.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR 1811.

THE

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

Regency Bill. Recapitulation of the Parliamentary Proceedings upon this Subject. Preliminary Resolutions passed by the two Houses, and assented to by the Queen and the Prince of Wales. Opening of Parliament by Commission. The Regency Bill is introduced into the Commons by Mr. Perceval. Discussion of the Ninth Clause respecting the Oath to be taken by the Regent. Mr. Ponsonby moves an Amendment on the Tenth Clause shortening the Period of the Restrictions. The Amendment is rejected. Debate on the Eleventh Clause respecting the Grant of Places or Pensions for Life, and on the Twelfth Regulation. The Disposition of the Royal Household. Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Canning severally move Amendments on this last, which are rejected. Nomination of the Queen's Council. The Report of the Bill is brought up. Speeches of Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Canning in Opposition to the Clause respecting the Household. Mr. Perceval defends it. The Bill is read a Third Time. Mr. Wilberforce expresses his entire Approbation of it. The Bill is sent to the Lords. Lord Lansdowne in the Committee moves an Amendment concerning the Household. Lord Grey attacks the Conduct of the Chancellor at the Period of a former Malady of the King. Conduct of the Grenville Party. Lord Lansdowne's Amendment is carried. The Report is brought up. Speech of the Duke of Sussex. Lord Grenville moves an Amendment shortening the Period of the Restrictions. Lord Grey renews his Attack on the Chancellor, who is defended by Lords Sidmouth and Liverpool. Lord

Grenville's Amendment is rejected. The Clause respecting the Household is restored to the State in which it came from the Commons. The Bill is passed. Resolution for appointing a Commission under the Great Seal to give the Royal Assent to the Bill. Speech of the Speaker approving of the whole Proceedings adopted by Parliament. The Resolution is agreed to by the Two Houses. The Chancellor declares the Royal Assent to the Act.

IN resuming our account of the discussions which took place in parliament on the subject of the Regency, it will be convenient to recapitulate shortly the measures which the legislature had already adopted in the arrangement of this important affair, up to the period at which we broke off our historical narrative for the year 1810. Parliament had met on the 1st Nov. the king's unfortunate indisposition having incapacitated him from signing a proclamation for its further prorogation; but as hopes were originally entertained that his Majesty's disorder might in this, as in the last instance, be of short duration, the two houses, by three successive adjournments of a fortnight each, forbore to enter upon the dispatch of business until the 13th of December. At this time the ministers stated to parliament, that although a considerable progressive amendment had taken place in the king's health, and the same confident expectations were entertained of his ultimate recovery, yet there were scarcely grounds for expecting this within so short a time as might warrant the proposition of a farther adjournment. This statement was fully confirmed by an examination of the physicians in attendance upon his Majesty.

On the 20th of December, Mr. Perceval submitted to the house three resolutions; the first of which stated the fact of the king's incompetence, from indisposition, to discharge the royal functions; the second declared it to be the duty of the two houses of parliament to supply the deficiency thus arising in the executive authority; and the third imported that it was necessary that the two houses should determine on the means whereby the royal assent might be given in parliament to such bills as might be passed by the two houses, respecting the exercise of the power and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the king during the continuance of his Majesty's present indisposition. This last resolution was made the subject of long debate and strenuous opposition in both houses; it passed, however; and upon these three preliminary resolutions Mr. Perceval grounded five others, which were brought before the House of Commons on the 30th of December; and these also, after some amendment on certain points, were agreed to by both houses. The first of these declared that the Prince of Wales should be appointed Regent, to use and execute all authorities, prerogatives, and acts of government belonging to the king, subject to such limitations as should be provided. By the second and third, the Regent was precluded, for a limited time, from granting any rank or dignity in the peer-

age; or from granting any office in reversion, or any office, salary, or pension, for any other term than during his Majesty's pleasure, excepting such offices as are by law required to be granted for life, or during good behaviour. The fourth resolution vested the care of the king's private property in trustees for his benefit, and the fifth committed the care of the king's person to the queen, who was moreover to have such direction of the king's household as might be suitable for that charge, and the maintenance of the royal dignity. These resolutions were communicated by a deputation from the two houses to the Queen and the Prince of Wales, who severally signified their consent to accept the trust and office proposed to them. It now only remained to open the parliament. On the 11th of January, Lord Liverpool moved, in the house of peers, a resolution declaring that "it was expedient that letters patent should issue under the great seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in form and manner following," (reciting the usual form of a commission for opening parliament,) and adding to the words, "by the king himself," "by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." The resolution was agreed to, and on the 14th it passed the house of commons.

Jan. 15. By virtue of the commission thus framed and sanctioned, the session of parliament was opened on the following day. When the House of Commons had been summoned to the bar of the Lords, the lord chancellor stated, that as the king could not attend in person on this occasion, a commission had been issued under the great seal, authorizing the lords in the said commission named, to declare the causes of their meeting. The commission was then read by the clerk, and the lord chancellor in a short speech called the attention of the two houses to 'the afflicting circumstance of the king's indisposition, and to the necessity of making due and suitable provision for the care of his Majesty's sacred person, the maintenance of his royal dignity, and the exercise of his royal authority, in such manner and to such extent as the exigency of the case appeared to require.'

The Commons then withdrew from the bar, and proceeded to enter upon the business of the session, by the appointment of its committees and grand committees, and the reading of the usual standing orders of the house.

When these formalities had been gone through, the chancellor of the exchequer rose and moved that, 'leave be given to bring in a bill to provide for the administration of the royal authority, and for the care of his Majesty's royal person during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, and for the resumption of the exercise of the royal authority by his Majesty.' The motion was agreed to, and the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. secretary Ryder, Lord Clive, the master of the rolls, and the attorney and solicitor-general, were instructed to bring in the bill. It was immediately brought up by Mr. Perceval, read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

The bill will be found, *as it passed*, in another part of the volume. It is unnecessary therefore to enter here upon any detail of its various provisions; and we shall only notice them as they were made the subject of discussion in the progress of the measure through the two houses of parliament. The ninth clause declared that "the regent should be deemed to be a person having and executing an office and place of trust within England, and should make and subscribe such oaths and declarations, and do all such acts as are required by the laws to qualify persons to hold offices and places of trust; and to continue in the same in such manner as by the said laws are required, and under such pains and penalties as are therein appointed and ordained." Sir Samuel Romilly objected that this clause went to make the Regent a responsible office, in the same manner and degree as any individual appointed to execute any trust in the community. 'This was in effect to alter the government. It would be monstrous if the Regent, on the recovery of his Majesty, were to be liable to an information by his Majesty's attorney-general, for not having properly executed the trust confided to him.' The chancellor of the exchequer said, that 'the words were the same with those adopted in the bill of 1788; and the same qualification of the regent for an office of trust, was introduced in the acts of the 5 Geo. II. and 24 Geo. III. The question of responsibility ought to be made the subject of a future particular enactment.'

Mr. Tierney said that 'the clause was directly different from the resolutions of the two houses.' In the resolutions it was stated that the regent should have the prerogative of the king; and they were now by the bill imposing oaths on him: [here Sir Samuel Romilly whispered, 'Excise oaths,'] aye, oaths which reduced him to the station of an exciseman. It would be well, he thought, if the right honourable gentleman considered before he introduced a clause which dwindled the regent down to the holder of a mere office of trust.'

The chancellor of the exchequer replied with some warmth, 'that it would be well if Mr. Tierney himself were to read the clause upon which he chose to comment; it would be well also if he did not thus expose himself, by censuring as performed what was never even intended. Because the low officers of the public took oaths, was it fair, was it candid to state that an oath had been imposed on an higher functionary merely to degrade him? The king himself took oaths, and it could not possibly be considered as a degradation to the Prince of Wales in tendering him an office, to do as our ancestors had always done in similar circumstances.' Mr. Ponsonby conceived that all ground of objection to the clause would be done away by omitting the words, 'shall be deemed and taken to be a person having and executing an office within England;' and the master of the rolls said that as he could not distinctly see the sense and meaning of the words in question, he was disposed to support the omission of them. Mr. Stephen was

also willing to leave out the phrase, but he took occasion to deny the doctrine that the regent, to the whole extent of his acts, must be held completely irresponsible. He admitted that a chief magistrate could not be punished while he continued in office; that, as in the case of a governor of a colony, he was irresponsible till the dissolution of his trust. But was it ever heard that he was irresponsible at the time of his quitting his government? In the same way a regent would become responsible for his acts at the termination of his regency.

After some further discussion, it was agreed to postpone the consideration of the clause.

The tenth clause respected the duration of the limitations and restrictions to be imposed on the regent. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed that the restrictions should continue for the space of a twelvemonth after the first day of February following; and should, of consequence, cease upon the 1st of February, 1812, if parliament should be then assembled, and have been sitting for the six weeks immediately previous. Mr. Perceval said that 'from a reference to the duration of his Majesty's former illnesses and the examinations of the physicians, it appeared that the period of twelve months should be given as a reasonable time for his Majesty's recovery; and he further thought that six weeks should be secured for parliament sitting, that they might have an opportunity of giving some consideration to the subject before the expiration of the limitations, as his Majesty might happen at that very period to be so near a state of recovery, as only to require a little further time to complete his capacity of resuming the reins of government himself.'

Mr. Ponsonby saw no necessity that the period of restriction should expire when parliament was sitting. On the contrary, he thought that to bring the subject again under the consideration of parliament, would be to expose the regent's government to difficulties which he would not then describe. He moved as an amendment, that the restrictions should cease at the expiration of six calendar months from the day of the passing of the act.

Mr. Canning supported the amendment. 'He had already,' he said, 'expressed his opinion that the power of creating peers ought not to be suspended at all in the present circumstances; but if there was to be a suspension, he thought the shortest period the best. But he was adverse to the longer period, accompanied by the six weeks on another principle, for then the matter would again become subject to parliamentary investigation. Now he did think that one of the main arguments in favour of the proceeding by bill was, that the exercise of the royal functions would thus be settled once for all. If the regent was subjected to the disadvantages of this course of proceeding, he ought also to have the advantages; without having the *onus* put upon him of contending about the termination of the period of the restrictions.'

The committee divided upon the amendment, which was rejected by 184 votes to 160. Mr.

Tierney asked whether it was intended to restrict the regent from granting an additional step in the peerage, to which Mr. Perceval replied in the affirmative. The clause was then read and passed.

The eleventh clause restricted the regent from granting for life any office in reversion, or any office, employment, salary, or pension. Mr. Tierney contended, that 'nothing more strikingly displayed that marked distrust in his royal highness which pervaded the whole measure, than the distinction implied in the clause in question. The minister had assumed, as the pretext or ground of all his reservations, the probability of the regent being surrounded by dangerous advisers; for his own part he saw no reason to expect the prince should fall in with any worse advisers than his father had met with.'

Mr. Perceval animadverted with some warmth upon this continual imputation to the framers of the bill of distrust or suspicion towards the Prince of Wales. He felt confident that those who indulged in it, had themselves no fair end in contemplation. 'For myself,' said he, 'I am of opinion that his royal highness, under a full consideration of the situation of ministers and of the arduous duties which they have to perform, cannot be inclined to put a harsh construction on the motives by which they are actuated. If indeed it were possible that I could be mean enough to wish to recommend myself to the favour of the prince, by studying the modes of ingratiation, I know no course more eligible with such a view than that which I am now pursuing; for I feel convinced that the regent, in seeking for a ministry on whose firmness and integrity he might rely, could not be better directed in his choice than to those who had preserved unshaken their fidelity to his father. To this line of conduct I shall still adhere, persuaded that in so doing the prince's favour will be my ultimate reward.'

Mr. Tierney rejoined, that 'as the right honourable gentleman had gone so much upon precedent throughout the whole proceeding, it was not matter of surprise that he had looked to precedent for a speech to make. The speech he had just favoured the house with was the same with that which Mr. Pitt had made in 1789, and any body might find it in the Parliamentary Register. However he might flourish away upon his independence, the public would believe that this most flourishing and disinterested gentleman might have something lurking in his mind which aimed at precluding the prince from giving away any of the good things during his regency, in order that he might have the more to dispose of, if the king should recover. They might think that when he made such a flourish about standing by his beloved sovereign, he really meant the standing up for his beloved self and his beloved colleagues.'

The clause which occasioned the greatest difficulty was that which respected the disposition of the royal household. Mr. Perceval in calling the attention of the committee to this provision of the bill stated that he had drawn it up so as to leave it open for the

introduction of any amendment the house might think expedient. He proposed, that the general power over the household should be vested in the queen, with certain exceptions to be afterwards introduced, under a proviso that the officers left under the queen's controul should not be removable, and that of those officers not employed about the person of his majesty, no reappointment should take place in case of death. The office of lord chamberlain, which was then vacant, would also be excepted from her majesty's appointment, and remain unfilled; the duties of it being performed by the vice-chamberlain. The gentlemen and grooms of the king's bed-chamber, the captain of the yeoman of the guard, and the captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, would be transferred to the regent. The queen would have the controul of the vice-chamberlain, the steward of the household, the master of the horse, and the groom of the stole, with the power of re-appointing to those offices in the event of the death of the present possessors. This arrangement would continue for twelve months only. In the mean while it was proposed to give the regent a separate establishment, including a master of the horse, a steward of the household, five or six lords of the bedchamber, and twice as many gentlemen of the bedchamber, the salaries of all which officers added together, exclusively of that of the lord chamberlain, would not amount to a sum exceeding ten or twelve thousand pounds.

Mr. Ponsonby contended that 'the plan here proposed was directly in contradiction to the sense of the former committee, as expressed in their resolution upon this subject, which declared that all those officers which were necessary to the public and splendid exercise of the kingly power, should be placed at the disposal of the regent; and that such as were necessary to the comfort and accommodation of his majesty should be left with the queen. Of what avail was the master of the horse, or the lord steward, or the lord chamberlain, to the king in his present situation? His majesty's indisposition prevented him from appearing in public—from meeting his parliament—from holding a court—from receiving foreign ambassadors—all these royal functions must be performed by his majesty's representative the regent, and he ought to be enabled to execute them with suitable dignity.' Mr. Ponsonby then moved an amendment which went to place under the queen's controul, the groom of the stole, the master of the horse, the keeper of the privy purse, such lords and gentlemen of the bed-chamber as her majesty might please to select, the equerries and all other officers personally attendant upon his majesty in the palace in which he was actually resident. It was provided also that the groom of the stole should have over all such officers the same jurisdiction and authority as that which might be lawfully exercised by the lord chamberlain, the steward of the household, and the master of the horse.

Mr. Canning stated, that he could not entirely agree with either of the propositions before the house. 'It is clear,' said he,

'that since the care of his majesty's person must be confided to the queen, her majesty ought not to be without some controul over the household; but, on the other hand, it appears to me neither right nor necessary to embarrass her majesty with that species of controul, to which considerable political power attaches. I do not, therefore, think that her power need extend to those great officers, whose situations partake more of a political than domestic nature; and whose duties do not call them to a personal attendance about the king.' Mr. Canning therefore proposed that the lord chamberlain, the lord steward and the master of the horse, should be placed at the disposal of the regent, but that the remainder of the household, including all those in the departments of the three great officers just mentioned, should remain under the controul of the queen.

Lord Castlereagh disapproved strongly of giving any special household to the regent, whom he wished to see accompanied by royal but not by peculiar state. He objected also to the project of giving the groom of the stole such an extensive controul over the various departments of the household. It would introduce an inextricable confusion into the service. The controul of the several departments might easily be vested in the second officer of each.

Mr. Addington said, he did not know whether many gentlemen sympathised with him in the painful impression made on his mind by the whole of the discussion—a discussion the most abhorrent from his feelings of any that he had ever witnessed. He regretted much that the house had been induced to adopt Lord Gower's amendment on the original resolution; instead of acting as parliament had done twenty years ago, when it was agreed to leave the whole household to the king. It had been asked what has a king to do with splendour who is reduced by illness to a state of incapacity? Mr. A. observed, that Lord Grenville had well said in reply to that question on the former occasion, that the very incapacity from such a cause, was an additional reason so long as it continued, for maintaining the splendour of royalty.

The committee divided on Mr. Canning's amendment, when there appeared,

Ayes . .	160
Noes . .	184

Mr. Ponsonby then moved, that the lord steward of the household and the master of the buck-hounds be placed under the direction of the prince regent, but the motion was rejected by a majority of 27.

On the following day (January 18,) the clause appointing the council of the queen came under consideration.

Mr. Perceval observed, that on the former occasion in 1788, it was found expedient to name the councillors, not designating simply their official capacity, but with the prediction of their names. He proposed, therefore, that Charles Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward Archbishop of York, John Lord Eldon Lord High Chancellor, Edward, Lord Ellenborough Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir William Grant Master of the Rolls, should

be of her majesty's council. The names of the other councillors would be the Earl of Winchelsea, the Duke of Montrose, and the Earl of Aylesford.

Lord George Cavendish moved that the name of the Duke of York be inserted; conceiving it to be necessary that some one of the royal family should be of the council. Mr. Secretary Ryder opposed the proposition upon constitutional grounds, and it was negatived without a division.

When it was proposed to fill up the first blank with the name of Charles Manners, Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Sheridan rose to object to the introduction of the name of the individual. 'It would be,' he said, 'to cast the most foul and unmerited reproach upon the Prince. Was His Royal Highness so profligate as not to be trusted? Or was it supposed that in case either of the Archbishops, or the Chancellor, or the Chief Justice should die the Regent would appoint successors not of the most distinguished character in point of talents and virtues?' Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Adam, and Sir Samuel Romilly, insisted upon the same topic. Mr. Perceval, however, observed, that if it was proper that the prince himself should not have the custody of his Majesty, he did not see how it could be proper that he should have the right of nomination to that trust; and the question being put the clause was carried as originally worded without a division.

The remaining clauses were gone through without opposition. When the report of the committee was taken into consideration by the house, Sir Francis Burdett rose to expresss his decided objection to the whole bill. He contended, that 'the provision should not be temporary; that a permanent measure should have been produced; such as would have provided for any future exigency. His Majesty, in the course of the last twenty-two years, had been four times in a state of insanity. Twice within that period the government was carried on in his name, although, from what had since come out, it appeared he was, at the time, utterly incapable of discharging the duties of a sovereign. The king was insane with lucid intervals, the duration of which no man could calculate; was this a state of the sovereignty in which it was advisable to cripple the powers of the Regent? Nothing could be more dangerous, and he was surprised how the Prince of Wales could be induced to accept of the regency so restricted. Instead of making him responsible for a weak government, they should give him augmented strength. If the government could be carried on by the regent with diminished means, it might also by the king. For himself he must protest against making experiments to ascertain the *minimum* of power and understanding with which a king might carry on the executive government. The men who proposed these perilous experiments, and who affected to call themselves the king's friends, could not adopt a more direct and expeditious mode for subverting that throne

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of which they professed to be exclusively the defenders. For years the executive government had been carried on in the name of the king, though it was notorious that his majesty was so infirm in some respects, that he could neither read the paper presented to him to be signed, nor affix his signature to it, unless his hand was held and guided for that purpose, nor even hold a levee. The partition of the officers of the household appeared to him most objectionable. If the influence arising from the nomination to these offices was necessary for carrying on the government of the king, much more were they so for the support of the executive government when in the hands of a regency. The minister would do well to recollect that the same means by which he got a parliament to support him, would soon be in the hands of his political opponents, and that they might get a parliament to undo every thing that was now proposed.'

Mr. Ponsonby renewed his motion for limiting the period of the restrictions to six months after the passing of the bill, which was negatived without a division. Upon the clause respecting the king's household he brought forward an amendment differing in some measure from the one which he had proposed in the committee; but which went to give the regent the great officers of the household, reserving to the queen the groom of the stole, the master of the robes, the keeper of the privy purse, six lords of the bedchamber, the equerries and so many of the inferior officers, as her majesty, in a declaration in writing, should state to be requisite for his majesty's comfort; all these officers would be under the controul of the queen, but the direction and controul of the expenditure would remain in the same state as if the bill had never passed.

Mr. Whitbread said, 'he had uniformly contended that the influence of the crown was much too great and ought to be diminished, but while this influence actually existed, there was no inconsistency in maintaining that it should all be vested in the regent and not in any other person. All the appointments of the lord steward, and of the master of the horse were connected with a very large expenditure of the public money; was it no diminution of political influence to deprive the regent of these nominations? It had been asked how long it would take to break down an administration.' Mr. W. said he and his friends had been attempting it for the last four years, and hitherto without success, but when, on a former occasion, unfair means were resorted to, it did not require a twelvemonth. With the patronage, however, which Mr. Perceval would possess by the present bill, any administration of the regent would be demolished in less than a session, and none but the right honourable gentleman himself could conduct the government. To prove this it was only necessary to look to the list of those persons who were to belong to the council of the queen, at the head of whom was John, lord Eldon—and then the government would have a most formidable opponent in Mr. Perceval himself,

who had certainly in the course of this business shewn the most pre-eminent talents for debate—'talents which I,' said Mr. W. 'have always believed him to possess, but which have never till now been so conspicuously and strikingly displayed. Sorry, therefore, I most unquestionably am, to think that these great talents are likely to be employed against any new administration, particularly when backed as they will be by all the power and political influence which this measure proposes to withhold from the regent. The right honourable gentleman has taken a ground in this proceeding, from which, if he continue in power, he may certainly play off his artillery, with powerful effect: but if he is put out, he will turn those very guns against the works of his own construction and leave the whole one mighty heap of ruins.'

Mr. Canning began by adverting to Mr. Addington's expression, on a former night, implying that all cold details were inconsistent with a suitable sense of respect and affection for the sovereign, and a due sensibility for his afflicting situation. 'I confess, Sir,' said Mr. C. 'I do not see how we can come to any satisfactory decision upon this the most interesting if not the most important part of the subject, without entering, and that with some minuteness, into a consideration of details. If the question is only to be viewed in one way—if only one opinion is to be formed upon it—if we have no alternative but to adopt the provision, originally recommended to us by the king's ministers, in God's name why are we invited to discussion?—An important duty has devolved upon us, and we are bound to perform it at whatever expense of personal consideration and private feeling. The delicacy that would preclude us from discussing the question as we are in the habit of doing others that come before us, I doubt not springs from an excess of the best and most honourable feeling; but I am not the less persuaded that we act more in the spirit of our public duty, when we endeavour to extricate ourselves from the embarrassment arising from feelings so natural and commendable in themselves, in order that we may fully, fairly, without bias or partiality examine into the merit of the measure in all its details. Much practical good has already arisen from these discussions. The naval and military peerages have been got rid of; and the officers about the king's person have been rendered immoveable. These are important improvements, and could I have prevailed on my right honourable friend to make a permanent instead of a temporary provision for the household, I should willingly give up minor points of difference, and vote with him instead of moving an amendment. While our sympathy is still fresh and active, a larger measure of state and splendour is likely to be provided for the sick king than may be expected a year hence, when naturally and without any disparagement to the sincerity of our present impressions, those impressions will have become fainter. This is clear from what has this evening dropped from my right honourable friends Mr. Yorke,

and Mr. Dundas, who have both disclosed that should his majesty's indisposition continue to the beginning of the next year, they then look not to the abridging but to the abrogating of his household altogether, transferring the whole to the regent, and grafting whatever may be absolutely necessary for the care of the king's person in the household establishment of the queen. Now this is precisely what I would avoid. I am not for giving the whole of the household at present to the queen, and I shall be at the end of a twelvemonth against giving it all to the regent. In the one case we should be doing more than we need, and in the other infinitely less than I hope we shall feel it our duty to do even under circumstances the most hopeless.'

Sir Samuel Romilly dwelt upon the inconsistency of this part of the measure with the resolution which had been submitted to the prince. He said 'the attempt to reconcile the two was a mere quibble. If in the case of an estate it was agreed that a portion should be given to one, and the remainder to another, would it be considered a fair interpretation of the terms to give one acre to him who was to have the whole remainder, and to assign the whole of the estate beside to him who was to have but a portion of it? The clause in the bill was manifestly a reversal by parliamentary tactics of the substance of the resolution.'

Mr. Perceval contended that 'there was nothing in the bill contradictory of the resolution. When the resolution was first proposed, the principal objection to it was, that it would give too much influence to the queen; an objection which he got rid of by taking away the power of removal, and thereby extinguishing all political influence.' Referring to what Mr. Canning had remarked upon the expediency of making a permanent arrangement of the household, Mr. Perceval said, 'without meaning any disrespect to my right honourable friend, or undervaluing the suggestions he has thrown out, I must be permitted to observe, that it appears to me monstrous that the house in providing for the maintenance of his majesty's dignity now, when they have a sanguine expectation that his illness will be of very short duration, should arrange the proportion of the household to be given to her majesty in the same manner as if his majesty's calamity were to last the whole of his natural life. No doubt it would practically be far the better mode to make an arrangement that would meet both cases; but that is impossible. If the king were to recover within six weeks, or three or even six months, would any member wish to strip him of his household to the same extent, as if no hope were entertained of his recovery?'

Mr. Tierney attacked the measure and indeed the whole conduct of the minister respecting it, in a speech of much bitterness; declaring that the whole project and scope of the bill was nothing but an artful scheme of political power, a contrivance for dividing

the unity of the government, and setting the executive at war with the palace.

When the house divided, there appeared for Mr. Ponsonby's amendment 190, against it 212. It was consequently negatived by a majority of 22. Mr. Canning and his friends voted in the minority on this occasion.

The bill was read a third time on the 23d. On this occasion, Mr. Adam and Mr. Sheridan having remarked upon the indelicacy of appointing a secret committee to inquire into the payments made from the privy purse, Mr. Perceval explained the motives which led him to adopt that mode of proceeding. In the case of 1788, much jealousy had been excited on Mr. Pitt's proposing that a provision should be made to enable her majesty to make certain payments, amounting in the whole to 16,000*l.* out of 60,000*l.* Knowing that such payments from the privy purse had been doubled since 1788, Mr. Perceval said he conceived that great jealousies would have arisen had he required a provision to be made for 32 or 33,000*l.* Under these circumstances, he thought it his duty to move the appointment of a secret committee, in which he had been desirous of including Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Sheridan; and he felt himself justified in saying that the inquiry had been conducted with the utmost regard to delicacy. No information had been sought which was not absolutely necessary; and the witnesses had been cautioned against stating that which could be done without.

Mr. Wilberforce took this opportunity of stating his entire approbation of the whole conduct of Mr. Perceval. 'On a question of this importance,' said he, 'it is hardly possible not to form different opinions; but I think it fair to state that in my opinion, and I believe in the opinion of the country at large, my right honourable friend has, throughout the whole of these proceedings, done himself immortal honour; and both by the abilities he has shewn, and the delicate regard which he has evinced for the interest of his sovereign, he has proved himself, not only worthy of the high station which he has the honour to fill, but deserving of the affection and confidence of the people at large—which affection and confidence I believe him to possess.' (Hear! hear!)

Next day the bill was carried up to the Lords; and on the 25th that house resolved itself into a committee upon it. No material opposition to the provisions of the bill was expressed until the clause respecting the household was read, when the marquess of Lansdowne rose to declare his unqualified disapprobation of this part of the arrangement. After explaining at some length the grounds of his dissent, he stated that he did not wish the bill to be delayed, by making at that time an arrangement relative to the household, but should propose that such arrangement should be deferred until the regency had been constituted. It might be objected to this, that additional influence would thereby be acquired by the regent; but to obviate this he would propose that

no officer of the household should, in the mean time, be removed, nor any vacancy which should occur be filled up. The noble marquess accordingly moved an amendment to that effect.

Lord Liverpool opposed the amendment, observing that 'there was every reason to believe that the king's indisposition would be but temporary; and therefore all the provisions of the measure were framed with a view to meet a temporary difficulty. With respect to the household, he would appeal to their lordships' own feelings, and ask whether the alterations that had been suggested would not carry with them a degree of objection and indelicacy, that was applicable to no other part of the bill. But it might be asked, was not the communication of disaster and defeat attending our arms; of the loss of ships and islands, much more likely to affect the royal mind than changes and alterations in his domestic establishment? Lord Liverpool said, 'he would put it to any of their lordships, whether, if they were in that afflicting situation, they would not on recovery feel more deeply the dismissal of old and faithful attendants, or a change in their family concerns, than external events, although of much greater importance? If such was the case with individuals in general, the principle applied still more strongly to a king. A king, by his situation was in a great degree separated from an intercourse with society, and was therefore the more strongly attached to his family and domestic concerns. The great officers were so intimately interwoven with the details of the household, that it would call for a most complicated arrangement to separate them. If from the circumstance of his majesty's continued indisposition it was absolutely necessary to make such an arrangement, they must of course meet the difficulties of it, but in the present case no such necessity existed.'

Lord Grey supported the amendment. He contended 'that the clause as it now stood was infinitely worse than in its original shape, for that it gave the patronage of the household from the queen to the ministers; it placed under their influence, or that of their political adherents, places to the amount of 400,000*l.* a year. When he remembered, too, what had lately appeared in evidence respecting former instances in which the royal will and personal assent had been dispensed with, he was further impressed with the necessity of providing against the recurrence of a similar violation of the constitution. With respect to the resumption of the royal authority, no man would more sincerely rejoice than himself when it should take place; but before he could approve of that resumption, he must be convinced that the recovery was full and perfect; and he must have other authority for that important fact than the mere putting of the great seal to a commission in his majesty's name. Such a document could not be received as a decisive proof of his majesty's recovery, when it was notorious that on two former occasions, the great seal had been employed as if by his majesty's command, at

a time when he was under the care and actual restraint of a physician for a malady similar to that by which he was now afflicted. The noble and learned lord (chancellor) must excuse me therefore,' said lord Grey, 'when I say that I must have better authority than his declaration for the fact of his majesty's recovery. That fact requires to be substantiated in the most solemn manner; and nothing short of an examination of the physicians by the house would afford that proof of it which would satisfy my mind.'

These allusions to his public conduct on former occasions called up the lord chancellor, who, with much agitation, insisted upon the perfect integrity, and regard to the dictates of conscience which had regulated his proceedings upon those as upon every other occasion in the whole course of his political life. He dwelt at some length, and with great warmth upon this topic, which indeed occupied nearly the whole of his speech; confining the defence of his conduct, in the instances which had been alluded to, to observations and assertions of this nature. He challenged, however, the strictest inquiry into the transactions in question, and declared himself ready to abide the consequences whatever they might be. 'The opinions of physicians, though generally intitled to great attention,' he said, 'were not absolutely to bind him. He was bound to act upon his oath and to the best of his judgment. He had always done so, and always would; preferring to perish ignominiously on a scaffold, than to desert his allegiance to his sovereign, by declining to take any steps which his duty and his office pointed out to him.'

The Grenville party must have found themselves in peculiar embarassment during the course of these debates; lord Grenville had been directly accessary to the measure of 1788, upon the precedent of which the ministers grounded and justified their present proceeding; but which was stigmatized by the rest of the opposition as the mere contrivance of interested faction. As the present regency bill was confessedly divested of most of the provisions, which had been chiefly objected to in the former measure, it might have been expected that lord Grenville would have felt the less difficulty in giving it his support. But in fact it was upon this very circumstance, that he founded his opposition to it, in this instance, though it is evident that he thereby threw himself at a still greater distance from the rest of his friends than from the ministers. Thus, ministers had taken away the power of removal from the queen's controul over the household. This was done by way of compromise with the constitutional objection which the opposition had raised in the house of commons; but it was upon this point that the noble lord founded his opposition to the resolution, to which he could not otherwise object, inasmuch as he had formerly been party to a measure which went to give the whole household to her majesty, without restriction of any kind. His lordship observed that 'he was still governed by the sentiments he had entertained in 1788;

but when he formerly voted for vesting the household in the queen, he did it on the principle that her majesty should be amply provided with the means of enforcing and upholding the authority to be vested in her—and in the former bill such means were assigned to the queen; but in the present they were wholly withheld from her. If a lord of the bedchamber failed in the due discharge of his duty—should he even be guilty of negligence or indignity towards his majesty, the queen would have no power either of removing him or of supplying his place.' Lord Grenville concluded by stating it to be his intention to vote against the clause.

The chancellor then said he wished to be distinctly understood as not absolutely approving of the present clause, as he did not approve of taking any part of the household from the queen; an opinion in which lord Sidmouth coincided, observing that all the inconveniences which had arisen in the progress of the present measure had their origin in the departure from the precedent of 1788. On a division in the committee the clause was rejected by 108 votes to 96—and by a second division, lord Lansdowne's amendment was adopted by 107 votes to 98.

On the 28th, the report was brought up, when the duke of Sussex, in an able though vehement speech, declared his decided dissent from the whole proceeding. Some comment had been made by certain parts of the ministerial press, upon the manner in which the royal family had in a body, expressed their opposition to the bill, and it had been affirmed that they were endeavouring to erect themselves into a college of princes, a sort of fourth estate unknown to the constitution of our land. The duke of Sussex took occasion to advert to these imputations—'By stating my opinions, as I have done,' said his royal highness, 'I feel that I am acting as a warm friend to my country—to my sovereign and father—to the prince of Wales, my brother—to every thing that ought to be held most sacred and dear in the constitution. Not approving of the measures that have been proposed, I vote against them, conceiving that I am voting with the laws of my country, on a conviction that every part of the system is erroneous and defective. And therefore I feel a pride and satisfaction in what I am doing, neither intimidated by nor caring for sinister insinuations, which have been mischievously propagated of the existence of a fourth estate and college of princes. The purpose for which this new phantom has been conjured up, is as artful as it is wicked; the object of it is in this critical moment to inflame the minds of the people with an alarm of imaginary dangers, in order more effectually to crush and cripple the power of the crown, and to dishearten the honest exertions of the sovereign's relatives, who have seats as lords of parliament, and who are at least the natural, if not the legal guardians of the interests of their revered parent. Those who study to misrepresent the constitutional endeavours of the royal peers to preserve entire the rights

and prerogatives of the crown deserve the execration of the country, as having acted with a species of baseness scarcely paralleled by any instance of human depravity.'

When the clause for limiting the period of the restrictions was read, lord Grenville moved an amendment, shortening the term to six months after the passing of the bill. The noble lord observed that, from the experience they possessed with respect to the first malady and the intervening attacks, it was incontrovertible that the period which he proposed would afford an abundant interval for deciding as to the probable duration of the present disorder.

In the discussion which followed, lord Grey took occasion to animadvert strongly upon the conduct of the lord chancellor in the cases of the king's malady in 1801, and 1804. 'I conceive myself,' said the noble earl, 'bound by my duty to the house and the country to arraign the learned lord, for an offence little short of high treason. In bringing forward this accusation against the learned lord, I will not conceal that it is my intention to deal with him as severely as I possibly can, consistently with the justice of the case, and from the performance of that duty I am determined that neither his agitation or his tears shall deter me. What would be the character—what the appropriate punishment of his offence, who knowing his sovereign to be actually at the time incompetent, to be in fact under medical care and personal restraint, should come here and declare that there was no necessary suspension of the royal functions; who under such circumstances should, in his majesty's name, put the royal seal to acts which could not be legal without his majesty's full and complete acquiescence; what, I ask, would be the crime of that man who should venture to take such a course? I do not hesitate to pronounce his offence to be treason against the constitution of the country.'

Lord Grey then proceeded to state the grounds upon which he ventured to make so serious a charge; these consisted in certain statements made by some of the king's physicians in the course of their late examinations. 'It is now in evidence before the house,' said the noble earl, 'that as well in the year 1801, as in 1804, the king's name has been used to public acts, and the royal authority exercised, at a time when his majesty was personally incapable of exercising his royal functions. The king's malady began about the 12th of February, 1801, and continued without remission till the beginning of March. The house will recollect, that councils had been held, and members sworn in, during that interval. The foreign relations of the country, too, had undergone a material change during that period. Sweden, which had been our ally, assumed a hostile aspect, and acceded to the northern confederacy; and even considerable expeditions were equipped and sent out. Subsequent to that date, too, about the 17th of March, another council was held and members sworn of it. It further appears, that about the 14th or 15th of June, even after

he had been declared to be fully recovered, his majesty had a relapse, which, though it did not last long, required the aid of attendance. All this took place in 1801.'

'In 1804, I was a member of the other house, and had occasion to question the noble viscount (Sidmouth) respecting the state of his majesty's health; and though my noble friend at first endeavoured to evade the question, upon being pressed he ended with saying, that there was no necessary suspension of the royal functions. In reply to a similar question put in this house, lord Liverpool made a similar declaration, and that was afterwards confirmed by the noble lord on the woolsack. Now by referring to the evidence of Dr. Heberden, it will be found that at that very period his majesty had been ill, and continued in that state from the 12th of February, 1804, to the 23d of April following, when I believe he presided at a council; a circumstance which most probably was considered as a sufficient proof that his majesty was well enough to resume his royal authority. Within that interval, viz; on the 9th of March, a commission was issued under his majesty's great seal, for giving the royal assent to fifteen different bills, which had passed the two houses. But still more; on the 5th of March, the learned lord had an interview with the king, in consequence of which he felt himself warranted in declaring to this house, that his majesty's intellects were sound and unimpaired.'

'The charge therefore which I have to make upon the noble lords, in the face of the country, is this, that they have culpably made use of the king's name without the king's sanction, and criminally exercised the royal functions when the sovereign was labouring under a moral incapacity to authorise such a proceeding; and with such a transaction in your view, I will ask your lordships whether you will suffer this bill to pass without making effectual provision to prevent the recurrence of similar circumstances?'

Lord Grey then proceeded to state his objections to the restrictions generally. He expressed himself not very sanguine as to the probability of the king's recovery, and contended that the country was in a very different state from what it was in the year 1788. 'It is not,' said he, 'by shutting our eyes to the dangers and difficulties which beset us on every side, that we can ever hope to surmount them; we must look them in the face with firmness, and determine to rescue ourselves from the vortex which is open for our destruction, not by a perseverance in those weak and ruinous measures which have brought us into our present calamitous condition, but by a radical change of policy, and the adoption of such a system of conduct, as without diminishing our necessary efforts for the present, may, by husbanding our means and resources, enable us to meet all the exigencies of an extensive and protracted warfare. My lords, in 1788, this country was in the most flourishing condition, in the highest state of internal and external prosperity. What is the case now? Is

not our commerce crippled, our trade stagnated, our domestic security menaced, our foreign connections utterly annihilated, or, what is nearly as bad, an overwhelming burthen in this period of our tribulation—and what is still more formidable, is not the whole of Europe combined against us, and directed by an unity of force, and an ability of conduct which have never been exceeded? with all this before us, is it possible the house can conceive, the same measure, which proved adequate in 1788, likely to possess the same efficiency in the present instance?'

Lord Liverpool observed, that if there was any foundation in Lord Grey's charge, it could not be confined to the chancellor; 'there was,' said he, 'no one act done by my learned friend at either of the periods alluded to, for which I and all who were with him in the cabinet at that time were not equally responsible. I have sufficient grounds for distinctly declaring that at that period the king was not called upon to execute a single act of royal authority, until it was fully ascertained that he was competent to the discharge of the regal functions; and I deny that any mystery was made of the king's indisposition, which was as well known to the public as to the members of the government.'

Lord Sidmouth also claimed his full share of responsibility for the proceeding that had been so violently arraigned. He observed, that the statements made by Dr. Heberden respecting the king's health in 1801, excited not only in his mind, but in the minds of others, and particularly in that of an illustrious person more peculiarly interested and more likely to have made observations on the occasion, the utmost degree of surprise and astonishment. As to the statement of Dr. Heberden respecting the situation of the king from February, to April, 1804, Lord Sidmouth said it was calculated to convey a notion very different from that which ministers entertained at the time, from the unanimous opinion of the physicians, of whom Dr. Heberden was himself one.

The lord chancellor defended himself upon the same grounds. He observed that the question was, whether he ought to have acted as he had done when a most important task remained to be executed, or to have left the country to shift for itself. 'If,' said he, 'I had had the smallest doubt of his Majesty's competency, I would have taken it upon myself to have signed the commission for giving the royal assent, and trusted to an indemnity; or have come to the house and made the declaration which I submitted to your lordships on the 1st of November. But I had then no doubt, and I assert that it is most important to the sovereign that the chancellor should not depend wholly on the evidence of the physicians, if he himself thinks the king perfectly competent to discharge the functions of the royal authority. I would not consent to dethrone his Majesty upon their report merely, if in my judgment and conscience I believed the king was adequate to the discharge of the royal functions. My interviews with the

king at that time were always in the absence of any person who might be considered as exercising any controul over him. I knew the danger of this proceeding; but I knew my duty also; and I determined to see my sovereign and judge of his complaint, when he was as free from restraint as any of his subjects whom it has been my painful duty to examine under similar circumstances.'

After an explanation from Lord Grey, the house divided upon Lord Grenville's amendment which was rejected by 139 non-contents to 122 contents. The original clause was then carried by a similar majority. Lord Liverpool then moved an amendment upon the clause respecting the household, omitting the words which had been inserted in the committee upon the motion of the Marquess of Lansdowne. This was carried by 86 contents to 83 non-contents, and the clause was then restored to the state in which it came from the commons. Upon the clause respecting the queen's council, Earl Stanhope moved that the name of John Duke of Bedford should be inserted. On a division there were found in favour of the motion 68 peers, against it 86. Lord King then moved that the name of John Lord Eldon be removed from the queen's council, grounding his proposition upon the noble and learned lord's conduct on the occasions which had so often been alluded to in the course of this debate; the motion was rejected by 139 votes to 54. The remaining clauses were then gone through, and on the following day the bill was read a third time and passed. Some trifling amendments had been introduced by the lords, and were agreed to without opposition in the commons, and the measure now only awaited the royal assent.

To give this, it was necessary to resort to a similar proceeding with that which had been adopted at the opening of the parliament. Lord Liverpool in the House of Peers moved, that it was expedient and necessary that letters patent should pass under the great seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, appointing a commission, for giving the royal assent to the act in question. A resolution to this effect passed the upper house, and was submitted to the commons. When the house had resolved itself into a committee upon the subject, Mr. Elliott and Mr. Ponsonby shortly but strongly repeated their protest against the course proposed. 'It was,' they said, 'one entire and unqualified fraud and fiction, defying and trampling upon the constitution and offending the first principle of reason, by asserting the existence of a power to give the royal assent in an act designed solely to supply the royal incapacity. Its effect was to bring the throne to the feet of the two houses, and to erect a new and unconstitutional authority in the absence and infirmity of their sovereign.' Feb. 4.

The speaker, however, took this opportunity of expressing his approbation of the course of proceeding which had been adopted by the house. 'It is,' said he, 'acknowledged by all to be the right and duty of the two houses of parliament to fill the throne if vacant, and also to supply any temporary defect in the personal

exercise of its powers. It is also allowed that if the throne be vacant, the true mode of proceeding is by address; whether we have only to recognize a dethroned or exiled king as at the restoration,—or to elect a new king as at the memorable and glorious æra of the revolution:—and rightly so, because a king once upon his throne holds an office which the law has defined, and the constitution acknowledges; and it is enough to command our obedience if he be declared king, whether he be so *de jure* or *de facto*.

'But if the throne be full it appears to me that our proceedings must then be different, because the case we have then to provide for, is essentially different in fact.'

'In the first place, two kings at a time we cannot have; and no other office of sovereign authority exists by law, or is defined by law, to which any known or definitive powers could accrue, by our designation of any individual whom we should appoint to hold it. The first thing, therefore, which we have to do in such a case, is to define what that office shall be which we think fit to establish; and to define it we must model it into something which is not the king; whether we intend to create a free regency, such as was given to Philip of Spain, and to the lords justices under the succession acts, or whether we reduce it to the regency councils projected by the acts of 1751 and 1765. For such a case an address is at least an inconvenient mode of applying a remedy, and more especially if it is to be attended with any detailed specification of powers or even of regulations.

'In the next place; when we shall have so defined the powers of the regent to suit the special case, (be it of infancy, captivity, infirmity, or old age,) we must not forget that we have also still a reigning monarch; that we must provide in all instances for his present welfare, and that in some we must provide also for his future resumption of power. To the regent, indeed, whose office is defined, we may tender this office by address, and receive his assent or dissent to our solicitation: but the monarch, whose absence or incapacity is to be supplied, cannot be a party to such a contract, nor, if that were possible, would our allegiance permit him to be so without our participation. In this latter case, the proceeding by address is clearly an inadequate remedy; because it rests upon the assent of only one of the parties concerned, and neither provides for nor binds the other. And thus it is that we are by necessity brought to devise some other measure, by which both these ends may be obtained conjointly, and by which (at the same time that we make this transfer of power) we may with equal solemnity and security enshrine the sacred person of the sovereign and install the regent; some measure simultaneous in its effect, and obligatory alike upon all parties included in this momentous transaction, and also upon every part of the empire.

'How then is such a measure to be accomplished? To me it appears that the necessary course

of such a prooceeding is plain and clear; namely, by acting during the sovereign's incapacity (as nearly as the circumstances will allow) according to the same practice which must obtain if he were well. The great seal is the organ of the king's will in parliament: if this be dormant or lifeless, we must give it life and activity; avowing our own act boldly and openly to the nation, in whose name and for whose interest we are acting. Over the great seal, the house of commons, for a parliamentary purpose, that of completing its own representation (not even from necessity, but from high constitutional jealousy) does habitually exercise its commands. The restoration parliament thought it their duty, in the absence of the king, to lay their hands upon the great seal, by appointing the earl of Manchester, under a joint vote of the two houses, to be a commissioner for its custody; and this was done for the purpose at least of controling its use till the king's arrival, which was the extent of the necessity.

'But it is contended, that our progress to the ultimate completion of our measure is barred by existing laws. Now all these laws suppose the case of an existing king in the full possession of his faculties; whereas the very foundation of our proceeding is the incapacity of the sovereign. To require that as indispensable which is impossible, is, therefore, at once to come to the monstrous and mischievous conclusion that the constitution and government of this country are now absolutely dissolved. It is said, too, that by thus using the great seal, all that we do is to employ a fiction, a fraud, a forgery. If you will, however, examine the wording of the commission, it will appear that the nature of the act is openly avowed; so that however the transaction may involve a strong act of power, to be justified only by the necessity of the case, yet it cannot be characterised as a fiction and fraud without a perversion of the ordinary uses of language.

'But if we abandon this proceeding, what must follow? It is clear that the regent himself must resort, within a week or a month at the farthest, to the same identical authority and to the same fiction, if it be such. He must come to the two houses for a confirmatory statute, or he must endeavour to govern by force of our address, which he will find to be unavailing for all practical ends of government.'

Notwithstanding the length of our abstract of the former discussions upon this subject, we have ventured to prolong it by these passages from the speech of Mr. Abbot, as it appears to us to give more shortly and more clearly than any other delivered upon that side of the question, the whole argument of the case. After some explanation from Mr. Ponsonby, and some further remarks from Lord Porchester, Mr. Adam and Mr. Sheridan, the question was put and carried. The house then resumed, and when the report was brought up, Sir T. Turton moved a long amendment, declaring that in thus employing the great seal the two houses were guilty of an assumption of the

royal prerogative, in direct opposition to the statute law which declares that there can be no legislation without the king. The amendment was put and negatived.

Feb. 5. On the following day a conference took place between the houses, in which the Commons signified their assent to the Lords' resolution. The Commons were then summoned to the bar of the upper house, when the lord chancellor, in virtue of the authority of the commission thus issued under the great seal, declared and notified the royal assent to the act. The deputy clerk of the crown then read the title of the act, and the clerk assistant passed it in the usual words, *Le roi le veut.*

CHAPTER II.

Ceremony of the Installation of the Regent. Expectations indulged in by the Opposition Party. King's Message to the Prince. Communication to Mr. Perceval of His Royal Highness's Intention of retaining the present Cabinet. Mr. Perceval's Reply. Parliament is opened by Commission. Speech of the Lords Commissioners. Debate on the Address in the House of Lords. Speech of Mr. Perceval respecting the Foreign Policy of the Country. Proposed Arrangement of the Regent's Household. It is declined by His Royal Highness. Army Estimates. Speeches of General Tarleton and Mr. Canning, respecting the Policy and Conduct of the Peninsular War. Mutiny Bill. New Clause introduced concerning Military Punishments. Bill for the Interchange of the English and Irish Militias. Ordnance Estimates. Military Punishment. Motion on that Subject by Sir Francis Burdett. Speech of Mr. Manners Sutton. The Motion is rejected. Restoration of the Duke of York to the Commandership in Chief of the Land Forces. Altered State of the Public Mind upon this Subject. Lord Milton moves a Resolution disapproving of the Act. It is supported by Lord Althorpe, Mr. Wynn, and Mr. Whitbread; opposed by Mr. Perceval and Mr. Ponsonby; and rejected by a large Majority. Naval Estimates. Transport of Troops in King's Ships. Extent of our Navy. Delays and Abuses in the Court of Admiralty. Motion of Sir Charles Pole on that Subject. Lord Cochrane moves for Papers respecting the Conduct of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Malta. Captain Bennett's Motion respecting the Operation of the Exchange upon the Pay of Seamen on Foreign Stations. Objected to by Mr. Rose and Mr. Huskisson. New Regulation concerning the procuring of Substitutes for Seamen wishing to quit the Service. General Gascoigne's Motion for a Committee respecting the Pay of the Army. Opposed by Lord Palmerston. It is rejected without a Division.

The parliamentary discussions upon the subject of the regency were now closed, and it only remained to instal the Prince of Wales in the high office which the two houses had thus assigned to

him. This ceremony was appointed to take place on the 6th of February. About twelve o'clock on that day, a party of the flank companies of the grenadiers, with their colours and band, marched into the court of Carlton House. A great number of privy counsellors, including all the royal dukes, soon after assembled in the state room; at three o'clock the Prince of Wales made his appearance, and after receiving the obeisances of those present, signified his readiness to attend the council. His Royal Highness accordingly proceeded to the grand saloon, preceded by the great officers of the household, and followed by the princes of the blood, the two archbishops, the chancellor, and the rest of the privy council. In the saloon a long table was prepared, covered with crimson velvet, and on it was placed several massive silver inkstands, which had belonged to Queen Anne. At the head of the table were laid the several oaths to be administered to his Royal Highness, written on separate sheets of vellum. The Prince took his seat at the head of the table, the lord president on his right hand, and the lord chancellor on his left; and the other privy councillors being seated, the lord president briefly stated the indisposition and incapacity of the king, and the measures which parliament had in consequence adopted for supplying the defect in the royal authority by the appointment of a regent. He then read the oaths which the regent was required to take; this being done, the Prince of Wales said—'My lords, I understand that, by the act passed by parliament, appointing me regent of the united kingdom, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, I am required to take certain oaths, and to make a declaration before your lordships as prescribed by the said act: I am now ready to take these oaths and to make the declaration prescribed.' The earl of Westmoreland, lord privy seal, then rose and read the oaths, which the Prince, with a clear and audible voice, pronounced after him, in the following words:—

'I do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to his majesty king George. So help me God.'

'I do solemnly promise and swear, that I will truly and faithfully execute the office of regent of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, according to an act passed in the fifty-first year of the reign of his majesty king George the third, and that I will administer, according to law, the power and authority vested in me by virtue of the said act; and that I will in all things, to the utmost of my power and ability, consult and maintain the safety, honour, and dignity of his majesty, and the welfare of his people. So help me God.'

The Prince then subscribed these oaths, together with the declaration prescribed by the act, for the more effectual preservation of the king's person and government, by disabling papists from sitting in either house of parliament. All the privy counsellors present, amounting to between sixty and seventy, also signed their names to these documents as witnesses. The regent now delivered to the lord president a certificate of his having received the

sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the Church of England, which, together with the other instruments, was consigned by the keeper of the records in a box at the bottom of the table, and these proceedings being ended, his Royal Highness retired and immediately entered upon his functions, by transacting business with the ministers of state.

It was thus that after what may be called an *interregnum* of three months, the government was at length restored to some portion of its proper efficiency. People of all parties now began to speculate upon the use which the prince would make of the powers with which he was invested, in the selection of the ministers who were to conduct his government. The public in general were far from desiring a change. Mr. Perceval had done himself infinite honour by his conduct throughout the whole of the proceedings connected with the establishment of a regency; he had forced even upon his enemies a conviction of the firmness and integrity of his political principles, at the same time that he displayed talents for debate which scarcely his warmest admirers had hitherto believed to belong to him. But it was generally believed that the prince had a strong prepossession in favour of the Whig party, with several of the most distinguished members of which he had throughout his life maintained an intimate connection; and the party itself looked forward with undoubting confidence to his Royal Highness's accession to the regency as the certain epoch of their return to power.

It was already rumoured, however, that some difficulties had occurred in the arrangement of the projected changes. When the resolutions of the two houses on the subject of the regency were submitted to the prince, his Royal Highness consulted lords Grenville and Grey respecting the answer which it might be advisable to return to the proposition. These noblemen, accordingly, supplied the prince with a reply, which, however, is said to have been drawn up in terms of such strong reprobation of the late conduct of government, that Mr. Sheridan, to whom it was shewn, deprecated its adoption as likely to lead to the most serious embarrassment, by involving the prince in a quarrel with the house of commons. The prince saw the thing in the same light, and commissioned Mr. Sheridan to frame another answer in a tone of greater moderation; and this his Royal Higness did in fact make use of in reply to the deputation of the two houses. The two opposition leaders, however, took much offence at this disregard of their suggestion; and they sent an humble remonstrance to the prince, intimating that as his royal higness had not thought proper to act upon their advice on the occasion in question, they did not conceive that their services could be of any use to him, in the projected arrangement of a new administration. Under these circumstances the prince applied to lord Holland for the scheme of a new cabinet; but that nobleman, from the want of parliamentary interest and influence, was of course unable to attempt the conduct of government upon his own bottom, and he therefore endeavoured to me-

diate a reconciliation between the prince and the opposition leaders; and in this he succeeded. Little doubt was now entertained, either by the public or by the party, that the Whigs would shortly succeed to power. The expectants themselves even went so far as to arrange the distribution of places which they conceived were about to fall into their hands, and this arrangement they were imprudent enough to suffer to be published in one of the newspapers.

A short time before the regency bill passed, Mr. Perceval went down to Windsor, where he had an interview with the king. His majesty, at this time had recovered from many of the more unfavourable symptoms of his disorder, and, indeed, was well enough to enter upon some discussion of the state of public affairs. He is said to have made particular enquiries respecting the proceedings of the Prince of Wales, and to have expressed his satisfaction on learning that his son had not as yet wholly abandoned himself to the opposition. He further desired that the queen should write to the prince, informing him of the king's sentiments on this subject, and pointing out the needless embarrassment which would accrue both to the government and to the king, if his majesty, on his recovery after a short interval, should have to re-construct the frame of his administration. The Prince of Wales is understood to have not unreluctantly availed himself of this injunction to postpone, at least, the perplexity of adjusting the conflicting claims of his friends. On the 4th of February, the day before the passing of the regency bill, his Royal Highness sent a note to Mr. Perceval, communicating his 'intention not to remove from their official situations those whom he finds there as his majesty's official servants.' It was added, that 'at the same time, the prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character, which, he trusts, will appear in every action of his life, in whatever situation placed, explicitly to declare that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father leads him to dread that any act of the regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his sovereign's recovery. This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval.' The note then went on to say, that 'having thus performed an act of indispensable duty, from a just sense of what is due to his own consistency and honour, the prince has only to add, that among the many blessings to be derived from his majesty's restoration to health, and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, it will not, in the prince's estimation, be the least, that that most fortunate event will at once rescue him from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs, ill calculated, he fears, to sustain the interests of the united kingdom in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the genuine principles of the British constitution.'

Mr. Perceval, in his reply, stated, that 'in the expression of the prince's sentiments of attachment to the king, and of anxiety for the restoration of his majesty's

health, the ministers saw nothing but additional motives for their most anxious exertions to give satisfaction to his royal highness, in the only manner in which it could be given, by endeavouring to promote his views for the security and happiness of the country.'

'Mr. Perceval,' it was added, 'has never failed to regret the impression of your royal highness, with regard to the provisions of the regency bill, which his Majesty's servants felt it to be their duty to recommend to parliament. But he ventures to submit to your royal highness, that whatever difficulties the present awful crisis of the country and the world may create in the administration of the executive government, your royal highness will not find them in any degree increased, by the temporary suspension of those branches of the royal prerogatives, which has been introduced by parliament, in conformity to what was intended on a former similar occasion; and that whatever ministers your royal highness might think proper to employ, would find in that full support and countenance which, as long as they were honoured with your royal highness's commands, they would feel confident that they would continue to enjoy, ample and sufficient means to enable your royal highness effectually to maintain the great and important interests of the United Kingdom.'

Mr. Perceval said in conclusion, that 'he trusted that whatever doubt the prince might entertain with respect to the constitutional propriety of the measures which had been adopted, his royal highness would feel assured that they could not have been recommended by his Majesty's servants, nor sanctioned by parliament, but upon the sincere, though possibly, erroneous conviction, that they in no degree trenched upon the true principles and spirit of the constitution.'

On the 12th of February, parliament was opened by commission. The speech began by expressing how deeply the Prince Regent lamented, not only in common with all his majesty's loyal subjects, but with a personal and filial affliction, the calamity of the king's illness. It then went on to advert to the events of the late campaign. After mentioning the capture of the islands of Bourbon and Amboyna, and the repulse of the enemy's attack upon Sicily, it was said, 'In Portugal, and at Cadiz, the defence of which constituted the principal object of his Majesty's exertions in the last campaign, the designs of the enemy have been hitherto frustrated. The consummate skill, prudence, and perseverance of Lord Wellington, and the discipline and determined bravery of the officers and men under his command, have been conspicuously displayed throughout the whole of the campaign. His royal highness trusts you will enable him to continue the most effectual assistance to the brave nations of the Peninsula, in support of a contest which they manifest a determination to maintain with unabated perseverance; and he is persuaded that you will feel that the best interests of the British empire must be deeply affected in the issue of this contest, on which the liberties and inde-

pendence of the Spanish and Portuguese nations entirely depend.'

The speech then stated that discussions were pending between this country and the United States of America, and that it was the Prince Regent's wish 'that he might find himself enabled to bring those discussions to an amicable termination, consistent with the honour of his Majesty's crown, and the maritime rights and interests of the United Kingdom.' With respect to domestic affairs it was observed, that 'though the difficulties under which the commerce of this kingdom had laboured, had in some measure affected a part of his Majesty's revenue, particularly in Ireland, yet that the revenue of Great Britain in the last year, though unaided by any new taxation, was greater than was ever known in any preceding year.'

The address in answer was moved, in the Lords, by the Earl of Aberdeen, and seconded by Lord Elliot. The most remarkable fact of Lord Aberdeen's speech was the conclusion of it, in which he alluded to the question of the Catholic claims; and observed, that 'after the sacrifice which the prince had made of his private and personal, but known feeling, no person who had any sense of propriety, or any regard for the general interests of the empire, could consider that a suitable time for bringing forward those claims, or expect they could be then urged with any prospect of success.'

No amendment was moved on the address. Lord Grosvenor, however, stigmatised the speech, as one of the most flimsy and unsatisfactory that had ever been made to parliament. Lord Grenville approved of the general manner in which the address was framed with a view of not binding the house to the adoption of any particular line of conduct. The approbation expressed of the operations in the Peninsula, indeed, formed an exception: and the noble lord added, that he felt himself bound to say that it contained a pledge contrary to the opinions he had all along still entertained on that subject of policy; and which, whether inconsistent with the general sentiment or not —whether popular, or unpopular, he should betray his duty to his country if he did not distinctly express. 'I have never,' said he, 'hazarded so absurd a sentiment as that it is not highly desirable that all our assistance should be given to the exertions of the inhabitants of the Peninsula, in vindication and maintenance of their independence. No rational man can doubt but that the issue of that contest is deeply interesting, not only to the fate of the civilized world, but also to the independence of the country. But the real question is, is it advisable that we render assistance by embarking the whole of our disposable force in the issue of such a contest, where our enemy can bring the whole force of the continent of Europe against us? I do not hesitate to deliver it as my opinion that in a contest so unequal, the money and resources of the country must be expended with certain loss; for it is impossible to expect success in such a war. Of the military conduct of Lord Wellington, I am no judge;

but in so far as it is marked by caution, and an unwillingness to spend unnecessarily the blood of his countrymen, it has my most marked approbation. There does not, however, exist that individual who can suppose that if France is in possession of Spain, Portugal can by any efforts be preserved.'

Lord Liverpool said that 'ministers had endeavoured, as far as was practicable, not to introduce any topics into the speech which could possibly give rise to any marked difference of opinion; they had on this ground omitted those subjects to which Lord Grosvenor had referred; but they would not for the sake of unanimity sacrifice any great public principle. The question of the war in the Peninsula was not a new one; it had been three years before the country, and parliament had repeatedly pronounced its decided opinion upon it. People might differ respecting the mode and degree in which that war should be carried on, but there could be no doubt that a very great majority of the nation approved of the principle of giving Spain and Portugal every degree of assistance that did not endanger our domestic safety. The clause in the speech pledged no noble lord to any specific mode of carrying on the war; the pledge of assistance was expressed in those general terms that left every man's future opinions on the subject free and uncontrolled.'

Referring to what Lord Grenville had said respecting the hopeless nature of the contest in the Peninsula, Lord Liverpool reminded him that in the course of last session 'there were certain noble lords who did not hesitate to assert, and pledge themselves for the correctness of their assertion, that a very few months would bring home the remains of the British army from Portugal. This prediction had not yet been fulfilled; the prediction of the insufficiency of the Portuguese troops had been equally falsified; we had the testimony of Lord Wellington and of Marshal Beresford, that they were in every point qualified to fight side by side with British troops.'

In the Commons the address was moved in an able speech by Mr. Milnes, and seconded by Mr. Richard Wellesley. It was agreed to without debate. On the following evening, however, when the report was brought up, Mr. Whitbread took occasion to make some observations upon the topics referred to in the speech. In particular, he expressed his regret that nothing had been inserted indicative of a sincere desire that the efforts we were making might lead to the only legitimate object of all warfare, a safe and honourable peace. 'As to the state of our affairs in Portugal,' continued he, 'I must guard myself most solemnly against the imputation which might hereafter be made of my having given any approbation either of the plan or execution of the campaign. I am indeed quite ignorant upon the subject; for, whatever other praise Lord Wellington may deserve, no man will say that his dispatches contain any thing like an intelligible history of his progress. All I know is, that after advancing into the country, our army, the largest we had ever sent to the continent;

had patiently witnessed the fall of two towns; that, on the approach of the enemy we had retreated; and that after gaining the battle of Busaco, we had lost Coimbra. But should even a brilliant and decisive victory be achieved, I can perceive but faint hopes of the final deliverance of the Peninsula; because, when the most important diversions had been made for Spain, Spain showed no disposition to avail herself of them.'

Mr. Perceval observed, in reply to Mr. Whitbread, that at one time, towards the close of last session, he (Mr. W.) had declared it to be his wish that every English soldier was safe back in this country from the Peninsula. 'Does he,' said Mr. Perceval, 'indeed now wish that the Peninsula should have been surrendered without the glory of the last campaign? Does he wish that Britons should not have made a stand in the only corner in which it was possible to make a stand against the common enemy of Europe? I see no cause to despond on the event of the contest. We have maintained all we proposed to maintain; we have maintained Portugal, and in so doing, we have rendered the most material assistance to the cause of Spain.'

'It may be true, indeed, that more might have been done by the Spaniards in the course of this struggle than what they have done; but let us do justice to so much as they have effected; let us do justice to that nation which has done more than has been done by all the other nations of Europe since the commencement of the revolutionary war; to that nation which though now more than two years overrun by the armies of France, has never yet submitted to her foe, but is still as unconquerable in mind and spirit as ever. Let the honourable gentleman consider for a moment what would have been the consequence to Great Britain, if the Peninsula had ere this been under complete subjection to France. Let him consider of what consequence Cadiz and Lisbon alone would have been to France, if in her possession.

'As for peace, I would ask the honourable gentlemen and the house, whether situated as we are, it would be proper that any notice should be taken of the expectation of peace in the address? Ministers will be eager to avail themselves of the first opportunity of making peace with safety; but they would delude the country were they to be hold out that any such has as yet occurred.

'The honourable gentleman has congratulated the house upon the prospect which he says the speech holds out, that a more conciliatory policy is about to be pursued towards America. No greater spirit of conciliation, however, is now manifested by government than has been shown all along. Every thing which could be done has been done to obtain a renewal of a friendly intercourse with the United States consistent with our safety, and the maintenance of those maritime rights for which the country has always contended.

'The honourable gentleman says that the observations respecting the revenue in the speech, are to him perfectly unintelligible: that it is said that the revenue has

fallen off in Ireland and fallen off here; and yet it is much more now than in any former year. This is easily explained; the whole revenue of the country received into the exchequer, up to the 5th of January 1811, for the year preceding was greater than that of any former year; there are between three and four millions of excess of difference between the last year and the year ending Jan. 1809, and that without the imposition of any new taxes. Particular branches of commerce, however, may have declined towards the latter end of the year, by which the revenue of that part of the year may have been affected; and yet it is clear that upon the whole year there may be an abundant increase of revenue.'

Mr. Perceval justified the silence of the speech, with respect to Sweden; 'when,' said he, 'we reflect upon what our former connection with Sweden was, and the manner in which she was compelled to become subservient to an enemy, it will, I think, be found that forbearance with regard to that unfortunate country is the principle on which we should act, so long as we can do so without danger to ourselves. The immediate adoption of retaliatory measures, could, circumstanced as we are, be of little use to England. With respect to Ireland,' continued Mr. Perceval, 'I know that representations have been made that the affairs of the sister kingdom are in the most lamentable condition; ministers have been accused of treating that important part of the empire with systematic neglect; of never referring to it, except in language of a degrading, insulting nature. Is this a correct statement? can it be believed that we are such fools and idiots as so to treat discussions of such grave importance?'

In consequence of the provision of the regency bill, by which nearly the whole of the household officers were left for the present in attendance upon the king, it became necessary to provide a separate establishment for the prince regent; and the chancellor of the exchequer gave early notice of his intention to introduce a measure of that nature. A plan for such an establishment was in fact drawn up, the expence of which, in consequence of the temporary reduction of the office of lord chamberlain, it was calculated, would not exceed twelve or fifteen thousand pounds; and when the regent had signified his purpose of continuing the present ministers in the service of the crown, Mr. Perceval took the earliest opportunity of submitting this scheme to his royal highness's approbation. The prince, however, declined the proposal, stating that it was his determination not to add to the burdens of the people by accepting of an addition to his public state as regent of the united kingdom. This resolution of the prince, was on the 21st communicated to the house of commons by Mr. Perceval, who observed, that the country could not be backward in acknowledging this instance of self-denial on the part of the prince regent; and that his royal highness could not fail to find that such refusal, would, in point of fact, throw around his charac-

ter and station more real splendour than could be borrowed from any pageantry, however brilliant.

On the 25th, Mr. Whitbread brought forward a motion impugning the conduct of ministers under the circumstances of the king's indisposition in 1801, and 1804; founded upon the same grounds upon which a similar accusation had been urged against the chancellor in the house of lords. The conduct of the administration upon that occasion was defended by lord Castlereagh and Mr. Yorke, and upon a division the motion was rejected by 198 votes to 81.

On the 4th of March, the house being in a committee of supply, lord Palmerston moved the resolutions respecting the army estimates. In his speech on this occasion, after going through the various items, the noble lord observed that upon the whole there appeared a diminution in the number of men of 514; and an increase of 42,000*l.* in the charge. He congratulated the country upon the imposing extent of our military establishment. The regular force of the kingdom, exclusive of artillery, amounted to 235,000 men, of whom about 211,000 might be considered as fully effective. The casualties, however, could not be assumed at less than 22 or 23,000 men. Lord Palmerston observed that the ordinary recruiting was not sufficient to supply this periodical deficiency; under the demand for labour created by our extended agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, it was not to be expected that many would be induced to quit the occupations of civil life, for the profession of a soldier. In the year 1810, the returns of the ordinary recruiting, amounted to between 9 and 10,000 men only; but this was in a great measure to be attributed to the effect of the ballot for the militia; in some years, under more favourable circumstances, the produce of the ordinary recruiting had been as high as 19,000 men; but all things considered, he would for the present take it at an average of 11,000 men. Taking the average of the last two years, the foreign recruiting might be expected to give 4 or 5000 men, making in the whole about 16,000 men which it was likely would be obtained by voluntary enlistment. Lord Palmerston proposed that to make up the remaining deficiency, a certain portion of the militia should be allowed to volunteer into the line. The militia establishment was 92,000 men, of which the effectives might be considered to be 84,000, added to which, there was due by ballot, 5 or 6000 men. Considering the amount of regular force which, under any circumstances, would be kept in the country, and also the increasing efficiency of the local militia, the present establishment of regular militia appeared greater than the national defence required. It was proposed therefore to reduce it to the old establishment, namely, 70,000 men for the two islands; and, for this purpose, to allow a number, not exceeding 10,000, to volunteer into the line.

Lord Palmerston was followed by general Tarleton, who took this opportunity of delivering his opinion upon the whole conduct

of the war in the peninsula. The gallant general's speech was of considerable length, and neither very accurate in its statements, nor very close in its reasoning; he expressed, however, his decided reprobation both of the policy of carrying on a war in Spain at all, and of the whole course of lord Wellington's proceedings in the two last campaigns.

Lord Castlereagh recalled the attention of the house from the military criticism of the gallant general, to the consideration of the question more immediately before it; he threw out some valuable suggestions for the further improvement of our militia system; and in particular he dwelt upon the expediency of making the sphere of service for that branch of our force co-extensive with the general exigencies of the empire, by doing away those local and national distinctions which have happily ceased with the union. He observed that 'the principle of a common militia for the empire, however obvious its expediency, must rest for its accomplishment on a growing sense of its importance. When the militia system was extended to Scotland in the year 1797, it was not at first thought prudent to hazard the measure, by extending the services of the Scottish militia to England, and it was not till a subsequent year that the conditions of the service of the Scottish regiments were assimilated to those of the English militia; it could not be wondered at, therefore, that the extension of the principle to Ireland had not more immediately followed the union, but the time was now arrived, when this great work might be accomplished with the concurrence of both services.'

Mr. Whitbread took occasion to express his apprehension, that the Irish militia would never consent to venture themselves into this country, while they continued subject, on account of their religious tenets, to pains and penalties which did not attach to them in Ireland.

Mr Perceval said, 'he hoped that if Mr. Whitbread viewed the plan as others had done, he would not increase existing difficulties by introducing unnecessarily a subject on which particular feeling existed, and which might lead to useless altercations. The inconveniences anticipated were not practically felt by the catholic soldiers already in this country; and were they to suppose them more likely to be felt by the militia, who might hereafter arrive?' Mr. Perceval added, with respect to general Tarleton's speech, that as that was not the time for going into the subject of the late campaign, he should not say any thing on that head. Mr. Canning, however, said that after what had fallen from the gallant general, he should consider it as an abandonment of his duty if he were to omit to state shortly the opinions he entertained upon that important topic. 'The share,' said he, 'which I personally had in originating the measures which have committed this country in the peninsula against France renders it necessary, as well in vindication of my own conduct as in justice to the principles by which the present ministers have proved themselves to be still actuated in

the maintainance of the contest, to express my unaltered approbation of the system which they have continued to pursue.

'As to the general policy of maintaining that contest,' continued Mr. Canning, 'it is not only true courage, but true wisdom in England, to avail herself of all opportunities of encountering the enemy, which may defer to the last the occasion, if that occasion is to arrive, at which we shall have to fight the battle upon our own shores. In this view the operations of the campaign have been eminently advantageous. The enemy has at least been kept in check; and we have not only been gaining time, which, in a war of such a character as this, is no small gain of itself, time for the working of chance in our favour; but our military means and the military discipline and efficiency of our allies, have been greatly augmented. Much indeed is wanting to bring the result up to the standard of our wishes; much remains to be done; but we are not therefore to give up the contest as hopeless. We have a right to resort to another standard of comparison; to compare the present state of the war, with the insolent vaunts of the enemy, and with the gloomy predictions of many among ourselves; to compare the present state of things with what it was when the whole of the peninsula was in the power of the enemy—when not a breath of resistance was any where to be heard—when the eagles of France were planted not only over the walls of Madrid, but upon the ramparts of Lisbon.

'For myself, I have all along looked to the contest in Portugal with hope—a hope qualified undoubtedly by a mixture of anxiety, but wholly unalloyed by despair. Nor has the result disappointed my expectations. If lord Wellington has arrested in its career of victory that mighty military power, before whose overwhelming masses the greatest armies of the continent have crumbled into dust; if he has seized the uplifted bolt of vengeance, which was ready to be hurled against the devoted towers of Lisbon, has divested it from its destination, and conducted it harmless to the earth; if protecting the kingdom, committed to his defence, against the destroyers of the independence of nations, he has stood as it were between the dead and the living, and stayed that deadly plague which had filled every other part of Europe with havock and desolation; if he has done this, and no more than this, I am not, I cannot be, disappointed at the result of the campaign. It is a result worthy all the expense, and effort, and anxiety that it has cost us, and if it does not satisfy our desires, it may well make us ashamed of our fears.

'Disagreeing as I do with the honourable general, there is no one point upon which I differ more widely from him, than as to the probable effect and ultimate advantage of the system of measures, by which the army of England is now, for the first time for many years, arrayed against the troops of France in a continental campaign, and contending for mastery under the eyes of Europe. The advantage to our own troops from practice in warfare, and from

having had frequent opportunities of establishing, beyond the possibility of doubt, what we always knew, but what the enemy constantly flattered themselves they could disprove by denying—the physical and moral superiority of the British soldier;—the impression necessarily produced upon the French armies by this demonstration:—these surely are effects which justify the principle of the policy from which they are derived, and which not only contribute to the immediate glory, but tend to the ultimate safety of the country. The honourable general looks to an invasion—to a struggle for our own existence on our own shores. Can we then do better than fit ourselves for that struggle by a system of active and enterprising hostility; enuring our soldiers to the duties and hardships of war—interposing obstacles to the progress of the enemy, while yet at a distance—and combining with the sacred duty of affording assistance to other nations, the most effectual preparations for our own ultimate defence. If we were to have the choice of any one spot in the whole world where this system could be most advantageously carried into effect, the present theatre of war is that which we might most prudently have chosen. In the peninsula, for the first time since the French revolution, France is exhausted by the expences of the war, instead of being enriched by its spoils. In the peninsula, France acts at the end, as it were, of a long lever, through a line of communications, extended, hazardous, and constantly interrupted; and requiring scarcely less than another army dispersed along that line to keep up the means of feeding, and recruiting the army which is employed in the operations of the war. To us the sea is open—and the distance and difficulty of communication no more than the length and risk of the voyage, which is trifling in the extreme. But beside these physical and military advantages there are others of a moral nature which it is impossible to put out of the question; we cannot forget the ties which bind us to the common cause of nations; and which connect the defence of their rights and independence with the separate security of our own. We cannot but feel to how great a degree that, which we are doing for others, adds to our confidence as to what we shall be able to do for ourselves. The tone of the enemy has been changed, and are not our own feelings at least equally altered? Let us recollect that period at the commencement of the war, when we were in daily expectation of some attempt at invasion; we were indeed all confident that the enemy, if he came to our shores, would be valiantly resisted, and ultimately repelled; but the wisest and bravest among us were not ashamed to speak of resistance to invasion, as splendid victory. Are not now our language, our sentiments, and our feelings, really and genuinely of a higher sort? Whence is this change but from the war in the peninsula? and is not this a revolution of the highest importance?

'Much, however, as I applaud and partake of the confidence thus acquired, I do not altogether

overlook the possibility of a reverse; but when I contemplate that side of the picture, I do so with this consolation, that if ever there was a moment or a situation in which failure (disgrace I will not say, for that is not possible to such an army, and such a commander), but in which the failure of the object for which we contend, would be comparatively less injurious to us, and defeat more calamitous to the enemy, it is in the present moment, and in the actual situation of the campaign in Portugal—and this too from moral, no less, or even more, than from military considerations. The ruler of France has now the eyes of all Europe fixed upon him. He has now no distant diversion to distract his councils, or draw off the attention of his subjects or of mankind from the one grand object to which he stands pledged and bound—the establishment of his usurped dominion in the peninsula. If he fail in this, his defeat must be most signal and decisive. It admits of no palliation. The defeat would be the most disgraceful, and consequently the most dangerous he has ever experienced—breaking the charm of his ascendancy, and shaking the foundation of his power. To us it would be the most glorious triumph that the events of this tremendous war has ever yet brought within our reach; the seal of our fidelity to our allies—the consummation of our military character—and the pledge of our national safety.

'What the issue may be,' said Mr. Canning, in conclusion, 'I pretend not to anticipate. It is in the hands of Providence. But standing at this moment upon that awful eminence, which divides the past from the future; the past chequered with variety of fortune, the future overshadowed with a darkness impervious to human foresight, I am anxious to declare unequivocally, while the issue is yet undecided, that the course and the system by which the military fortunes of the country have been brought to this crisis, have my most cordial and unqualified approbation.'

When the report of the mutiny bill was brought up March 11th. Mr. Parnell moved a clause, providing that no soldier, professing the Roman Catholic religion, should be subjected by the articles of war, to any punishment for not frequenting divine service, as performed according to the rites and ceremonies of the established church.

Mr. Wellesley Pole objected to the clause as unnecessary; since the Irish government had never wished to force the Catholics to attend the Protestant service, and had given relief to the few Catholics who had been aggrieved in this manner.

Mr. Perceval, too, said that the object in view would be better effected by a regulation, than by law. If the Catholic soldier was to be specially exempted, every class of dissenters in the army would conceive themselves equally entitled to exemption. The motion was rejected by 46 votes against 13. On the third reading an important amendment was introduced upon the motion of Mr. Manners Sutton, the judge advocate, empowering courts martial to adjudge imprisonment in-

stead of corporeal punishment at their option.

The interchange of the English and Irish militia which had been so strongly recommended by lord Castlereagh in the debate on the army estimates, was made the subject of a specific measure by Mr. Secretary Ryder, who, on the 14th of May, moved for leave to bring in a bill to that effect. He observed that the house would probably feel surprised that the measure had been so long delayed, rather than that it was now proposed. The conveniences to be derived from it in a military point of view were important; but its moral and political advantages were infinitely more so. The measure would do away the ignorance under which each nation laboured as to the character of the other. He did not however wish that the English militia should be sent to Ireland or the Irish to England, for an indefinite period. His plan was, that not more than one-third of either militia should be sent from one country to the other at one time; that the English militia should not continue in Ireland more than two years, nor the Irish in England more than three years at once; that they should not afterwards be sent but in rotation; and that in no event, should either be sent to the other country but by an order from his majesty. He also proposed that they should have the power of volunteering, and that the commanders should, in the first instance, inform each regiment, that their services were purely voluntary.

Some opposition was made to the measure by certain members of the house, who bore commissions in the militia, on the score of the inconvenience to which they would be subjected by its operation. Lord Temple declared, that it involved in its consequences a direct breach of faith with the militia, inasmuch as they had been enlisted for service confined to the soil. Mr. Ryder here reminded him that with respect to individuals already enlisted, the interchange would be altogether optional. Lord Temple however contended, that even this mode was objectionable, as it would put the officers at the mercy of the men; for according as the men determined, so must the officers; and this went to affect the first principles of military subordination. Again; if one part of a regiment volunteered, and the other did not, there would be two distinct services; of which the evil was obvious. The measure also might deprive the service of the ablest of the militia officers; and without meaning any thing invidious, it could not be forgotten, that it was a different thing for an English country gentleman to go over to Ireland with the regiment, and for an Irish country gentleman to come over here, where he must have come at all events to attend his parliamentary duties.

Mr. Bastard, also, opposed the bill. 'If,' said he, the militia officers were told at once, 'we have no further occasion for your services, and we dismiss you,' they would have nothing to complain of; but they had a right to complain when put into a situation, which compelled them either to quit the service, or very pro-

bably expose themselves to the resentment of the crown, for not carrying the projected measure into effect.'

Mr. Ryder replied, that he did not believe that many militia officers would be induced to quit the service, in consequence of the proposed interchange; but he was prepared to say, that much as he should lament such an occurrence, it was a sacrifice which he for one would rather make than abandon a measure which he was satisfied was pregnant with the most important advantages to the empire.

This appeared to be the general conviction of the house, and the bill passed both houses without further opposition.

The ordnance estimates were brought before the house on the 1st of April. The whole expence under this head amounted to 3,412,211*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*, being about 500,000*l.* more than that of the year preceding. This arose principally from the transfer to this head of service of several articles from the extraordinaries; among these was a charge of 170,000*l.* prize money; foreign service 200,000*l.*; and an addition of 13,000 men, amounting to 40,000*l.* There was also a charge of 50,000*l.* for magazines; it had been found that the floating magazines, besides being dangerous, were apt to render the powder damp after it had been for any considerable time on board; the additional expence was incurred in providing magazines on shore.

The estimates were adopted without much discussion. At the same time 1,648,260*l.* were voted for the commissariat department.

The subject of military punishment occupied the attention of the house more than once in the course of this session. Some cases were brought forward by Colonel Wardle and Sir Francis Burdett as instances of the aggravated cruelty to which our soldiers were liable, in consequence of the power vested in courts martial to adjudge corporal infliction as the penalty of military delinquency. The statements made by the honourable members respecting these instances, turned out upon inquiry to be altogether incorrect and exaggerated. On the 18th of June Sir Francis Burdett moved for an address to the Prince Regent, requesting that 'he would be pleased to issue such orders as should appear best calculated to restrain and finally to abolish the cruel, unnecessary, and ignominious practice of flogging in the army.' The honourable baronet observed, that he had 'long forborne making any motion on this subject, wishing that the measure should voluntarily flow from government, rather than that it should be adopted in consequence of the interference of that house. It had been said, that a clause would be introduced into the mutiny bill, which would have the effect of abolishing this scandalous punishment by degrees, but having found that this was not the case, he thought it his duty no longer to delay bringing the subject before the house. Sir Francis cited a number of cases, exemplifying the cruelty of the ex- Feb. 26, May 25.

isting system. He insisted too upon its needlessness, instancing several officers, particularly the dukes of Gloucester and Grafton, who preserved discipline in their regiments without flogging, and he admitted that the duke of York wished, as far as was in his power, to get rid of this mode of coercion, and had always pursued a very mild system in the management of his own regiment.' He added, 'that he was sorry to be obliged to state a most remarkable instance of the inefficacy of an opposite line of conduct. The 15th regiment of dragoons had long been distinguished by its efficiency in the field, and for its proper demeanour in every respect, before his royal highness the duke of Cumberland got the command of it; but it was a melancholy fact that, within a few months after his appointment, more cruel punishments were inflicted than had taken place in the regiment before, since the seven years war.'

Mr. Manners Sutton replied, that 'the very object which Sir Francis proposed, was already attended to, as far as was consistent with the military policy of the country, and as far as it could be made useful or manageable. A clause for this very end had this year been introduced into the mutiny bill; and what could be more unfair than to speak of this enactment as if it were ineffectual, because it was so recent that it had not fairly been tried? If instead of giving courts martial a discretionary power as was now the case, corporal punishments were in all cases to be abolished, what was to be the substitute? Capital punishments might be used, but would it be said that there was to be no punishment except capital for the higher offences?

On a division, there were found ten members in favour of the motion, and 94 against it.

While we are upon the subject of our military administration, we may mention an event connected with it, which occasioned some comment at the time, but very much less than might have been expected. On the 25th of May the Gazette announced that the Duke of York was restored to his post as commander in chief of the land forces. This act of power was generally attributed to the earnest interposition of the Regent himself, who was known to have taken all along a very warm interest in his brother's behalf. It might, however, have been reasonably apprehended, by those who recollect the extraordinary degree in which the public feeling was excited against his royal highness at the period of the inquiry, that his reinstation in his office, after an interval comparatively so short, would lead to the revival of the heats which had only been appeased by his resignation. No symptoms were given of any such relapse. The appointment when announced in the Gazette excited little attention, and was scarcely in any of the journals made the object of animadversion or attack. The apathy exhibited in this respect was indeed almost as unaccountable as was the disproportionate importance and interest which had been attached to the question of the charges brought against the duke at the time of its first agitation.

If such was the general state of the public mind upon the subject, it was not to be wondered at that the opposition party in parliament should not shew any particular anxiety to vindicate their consistency, by reviving a discussion which was supposed to have embarrassed them from the beginning, by bringing into conflict their wish to preserve the favour of the prince and to continue well with the people. Lord Milton, however, brought the matter under the notice of the house of commons, by a specific motion. He said, 'he was aware it might be imputed to him that he was actuated by the poor ambition of courting a little transient popularity; whether that was actually his character he should leave others to determine; he had seen his duty and, painful as it was, he had determined to follow it up through good and through evil report. He would ask the house if they could agree to sanction an appointment made in virtual opposition to their own recorded sentiments? for the resignation was the result of the opinion known to prevail in parliament. It might be objected that the punishment the duke had already undergone ought to be considered as fully commensurate to the extent of his offences. Lord Milton denied deprivation of office to be in itself a punishment. If in March 1809 his royal highness was unfit for his situation, what since could have made him fit for it?

June 6.

'It might be contended too, that since the inquiry, certain transactions have come to light which have materially changed the general opinion upon that question; but though it was true that his royal highness had been the victim of a foul conspiracy, (here the noble lord was interrupted by a general cry of hear! hear! from all parts of the house,) yet it must be recollected that the truth of that subsequent discovery rested solely upon the testimony of that very person who had been the chief witness against his royal highness himself.' Lord Milton concluded by moving a resolution which stated, 'that upon a deliberate consideration of the recent circumstances under which his royal highness the duke of York retired from the command of the army in March 1809, it appears to this house highly improper and indecorous in the advisers of the Prince Regent to have recommended to his royal highness the re-appointment of the duke of York to the office of commander in chief.'

Mr. Perceval began his defence by stating 'that he wished it to be distinctly understood, that the recommending the appointment of his royal highness to the command of the army was an act, for which, be it right or wrong, his majesty's servants were collectively and individually responsible, in fact as well as in law; and he was the more anxious to make this statement, because there seemed to have been something like an attempt to have it supposed that this was an act from which the ministers had been anxious to withdraw themselves.' He then stated the circumstances which led to the re-appointment. 'The house,' he said, 'was aware that the gallant officer who lately fil-

led the situation of commander in chief, was in an advanced stage of life. He had spent nearly half a century in the active and zealous service of his country. In the early part of the winter he had contracted an illness arising from cold, which had obliged him to apply for liberty to retire from the arduous duties of his office. This application had been repeated so frequently and so earnestly, that it became a matter of necessity and justice to yield to it; and the office of course became vacant. It was indispensible that it should be immediately filled up; and Mr. P. avowed that there was not in his mind, nor in that of his colleagues, the slightest hesitation as to the person whom they should recommend to be appointed when they considered the services which are universally acknowledged to have been rendered to the army by the duke of York, and compared them with other claims, ministers felt that they were left no choice. Neither did it appear to them to be the least among the leading qualifications of his royal highness, that there was in the army no indisposition to be placed under his command. (Hear, hear.) But the noble lord argued as if the selection of his royal highness was not open to his majesty's ministers; as if they could not constitutionally recommend him to that appointment. Did the resolution upon which the noble lord laid such stress mean to exclude the duke of York for ever? If not for ever, then what was the period of time during which it became criminal in ministers to advise his restoration? The first resolution distinctly acquitted his royal highness of all species of corruption. After that acquittal, he solicited his majesty to accept his resignation: for the noble lord presumed what he could not prove when he contended that the resignation of his royal highness was the result of the opinion of that house. There were, indeed, various opinions among the members, of whom some may have thought that his royal highness ought to resign, and many others certainly did think that such resignation was by no means called for. It was not true, however, that the object of Mr. Bathurst's amendment was to remove the duke; since Mr. B. himself stated at the time that such was not his purpose. A feeling of irritability had been excited in the public mind, of which the duke of York, knowing himself to have been the inadvertent cause, might have felt it his duty to endeavour to allay at the expense of any personal sacrifice.'

Mr. Perceval said that he should not dwell upon the transactions which had come to light since the close of the inquiry; though he thought he might deviate from the rule at least to this extent, if no farther. 'I may venture,' said he, 'to put it to any member, whether he believes that if this house had been then aware of the conspiracy which has since been discovered;—if they had been apprized of those dishonourable arts by which the evidence in that inquiry had been come at, prepared, and brought forward;—if they had then understood the true nature of those noisy pretensions to high and exclusive patriotism which were at that time put forth so

vauntingly;—if they had then known how to appreciate the angry virtues and indignant independence of those patriotic inquirers into corruptions; if they had but known all, where is the man who will say that such knowledge would not have had its due effect? I do not mean to say that it would necessarily have altered the result, but surely much, if not all, of that irritation of feeling which then so unhappily prevailed, could never have been excited; and therefore that motive which had induced his royal highness to retire, might not have been created.'

Lord Althorpe said, 'he could not see how ministers could justify their proceeding, unless they were prepared to say that the duke of York was the only fit person in the country to fill the situation of commander in chief. The house purposed agreeing to a resolution, on the subject of the conduct of his royal highness, the natural consequence of which must be to cause his dismissal; to prevent the adoption of this resolution his royal highness himself gave in his resignation; when the house then came to a resolution declaring that his royal highness having resigned, it was no longer necessary for them to proceed in the inquiry, did not this imply that it was his resignation alone which precluded the necessity of their proceeding? He admitted that the popularity of the gentleman who had preferred the charges against his royal highness had greatly decreased, but he did not see how the character of the counsel on either side could make the case better or worse; that must depend on the credit of the witnesses alone.'

Mr. Elliott said that the recent developement which had been referred to, had not much affected his view of the case. With him the persons who had sunk so much in favour never stood so high as in his mind to leave them much room to fall. Though he had seen no evidence against his royal highness of corruption or accession to corruption, circumstances had come out in the inquiry in consequence of which he conceived that his royal higness deserved to be removed from office; and nothing had since occurred to alter that necessity.

Mr. Bathurst said that it was by no means the object of the address, which he had proposed to remove his royal highness from office; on the contrary, he had expressed his opinion that his royal highness might continue in office with greater propriety after the address than before. It was only meant to operate as a check and an admonition to his royal highness for the future.

Several members professed that a complete change had taken place in their opinions with respect to the truth of the allegations against the duke. Mr. Whitbread, however, contended that the evidence remained unshaken and uncontradicted. The minutes had undergone no change. 'There was,' said he, 'a practice of the chancellor of the exchequer for which he probably claimed great credit, if it was to be thought so from his fondness for it: it was a kind of bold, strutting, noisy claim of responsibility—an effort at what he called manfully meeting the charge, or claiming his share in the odium and danger of the acts of the ministry. His habit was to throw

himself forward when the public indignation was roused, and talk of his readiness to meet all possible inquiry into his conduct. His colleagues profess to be equally ready to meet the extremity of the public anger; but when this spirit, magnanimous as it is, comes to be tried—when the cry for justice is stern and strong, then these magnanimous ministers shrink back, and hide themselves behind their majority, and baffle the attempt at inquiry. Is there a single man in the country, except the royal duke, who, with these imputations still hanging on him, would be suffered to return to office? Not one. Though he might not have been even charged with personal guilt; yet his permission to make money by the sale of commissions, his negligence in the conduct of his civil office, would have been an insurmountable obstacle to the return of any man but the the Duke of York. That man ought not to be intrusted with power whose failure and neglect would bring down no responsibility!'

Mr. Lambe said, 'he felt perfectly convinced that if any other person was presented to the house under the circumstances in which the Duke of York stood, he should vote for his re-appointment. He could not without great pain reflect upon the violence of the proceedings against the duke, and upon the votes which he had himself been persuaded to give. The duke in fact had been very hardly dealt with: he had been run down by a public cry, and charged with peculation, when in fact the fault he had really committed was not one of public cognizance.'

Mr. Wynn was of a different opinion. He said that 'during the investigation he had always felt that the evidence of such a woman as Mrs. Clarke ought to be left wholly out of their consideration, unless when it was confirmed by other evidence. There were many strong points of the case, however, which were proved without the testimony of Mrs. Clarke. The cases of Kennet, Clavering, and Tonyn, stood upon the evidence of the duke's own hand-writing. The single case of Kennet, unaccompanied by any other, would be sufficient to prove decided corruption, and to call for the censure of the house. It was corruption, though not strictly corruption in office; but it was not on that account the less criminal. He would venture to say, that if any of the king's ministers had been detected in such a transaction, he would be prosecuted for it with the utmost severity. For such practices as these, it was no excuse to set up the weakness and frailties of human nature. Men who had so large a portion of this frailty were not fit to hold high offices in the state. However useful or respectable they might be in private life, they were thereby utterly disqualified for the public service. The question here was not what censure a delinquent should undergo; but whether it was prudent to intrust the command of the army, to a person liable to such habitual weakness.'

Sir Francis Burdett too, observed, that 'as he formed his opinion on the Duke of York's case, not at all on the mere evidence of Mrs. Clarke, nothing had since occurred to affect that opinion. He was convinced, indeed, that had Colonel Wardle been unsup-

ported in his accusation by any other evidence than that which he possessed at the beginning of the proceedings, he would have retired disgraced and stultified. But an additional mass of evidence, written and oral, was produced in a manner almost accidental, and that evidence remained untouched.'

The general feeling of the house, however, was decidedly averse to the motion. Mr. Barham said he regarded the Duke of York as a most injured man, and he rejoiced that an opportunity was now afforded of making some amends for the injustice that had been done to him. Mr. Ponsonby said that 'he had voted against the resolution which declared that the Duke of York had participated in, or connived at corruption; he had then attributed to his royal highness only a certain degree of negligence in his high office; and for that fault the duke had already been sufficiently punished. It had been asked whether any other person would have been so restored? but he would answer that there was no such case then before the house, and it would be time to consider it when it might come before them.'

On a division, there appeared for the motion, 47; against it, 296. Mr. Wilberforce voted with the minority.

The naval estimates came under consideration on the 15th of March. The ordinary estimates amounted altogether to 1,578,418*l.*; the extraordinaries to 2,046,200*l.*; the estimate for victualling the army at out-ports and foreign stations was 1,113,894*l.*; the transport service, including the charges for sick and wounded, and for prisoners of war, composed a charge of 4,062,999*l.*

Little opposition was made to these estimates; indeed, Sir C. Pole declared that in his opinion they were as unexceptionable as any that had ever been laid before the house. Mr. Bankes, however, expressed his disappointment that instead of a reduction on this head of expense, there was an increase to the amount of one or two millions.

Mr. Yorke said he apprehended that when his honourable friend took into consideration the arrangement that had been made in framing the present estimates, he would not find the excess to amount to more than 306,000*l.*

Mr. Huskisson took occasion to speak strongly in favour of the system lately introduced of transporting soldiers in ships of war; and he inquired how far it had been acted upon. He adverted, too, to the extent of our navy. It was now proposed to keep in commission 6 ships of the line, of the first rate, 9 of the second, and 114 of the third; besides these, there would remain in ordinary no less than 117 ships of the line, including those building and repairing. Was so large a force necessary? At the breaking out of the war in 1793, we had but 120 sail of the line, though France had then 80 sail of the line, and the fleets of Holland and Spain were also opposed to us. At the breaking out of the present war France had but 50 sail of the line, and of these, half had since been taken or destroyed.

Mr. Yorke replied, that whatever might be said of the system of substituting king's ships for hired transports, on the score of eco-

nomy, it was so strongly recommended by the safety and expedition which attended it, that it was constantly being enlarged from time to time. At present there were fourteen ships so employed, two of which were two deckers, and the others large frigates. Within the last year 10,000 infantry had actually been transported in ships of war. With respect to Mr. Huskisson's other question, Mr. Yorke observed that Bonaparte had at that time 54 ships of the line and 44 frigates, ready, or nearly ready for sea. In addition to these, according to the most accurate accounts that could be gotten, he had building, or in ordinary, 46 sail of the line, which made the total of his navy amount to 100 ships of the line; a prodigious force when the point to which it was directed was taken into consideration.' With respect to the state of our own navy, Mr. Huskisson had been inaccurate in some of his suppositions. The number of ships of the line in commission did not exceed a hundred, including sixty-fours. The amount of those in ordinary would soon be greatly diminished; an order had been given to break up such vessels as could not be put in repair, as it was the worst policy to keep such by, in ordinary. When new ships could be laid up in ordinary and seasoned before they went to sea, it did them infinite service, and the ships to be launched were intended to be so laid up. Mr. Yorke remarked in conclusion, that we ought not merely to have a numerical superiority over the enemy, our superiority should be so imposing that he could not even hope for success.

In the course of the discussions upon these estimates, Sir Charles Pole took occasion to advert to the delays and abuses of the Court of Admiralty. He instanced the case of vessels captured by the blockading squadron under Lord Duncan in 1799, the proceeds of which capture had not yet been distributed. On the following night, the occasion of this delay was in some measure explained, and the blame of it shown not to attach to the Court of Admiralty. Mr. Rose also observed, 'that so far was it from being true that the interests of the navy were neglected, that since the passing of the act in 1809, nine thousand cases had been made out under his immediate direction, and so arranged that he could in an hour inform any claimant, when the prize was condemned, and what was the amount of his share. The amount of them in money was four millions sterling. He had exerted himself to the utmost to benefit the captors by putting their money out to interest, and relieving them from the extortion of agents. The annual captures amounted to about a million; in the course of the war therefore, they were seven millions, of which 5,400,000*l.* had been put out to interest by the agents for their own benefit—one agent alone had had as much as 300,000*l.* out at interest to his own advantage. This had been put a stop to, and the benefit transferred to the captors. In the charges of agents accounts he had saved 12,000*l.* per year to the captors, and 50,000*l.* per year salvage. March 22.

The same subject was taken up by Lord Cochrane. On the 6th of June, he produced in the house the copy of a Proctor's bill, from

Malta, which measured six fathoms and a quarter. He remarked, that the proctor in question, 'acted in the double capacity of proctor and marshal; and in the former capacity feed himself for consulting and instructing himself as counsel, jury, and judge; so that all these fees were for himself in one character, and paid to the same himself in another.' As instances of the flagrant abuses prevailing in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Malta, he stated, that on the taxing a bill the court deducted 50 crowns, and charged thirty-five for their trouble in doing it. A vessel was valued at 8608 crowns; the net proceeds amounted to no more than 1900; all the rest had been swallowed up in the prize court. Again, Captain Brenton had sent in thirteen small vessels, and a charge of 3767 crowns was made for condemning them; this occasioned a severe remonstrance on his part, upon which the judge deducted 3504, and was glad to accept 263 rather than that the business should be brought forward in England. Lord Cochrane concluded with moving for certain papers which he said would prove that the judge, the marshal, and the registrar of the Vice-Admiralty Court, at Malta, had abused their offices.

Mr. Yorke admitted that 'the statement which the noble lord had laid before the house seemed, *primâ facie*, to support his charges. The investigation, however, could not take place this session, as many of the papers moved for must be brought from Malta; but some reform might be necessary in some of these departments, and he hoped Lord Cochrane would persevere in his purpose if he found just grounds. The king's advocate, Sir J. Nicholl, also agreed that the case called for inquiry; he observed, however, that he had every reason to believe that the judge of the court at Malta was a man of talents and integrity; and his conduct ought not to be prejudicated until he had been heard in his defence. The regulation of the fees had probably been left to him because he could hardly have any interest in augmenting them; for he was only intitled to 2000*l.* a year out of them, and they could scarcely fall below that sum.

April 9th. Another motion connected with the welfare of the naval service, was brought forward, by Captain Bennet. He observed that 'the state of the exchange was such that naval officers, in the Mediterranean and at Lisbon, suffered a loss of about 30 per cent. on all pay remitted to them. All he wished was, that in this respect they should be put on a footing with the army, and receive their pay at par.'

It was objected by Mr. Huskisson, to this proposition, that there would be great difficulty in adjusting the pay of officers to the incessant variations of foreign exchange. In some cases it would be equivalent to an advance of thirty per cent. on their pay—in some, it would be a diminution: on the Jamaica station, the exchange had been generally 12 per cent. in their favour. The remedy, too, would have the effect of introducing a certain kind of money brokerage into the service, and the question being intimately connected with that of exchanges, was complicated and extensive.

Mr. Rose said that very soon after he came into the office of treasurer of the navy, this question came under his consideration. He consulted with several officers on the subject, and found the difficulties numerous and nearly insurmountable. If the measure were to be adopted, it must be general through every station, and in that case great part of the navy would be losers; and he was, from the result of all his inquiries, perfectly convinced, that on the whole the public would lose infinitely more than the officers could possibly gain; for he did not believe they would gain one shilling.

After some further discussion, the motion was negatived by fifty-four votes to fourteen.

A new regulation of some importance to the interests of our seamen was adopted by government about this time. From a statement made to the House of Commons, May the 24th, by Mr. Croker, it appears, that according to the old arrangement, when a seaman was permitted to procure a substitute in order to quit the service himself, his only course was to apply to persons called crimps, who charged at the rate of 100 guineas for an able-bodied seaman, and 50 guineas for a landsman; and they insisted that the entire sum should be deposited in the first instance, often before they had procured the substitute themselves. The consequence of this was, that months, and even years elapsed, before the substitute was found; and the individual who paid his money had often sailed to a foreign station, or, perhaps, died before the object was accomplished, losing to his distressed family the full amount of his discharge. Government resolved to put an end to the iniquitous trade of crimps altogether. With this view, the Board of Admiralty had determined that the man should be discharged the moment that his discharge was paid for, at the rate of 80 guineas for an able-bodied seaman, and 40 guineas for a landsman; and the money thus received, was carried to the fund for raising volunteer seamen.

In the course of these discussions, the pay of the army and navy became the subject of question; and on the 4th of April, General Gascoigne moved that a committee be appointed to inquire into the pay and allowance of his Majesty's land forces. He observed, that in 1795, a lieutenant-colonel's pay was 17*s.*; it was 17*s.* now, and the income-tax reduced it to 15*s.* 9*d.* The pay of a major was then 15*s.*; it was now 16*s.*, and the income-tax reduced it to 14*s.* 9*d.* A captain's was then 9*s.* and after the income-tax was deducted, it amounted to the same sum at present. Officers had then also certain perquisites; each captain had the paying of his own company, and derived from forty to fifty pounds annually from non-effectives. By Mr. Burke's bill, each captain was allowed 20*l.* a year instead of the stock purse. This was taking the company at the low establishment of forty men; but if it could have been supposed that the company might amount, as it now did, to eighty men, could it be thought that the framer of the bill would have objected to

increase the allowance in proportion. The fact then was, that instead of any increase having been made to the pay or the allowance of officers, the allowances to which they were intitled in 1697, were infinitely more considerable than they were now in 1811. It is true that the captain's pay was increased by a shilling and a halfpenny in 1806; but the shilling was immediately taken away by the income-tax, and the halfpenny alone remained.

Lord Palmerston said that the pay of the officer was not like that of the soldier, intended to supply him with the necessaries of life; it was more in the nature of an honourable reward for his services, the value of which he would appreciate not so much by the sum it contained as by the principle upon which it was granted. Was it wise, was it prudent, to refer a question of this importance to the consideration of a committee? The appointment of such a committee would give rise to expectations which it would be wrong to encourage, and might produce correspondent claims from the navy. The allowance for forage, lodging, and travelling had been greatly increased.

General Tarleton admitted that the officers had cause for complaint; but he thought that the question was one which ought not to be agitated in a time of war, and he wished, therefore, that the motion should be withdrawn.

General Gascoigne, however, refused to accede to this suggestion, and the motion was negatived without a division.

CHAPTER III.

Committee of Ways and Means. Budget. Amount of Supplies voted. Vote of Credit. Ways and Means. Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting the Produce of the Consolidated Fund, the Excise, and the Assessed Taxes. Loan. Amount of Exchequer Bills funded. Repeal of the Duty on Hats. Increasing Prosperity of the Country. Comparison between the Amount of Consumption of several Articles in the Years 1787 *and* 1809. *Irish Budget. Irish Loan. Increase of Duties on Tobacco, Hemp, and American Timber. State of the Foreign Trade of Ireland. Petition from the Irish Brewers respecting the diminished Duty on Spirits. Debate on the Subject. Speeches of Mr. Shaw, Sir John Newport, Mr. Perceval, and Mr. Foster. Mr. Perceval's Proposition for equalizing the Duties upon the Distillation of Spirits from Grain and from Sugar. The Bill passes the Commons. It is thrown out in the Lords. Mr. Perceval introduces another Measure in temporary substitution of the former. Proposed Tax on American Cotton Wool. It is strongly opposed in the House. The Bill is withdrawn by Ministers. Continued Pressure of Commercial Distress. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Commercial Credit. Report of the Committee. Parliamentary Relief recommended. Mr. Perceval moves a Resolution to that Effect. Speeches of Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Henry Thornton, and Mr. Baring. Lord Folkestone divides*

the House against the Bill on its second Reading. The Bill passes the Commons. It is objected to in the Upper House, by Lord King and the Marquess of Lansdowne. Speech of Lord Grenville; Lord Liverpool's Reply. The Bill is passed.

THE chancellor of the exchequer opened the budget for the present year on the 20th of May, in a committee of ways and means. The supplies had already been voted, and were as follows:—

Navy, (exclusive of Ordnance sea service)		£ 20,276,144
Army, including barracks and commissariat	£ 14,209,422	
Ditto, Ireland	2,223,421	
Extraordinaries	3,200,000	
Ditto, unprovided last year	627,098	
		21,269,941
Ordnance		5,612,378
Miscellaneous, including 400,000*l.* Irish permanent grants		2,050,000
Vote of credit—England	3,000,000	
Ireland	200,000	
		3,200,000
Sicily		400,000
Portugal		2,100,000
Joint charge		54,208,453
To these were added as separate charges:		
Loyalty loan	113,416	
Interest on exchequer bills	1,600,000	
		1,713,416
Making the total of the supplies		56,021,869
Of this the Irish proportion was taken at		6,569,000
Which being deducted, the amount of supply to be provided by England was		49,452,869

Mr Perceval then stated the Ways and Means;

Annual duties		3,000,000
Surplus of consolidated fund, 1810		1,353,715
Ditto 1811		5,000,000
War taxes		20,000,000
Lottery		300,000
Exchequer bills		4,000,000
Vote of credit		8,000,000
Loan in 6 per cent. stock	4,981,300	
——— 3 and 4 per cents.	7,500,000	
		12,481,300
Naval stores		420,364
		£ 49,555,360

The total of the ways and means therefore exceeded the supply in the sum of 102,510*l.* Mr. Perceval, in explanation of the grounds upon which he calculated the surplus of the consolidated fund for the present year at five millions, entered upon some details respecting the produce of the various articles composing that fund, the general result of which was highly satisfactory. He took the customs at 5,134,000*l.* being the average of the produce of the two last years. He had taken a similar average last year, being then 4,485,333*l.*, but, in fact, the customs had produced 4,987,391*l.* being about half a million beyond the calculation. So with the excise; he proposed to take it on the average of the produce of the two last years at 17,167,000*l.* of this article. He had also taken a similar average last year, being then 16,880,625*l.*, but the excise had produced 17,399,312*l.* The produce of the assessed taxes had last year been estimated at 5,860,000*l.*; they had actually produced 5,781,831*l.*, and he would take them for the present year at 5,800,000*l.* The stamps were last year estimated at 5,193,000*l.*; they had actually produced 5,302,743*l.* The post office revenue had last year been taken at 1,194,000*l.*; its actual produce was 1,276,000*l.*, and he proposed to take it for the present year at 1,280,000*l.*

The chancellor of the exchequer then adverted to the war taxes, the estimated produce of which had been taken at 20,484,000*l.* The average produce of the custom and excise war duties, for the last three years, was 9,296,805*l.*; the produce of the last year was 9,727,213*l.*, but it was thought better to take the average of the last three years. To this was to be added 400,000*l.* due from the East India Company. The net produce of the assessment of the property tax, for the year ending the 5th April, 1811, was estimated at 11,800,000*l.*; being 400,000*l.* more than the sum calculated upon as the probable produce. The amount of the outstanding arrears of the property tax from 1804 to 1810 was 2,246,644*l.* Of this a part, suppose one-fourth, or 560,000*l.*, might not be recoverable; deducting this, the remainder, would give 1,686,644*l.* Of the estimated produce of the duty for the year ending April 5th, 1811, (viz. 11,800,000*l.*) 4,864,267*l.* had been received; 6,935,732*l.* therefore remained to be received. This added to the 1,686,644*l.* of the arrears of former years, made 8,622,000*l* which with the estimated nett produce of the assessment of the present year gave, 20,422,000*l.* From this, however, was to be deducted the sum of 7,524,000*l.* remaining to complete the grant of 1810, leaving a balance of 12,890,000*l.* to be received on account of the property tax. Adding this to the estimate of the war taxes, the result would be 22,594,805*l.* There were war taxes, however, to the amount of 2,240,000*l.* already pledged for the interest of the debt, and which must therefore be deducted, leaving the balance to be received 20,354,805*l.* He would, however, take it at 20,000,000*l.*

Mr. Perceval now came to the consideration of the loan. Twelve millions of exchequer bills had

been funded, by which a capital was created in the 5 per cent. stock to the amount of 12,444,711*l.*; the interest on this capital was 622,235*l.*; the sinking fund 124,447*l.*; the charges of management 3,733*l.*; making a total of 750,416*l.* to be annually provided for on this loan. The right honourable gentleman then described the terms on which he had that morning contracted for a loan of 7,500,000*l.* For each hundred pounds subscribed, the subscribers were to have 100*l.* in the 3 per cents. reduced, 20*l.* in the consols, 20*l.* in the 4 per cents., and 6*s.* 11*d.* in the long annuities. The value of this stock at existing prices amounted to 99*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*; but a discount of 3 per cent. was allowed on the payment of nine months, amounting to 2*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, and there would therefore be a bonus of 1*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* on every hundred pounds subscribed. A more favourable loan to the public could hardly have been expected. The amount of the interest on it would be 355,937*l.* 10*s.*; of the sinking fund 106,112*l.*; of the charges of management 3,344*l.*, making a total of 465,403*l.*, which added to the other loan, made the grand total of charge on the two 1,215,819*l.* The chancellor of the exchequer, however, stated that the increase in the revenue enabled them to meet this additional charge, without imposing any new taxes. He also announced it to be his intention to recommend a repeal of the duty on hats; the produce of that duty had been gradually diminishing ever since he came into office, and at present amounted to no more than 29,332*l.*

Towards the conclusion of his statement, Mr. Perceval took occasion to adduce a few facts connected with the revenue, as indicating the increasing prosperity of the country. The produce of the customs and the excise had increased nearly a million each since 1807. The produce of duties on cotton wool, imported into the country in 1807, was 543,526*l.*; in 1811, it was 1,034,142*l.* The excise duties on tea were, in 1807, 2,844,395*l.*; in 1811, 3,236,027*l.* The average consumption of wine for the 3 years, ending 1787, was 14,800 tons; for the last three years it was 23,726 tons; at the former period, the duty was 80*l.*, and the price 70*l.* per ton; at the latter period, the duty was 95*l.*, and the price 192*l.* 14*s.* per ton. So that the consumption had augmented under an increase both of duty and price: a more striking instance of general prosperity could hardly be adduced. The average consumption of tallow for the 3 years, ending in 1787, was was 210,174 cwt.; the average for the three years, ending in 1809, was 347,170 cwt. At the former period, the price was 2*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* per cwt.; and at the latter period, it was 4*l.* 11*s.*, being one-third more. Nor did this increase in the consumption of tallow arise from any decrease in the consumption of oil. The average consumption of this latter article for the three years, ending in 1787, was 9730 tons; for the three years, ending in 1809, it was 19,126 tons; at the former period, the price was 19*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* per ton; at the latter period, 32*l.* 9*s.* The average quantity of tobacco annually imported for the 3 years,

ending in 1787, was 6,553,000 lbs. The annual average for the three years, ending in 1809, was 12,461,000 lbs. The price at the former period, was 8¼*d.* a pound; at the latter, 1*s.* 7¾*d.*

The Irish budget was opened the same evening by Mr. Foster. Two millions and a half had been borrowed for the service of Ireland, in that country; and four millions and a half in England, for the same service. Mr. Perceval had stated in his speech that he did not conceive it would be expedient in the present distressed state of the Irish finances, to lay taxes on that country for the purpose of meeting the expences of that portion of the loan which was raised in England; and he therefore proposed that a charge to that amount should be laid on the consolidated fund of England (as a loan to Ireland,) in order to procure the public creditor a permanent security; and to bear the interest of the money so raised for at least twelve months, while an inquiry was making into the finances of Ireland. This proposition was readily acceded to by the house, and Mr. Foster observed, that it was a measure not less of liberality than of wisdom. 'Indeed,' said he, 'the whole conduct of the united parliament towards Ireland, with respect to pecuniary matters, has been marked with the greatest liberality. Sums have been readily voted for building churches, for promoting the residence of the clergy, for public institutions, for seminaries of education; warehouses had been extended, light-houses constructed, in short, he did not know a single object that served to contribute to the prosperity, the morality, and information of the people of Ireland, which parliament had not most cheerfully and liberally supported.'

Mr. Foster then stated that the estimated vote of supply for the service of Ireland was 6,569,000*l.*; the interest of the debt was 4,279,000*l.* To meet the interest of the loan raised in Ireland, the taxes he should propose were not many. The principle upon which he wished to proceed, as far as it could conveniently be carried, was that of equalizing the taxes of Ireland with those of England in the correspondent articles. Thus he proposed to raise the duties on tobacco, on hemp, on cotton wool imported in foreign ships, and on American timber to the same amount as that of those levied in England.

Mr. Foster expressed a wish to take that opportunity of correcting some misrepresentations which had gone abroad respecting the internal prosperity of the sister kingdom. From official accounts, it appeared that before the year 1802, the exports had never been known to rise above 7,000,000*l.*; in 1808, they advanced to 10,000,000*l.*, but in 1809, they failed; again in 1810 they rose to 10,711,000*l.*, and upon an average of the last three years, they were upwards of ten millions annually. The foreign goods exported previous to 1802 had never exceeded 370,000*l.*, but since that period the amount was progressively increasing until in 1810 it advanced to 840,000*l.*, and in 1811, to 920,000*l.* The balance of trade had upon the whole been in favour of Ireland since

1802, and in the last year, it amounted to 2,189,000*l.* The exchange had been steady for the last four or five years. The tillage of Ireland had improved. She had never exported so much corn as in the last two years. The linen trade was declining every where, but less there than any where else. The provision trade had rather fallen off; but there were quantities which went abroad and were distributed among the fleet, which never appeared in the books; they could not therefore judge of its success by the accounts alone. Live cattle had been exported in great quantities, insomuch that it had risen from 5000*l.* to nearly 40,000*l.*

May 16th. A petition was presented from the Irish brewers, praying that the duty (now 2*s.* 6*d.* upon spirits,) be restored to the former rate of 5*s.* 8*d.* per gallon. The members for Dublin Mr. Grattan and Mr. Shaw, supported the petition, and contended that the alteration of the duties in question had tended seriously to promote a dissoluteness of manners among the lower orders in Ireland, without adequately benefiting the revenue. Mr. Shaw said that the question was in effect whether it was for the interest of Ireland that the breweries in that country should exist at all. Since the reduction of the duties, a rapid and considerable change had taken place in the general habits and morals of the populace. The measure, moreover, had failed of its own purpose; it was introduced as an experiment to suppress illicit distillation. Now it appeared that no stills had taken out licenses in the districts where illicit distillation was known to abound, and little or no spirits had been transmitted into those districts from the licensed distilleries in the other parts of the country.

Sir John Newport took the same view of the question, and affirmed that drunkenness in Ireland had increased to such a degree, that no workmen would work more than two days in the week. A man could get completely drunk for fourpence.

Mr. Perceval thought it unfair to ascribe the increased immorality to the reduction of the duty on spirits, since spirits were not lower now than they were in 1807. It was much more natural to ascribe it to the great reduction of price which took place on the prohibition to distil being removed.

Mr. Foster denied that the alteration had totally failed in suppressing illicit distillation. By the returns of the revenue officers for the quarter ending Dec. 25th 1810, the amount of seizures appeared as follows; 572 stills, 378 kegs, 344 worms, 5,362 utensils, 2,800 gallons of spirits,, and 150,000 gallons of pot ale. He denied also, that the spirits had become so much cheaper as was asserted; in 1804 they were 7*s.* 7*d.* a gallon, and they were now 8*s.* 6*d.*—He added, however, that he should not object to the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the subject; and this was accordingly done.

Another proposition connected with the regulation of our distilleries was brought forward by Mr. Perceval. With the view of relieving the pressure upon West India property, it was proposed to equalise the March 8.

duties upon the distillation of spirits from grain and from sugar. The right honourable gentleman observed, that 'he hoped by the introduction of this measure to afford an equal inducement to the manufacturer of both articles to bring them to market. He entertained a wish that the measure might ultimately be made permanent, but at present it was not his intention that its operation should be extended beyond two years. He was convinced that the consumer would continue to have the article distilled at the same price. The duties on grain were at the time of the suspension 2,061,817*l.*, and now they were upwards of 380,000*l.* more; so that the increase had been very considerable since the suspension.'

The proposition was generally opposed by the landed interest. Mr. Curwen stated his conviction of the utter impossibility of equalizing the scale. The advantage of sugar over barley was such, that no price could induce the distiller to use the latter. Mr. Davies Giddy expressed himself averse to any measure by which the cultivation of grain in this country would be discouraged, as putting us into the hands of our continental enemy. The most efficacious mode of avoiding this was to permit the free distillation of spirits from grain, unfettered by any competition whatever.

When the bill came to a committee, Mr. Perceval proposed a clause limiting the duration of the measure for four months only after the passing of the bill, a similar period having been adopted for Ireland, in order to enable the manufacturer to get rid of his grain, if he should deem it expedient. He denied that in proposing the measure he had any intention of injuring the agricultural interests; on the contrary, it would have the effect of increasing their prosperity, particularly in Norfolk, for it was well known that the produce of the island had not been equal to its consumption, and this was clearly made manifest from the imports of grain during those periods. The price at which it was proposed to distil from sugar would leave a fair competition between the two interests. Within the last two years, during the operation of the prohibition, agriculture had, in fact, materially increased. In proof of this assertion it was only necessary to remind the house that, in the course of last year, no less than 153 inclosure bills were passed: and, in the present year, 168 were passed for England alone, of which number twenty-four were for the county which some gentlemen wished the house to believe to be the most depressed, namely Norfolk.

On a division there appeared against the bill 49; in favour of it 74. It failed, however, in the lords. The earls of Aberdeen Rosslyn and Hardwicke deprecated the measure as tending materially to injure the agricultural interests of the country. By taking away a part of the market they said it would diminish the demand for, and consequently the growth of barley, which on many lands was an intermediate step to the cultivation of wheat.

Lord Holland defended the bill, the object of which he con-

tended was not that the West India colonist should be let into competition with the grower of barley, but that when barley had reached a price to let in the foreign farmer, that then the West India colonist should be let into the market for the distilleries instead of the farmers of France. When barley here had reached 35*s.* a quarter, importation was permitted; and, in fact, in the last year vast sums had been so paid to the foreign farmer. Surely then it was not too much to ask that our own West India colonist should be let into the market when barley had reached the price of 38 shillings per quarter. Lord Liverpool advocated the measure on the same grounds; he admitted that if the contest lay between the West India colonists and the agricultural interest of this country, the former must give way. But here there was no such question; all that was asked was to let in the West India colonist in competition with the foreign farmer, the interests of our own farmer being completely provided for. It was shewn that neither the growth of barley nor the quantity of malt had been diminished by former prohibitions, but on the contrary, that they had increased.

On a divison there were found,

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Mr. Perceval afterwards introduced a bill which was passed, empowering the lords of the treasury to exonerate the distillers of spirits from sugar from the excess of duty to which they were liable in consequence of the expiration of the act of the 40th of the king. By another bill he proposed to provide a substitute for the duties in the distillation bill that had just failed in the upper house. This was to be effected by imposing a duty on spirits distilled from grain, equal to the duty proposed to be imposed on spirits distilled from sugar. As the former class of spirits appeared to be more in favour with the people of this country than the latter, a duty of 4½*d.* a gallon was laid on corn wash, which would probably yield a sum not less than 400,000*l.* May 10.

On opening the budget, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated, that such ample provision had been made for the service of the year, that he thought it unnecessary to lay on any additional duties, but such as should be dictated by commercial policy. It was under this point of view that he proposed in the committee of supply to lay on an additional penny per pound upon cotton-wool from America; the proceeds of which duty were estimated at 147,000*l.* A strong opposition to this impost was immediately manifested both within and without doors. When the house had resolved itself into a committee on the bill, Sir R. Peel remonstrated on the impolicy of imposing a tax on the raw material, especially at a time when the cotton manufacturers were starving. Mr. Baring also opposed the bill, as pregnant with danger to the country. He reminded the house that the cotton manufactory was a very growing one in the United States; that a great num- May 22.

ber of cotton mills had been established in the neighbourhood of Boston; and that the United States already exported a large quantity of cotton twist. The whole quantity of cotton wool imported was 1,449,000 bags, and of this only 40,000 were imported from our own colonies.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended that the duties on cotton had not hitherto depressed the manufacture, and that the price of cotton wool which had varied from 12*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per pound, clearly shewed that an additional tax of one penny could have no prejudicial influence. We had, in the last year, imported 136,000,000 pounds, while the average of the six years preceding was but 70,000,000 pounds; and of the quantity imported last year, we received, from America only, 55,000,000, about one third of the whole. He was aware that the East India cotton-wool was inferior to that of America, but that of America was also inferior to that of Brazil: and when the house reflected on the state of relations between this country and America, they would see the policy of persevering in the proposed measure. If instead of increasing the duty as it regarded America, for the purpose of encouraging our own shipping, we were to take off the existing duties, the effect would not be to introduce a single yard more of our manufactures into the American States.

The manufacturers, however, did not appear to take this view of the case; and symptoms were soon given of clamorous opposition to the measure. It was in consequence of this circumstance, that two days after, May 24. when the house was about to resolve itself into a committee upon the bill, that Mr. Rose stated he had, in consequence of the apprehension which had been expressed, made inquiries respecting the probable effect of the new duty, and the result was, that no apprehension appeared likely to arise which could justify the alarm spread abroad. But since a feeling had been excited, and as the lower classes could not be convinced of the groundlessness of their fears, he would abandon the bill; and accordingly he moved, that the order for its committal should be postponed to that day three months.

We have described in our former Volume, the almost unexampled pressure under which the commercial world was labouring towards the close of the year 1810. The subject early engaged the attention of government, and on the 1st of March, Mr. Perceval moved the appointment of a select committee, to inquire into the state of commercial credit. He stated that various representations had reached him from mercantile and manufacturing people, of the disadvantage which trade was suffering in consequence of the state of credit, and the condition of the markets with which they were formerly in the habit of communicating. He thought it his duty to propose that a committee be appointed for the purpose of ascertaining the existence of the alleged distress, and of providing a remedy as soon as possible.

A committee was accordingly

appointed, composed of twenty-one members, including the most distinguished commercial men of both sides of the house. The report was presented on the 7th of March. In this it was stated that great embarrassment and distress were felt among the manufacturers in the cotton trade, principally arising out of excessive speculations to South America. The exporters failing in their adventure, could not pay the manufacturers when their bills became due.—Many of them became bankrupts, and thus the manufacturers had their property lying dead in bankrupt's estates. In the course of nine, twelve, or fifteen months a considerable part of their capital would, no doubt, return; but while they were deprived of it, many of the weaker were broken down, and others went on with great difficulty. A little aid from government would enable those who had capital to retain a certain proportion of their workmen; but without relief they must be broken down also, and their workmen, with their families, left without means of subsistence. The cotton manufactory had been carried to a prodigious extent. The value of the cotton manufactures exported from Great Britain in 1807, was 9,846,889*l.*; it increased three millions in the ensuing year; in 1809 there was a farther increase to the amount of six millions, and the exports in the first three quarters of the year 1810, when the distress began to be strongly felt, were 13,761,136*l.* The pressure was chiefly felt in Glasgow and the neighbourhood; and the Scotch banks, sharing in the distress, because they had their capital locked up in bills, the payment of which was suspended, were incapacitated from affording further assistance. In the woollen trade the difficulties were not felt to such an extent as would by any means justify a call upon parliament for relief; but they pressed heavily upon the importers of produce from the foreign West India islands, and from South America; for great part of the returns for the manufactures which were exported to those parts of the world, came in sugar and coffee, which were not entitled to sale in the home market and there were no immediate means of realizing their value.

Other branches of trade also were affected, and the existing distress was aggravated by the extent to which the system of warehousing had been carried. Since the opening of the West India and London Docks, Great Britain, under the warehousing act, had become a free port, where foreign goods of almost every description were brought and deposited, to be exported again without payment of importation duties. Of this the merchants of other countries, whether neutrals, enemies, or allies, had eagerly availed themselves. Thus from the Peninsula, such goods as had not been imported on British account the native merchants had been anxious to send here for safety; and, in fact, we were at that time exporting Portuguese wines back to Portugal. While importations from Europe, not the result of a demand for them, had been thus occasioned, the produce of Spanish and Portuguese America, from which we had formerly received

little property, direct, except bullion, came to fill the warehouses, and, for a time, to exhaust the capitals of our merchants.

Our conquests had the same tendency. We received the produce of the French, the Dutch, and the Danish colonies, and the greater part of the produce of St. Domingo; and, in Europe, immense importations had come from places where the British flag was excluded. Mean time the ships of the United States no longer introduced into the Continent that large proportion of colonial produce of which they used to be the carriers.

The committee then came to consider of the means by which the distress thus occasioned might be most speedily and effectually alleviated. There had been a severe commercial pressure in 1793, and relief had then been afforded by an issue of exchequer bills. It is true there were many circumstances at the present time affecting the state of trade and commercial credit which made a great difference between this period and that of 1793. The committee, however, considered the existing distress to be of such a nature, as to render parliamentary relief highly expedient. It would afford to individuals time gradually to contract their operations, to call in their means, to withhold from immediate sale articles which at present would fetch only the most ruinous prices, and to keep up, though upon a very reduced scale, the employment of their machinery and workmen; it would thus divide and spread the pressure over a larger space of time, and enable them to meet it with consequences less ruinous to themselves, and to the interests of the community in general.

The committee, in conclusion, advised that a measure similar to that adopted in 1793, and accompanied by similar provisions, should be authorised by parliament; that the amount of exchequer bills should not be less, nor would the committee recommend that it should be more than six millions; and that, considering the probable date of the returns of trade from South America, a greater interval should be given for repayment than was allowed in 1793; viz. that the time for payment of the first quarter's instalment should not be earlier than the middle of January following, and that the remainder of the sum advanced should be required to be repaid by three equal payments, from three months to three months, so that the whole should be discharged in 9 months from the payment of such first instalment.

The report as we have stated, was made on the 7th of March; and on the 11th, when the house had resolved itself into a committee to consider of the subject of it, Mr. Perceval moved a resolution adopting the measure recommended by the select committee. He stated that it was not until after the most serious consideration, that he had made up his mind to take this step; Parliament, he admitted, was not bound, or rather, indeed, ought not even to be called upon to interfere for the purpose of providing against any misfortunes to which incautious adventurers might have exposed themselves; he conceived, reasoning on general principles,

that such an unqualified interference by relieving the apprehensions of individuals, with respect to the result of commercial speculations in which they might have engaged, would tend to diminish the caution which was the best check to rash and ill advised adventurers. The house could only be governed by the circumstances of the particular case. In the present instance it appeared that the distress originating with the merchant, and disabling him from paying the manufacturer was felt most severely by the latter, and those employed by him. There was scarcely a manufacturer in the kindom who had not diminished by one half the number of persons employed in his mills, and many of the smaller manufacturers had discharged their people altogether. Even the workmen that were retained, were retained at a reduced rate of wages.

'The origin of this distress,' continued Mr. Perceval, 'was to be found in over extensive speculations to South America. Now, generally speaking, over speculation was not a good ground for such a measure as the one proposed. It should be remembered however, that on the opening of the South American markets to the adventures of British merchants it could scarcely be with any justice complained of, that they did not in the first instance foresee the exact result of their speculation; at any rate they had suffered sufficiently for their errors. But it was not to them that the proposed relief would extend. 'They,' to use the words of one of the witnesses before the committee, 'had gone to bankruptcy long ago.' It was to the evil endured by those upon whom the conduct of the original speculators operated, that the committee had recommended the application of a remedy. At any rate the experiment should be tried. At the worst, it would leave the country at the expiration of a twelvemonth in no better a state than that in which it was at present.'

Mr. Ponsonby said, that the circumstances of the period of 1793, were very different from those of the present. Whatever blame had been attempted to be thrown upon the speculators to South America, the evil might be traced to the misrepresentations, exaggerations, and falsehoods, which had been heard in that house. But the state of the European markets appeared to him to be more immediately the operating cause; and what prospect of a change in them, within any reasonable term, could the minister now hold out? Had the orders in council produced their intended effect, or were they likely to produce it? Our colonies were now become rather burdensome than profitable; and our conquests tended to increase the distress, because while France had colonies she did not interdict colonial produce altogether, and much from our own islands found its way to the continent under this cover. Mr. Ponsonby, however, said, that having made these few observations he should abstain from further opposition to the measure proposed. Doing this he might not act strictly up to his duty, as he thought the principle of a tendency rather to do harm than good; but under such cir-

cumstances as the present, he had not resolution enough to oppose that which afforded any thing like a chance of alleviating the distress of those who claimed their assistance.

Mr. Huskisson also contended, though upon different grounds from Mr. Ponsonby, that the case of 1793, was essentially different from the present. The manufacturing and mercantile classes were then straitened for want of a circulating medium; but were they so in this instance? on the contrary—at this moment there was no difficulty in procuring discount of bills with good names on them. There was not at present any want of facilities, but want of confidence. In his opinion the chief evil arose from too great a facility of procuring credit. Speculations now took place even in the lowest article of commerce. In this way trade had become a sort of wholesale gambling. In the present state of the country, therefore, no good could be done by encouraging speculation. Relief should be afforded to the manufacturers; but, if any person could, on application, and giving personal security to the satisfaction of the commissioners, receive any part of the sum to be advanced, and instead of applying it to relieve the particular embarassment in which he is at present involved, engage it in general speculation, the only effect of the measure would be, to aggravate the evil which it was intended to remedy.

Mr. Henry Thornton seemed to take nearly the same view of the source of the distress. He observed, that in the former period it was paper credit that gave way and affected commercial credit; at present it was commercial credit that had fallen, while paper credit had been but little affected. It was to be feared, that from palpable losses, the capital of trade was in a great part destroyed, and consequently there existed an additional danger to the public of not recovering the money which it should advance.

Mr. Alexander Baring said, that the great and immediate cause of the evil was the want of a market—as long as a single port was open to us, that purpose was answered, but they were now all closed. He was inclined to assent to the proposed measure, though it did not appear to him likely to give what the merchant wanted; viz. a market.

Mr. W. Smith objected to the measure, and said, that if Mr. Ponsonby had determined to take the sense of the house upon it, he, for one, should divide with him. If the general principle of such applications were once recognised and established, a pretence for urging them would never be wanted.

Mr. Whitbread remarked, that of all who had spoken, not one had expressed a sanguine opinion as to the success of the measure. Even the chancellor of the exchequer himself did not appear from his speech to have become a convert, but had been persuaded by importunity.

Mr. Perceval, in reply, owned that he had not the same sanguine hope as in the year 1793, but still he thought that it afforded a favourable chance of relief, and ought to be tried. He said he

differed from those who thought, that by removing the orders in council they would open a market on the continent. It was not owing to the orders in council, but to the decrees of the enemy that the markets were closed. The orders in council, so far from being objectionable, had answered the purpose for which they were intended, by driving the tyrant of the continent to such an extremity, as to burn all British commodities; an act by which he had destroyed more of the property of his own subjects than of British merchants. They had driven him to such an act as might afford a chance of ridding the world of its oppressor.

March 18th. On the second reading of the bill, Lord Folkestone divided the house against it; but was left in a minority of 16 to 113. The chancellor of the exchequer then stated, that it was intended to extend the advantages of the bill to all places where the warehousing system was carried on. Mr. Tierney proposed to confine its operation to the manufacturing interest. Mr. Perceval observed, that the object of granting relief to the manufacturer would not be obtained, unless means were afforded to the merchant of discharging his debt to the manufacturer. Mr. Tierney, however, contended, that in many cases where the merchant obtained a loan, he would employ only a small part of it in payment of his debt to the manufacturer. Very different, indeed, to him appeared the merits of the merchant and the manufacturer. The merchant having bought goods on credit from the maker, sent them to South America; if the speculation succeeded, he profited by it; if it failed, the loss fell on the manufacturer.

Mr. Huskisson said, the natural course of proceeding was to give a preference to those who were particularly oppressed. In the first place to give priority to goods as a security over personal security, and then to some description of goods over others, namely, British manufactures primarily, and then colonial produce.

Mr. Smith also expressed his apprehension, that the merchant would employ the money thus borrowed, to purposes of speculation, and said he knew of no mode of guarding against this perversion of the intention of parliament, but by giving complete publicity to the applications made to the commissioners. The chancellor of the exchequer, however, protested against this notion, and observed, that no part of the conduct of the commissioners in 1793, deserved and obtained greater praise than their honourable secrecy.

On the third reading, Mr. Whitbread objected more decidedly than he had before done to the principle and tendency of the bill; and he took the sense of the house upon it; when there were found in favour of the bill 41; against it, 4. March 22d.

The bill was read in the lords on the 28th. Lord King and the marquess of Lansdowne, expressed themselves strongly averse to the measure; lord Lauderdale spoke to the same effect; but added, that the man must be bold

indeed, who, in the present commercial distress, durst oppose it. Lord Grenville, however, disclaimed the operation of any such motive upon himself. He declared, that no love of popularity, no dread of public obloquy should ever intimidate him in the discharge of his parliamentary duty. Accordingly he was prepared to give his most decided opposition to the bill. Not that he was disposed to deny relief to the distresses of the merchant and manufacturer; on the contrary, the very ground of his opposition was, that this bill was in fact calculated only to aggravate those distresses.

The precedent of 1793 had been quoted. 'I,' said lord Grenville, 'was one of those concerned in devising that measure. The distress of that period was wholly different from the calamities of the present day; still, however, I must add, that from experience and reflection I am convinced the measure was founded in false policy. The present discussion is among its bad effects; we now see the danger which results when the proceedings of that year is argued to be a precedent; and thus the trading world will be induced continually to look towards parliament for relief from every misfortune which might arise from failure in speculation. The policy of ministers has led to a fatal calamity in the commercial world. When in office, I and my friends were attacked, because we were unwilling to have recourse to measures of retaliation; we abstained out of regard for the salvation of the merchant. What we apprehended the king's ministers have since experienced to be true, and one part of their avowed boast has been wofully verified; for this country, to use their own expression, is become the general storehouse and repository for the produce of the world; and the consequence is, that the merchants and manufacturers are obliged to approach the bar of parliament with uplifted hands, and implore relief for that distress which they have incurred through the weak and short-sighted policy of the present administration. But still our exclusion from the continent, or the interruption of our amity with North America is not the sole cause of this distress. We have been for some time making efforts to which our strength is not competent; and when they would have ceased from principles of limited resources and natural restrictions, they have still been continued by artificial means. Perhaps the great facility of obtaining fictitious capital, through the extended issue of bank paper, has led to the evil of the present day. Paper and overtrading have reciprocally acted upon each other; the spirit of bank paper created a spirit of overtrading; the effects of overtrading have rendered a still further issue of bank paper indispensable; and the consequences of both have been the depreciation of the circulating medium, and the commercial distresses now to be relieved. The public are losers by the gain of the bank, and these six millions of exchequer bills will still further increase the paper

currency, augment the amount of fictitious capital, and depreciate the circulating medium.'

Lord Liverpool observed, in reply, that it was only a particular class of the mercantile community that had experienced embarrassment, but that if the noble baron's opinion of the causes of that distress were correct, it was not any particular class, but the whole commercial body that would have been affected. There were moments of extraordinary and unnatural pressure, when it would not only be wise but must be indispensable to depart from the established principles of trade and commerce.

The bill passed through its subsequent stages without opposition.

CHAPTER IV.

Appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the Causes of the high Price of Bullion, and the State of foreign Exchanges. Report of the Committee. Abstract of its Contents. Statement of the Prices of Bullion, and of the Rates of Exchange, during the last four Years. Alleged increase in the demand for Gold on the Continent. Doubts of that Fact. Nature of Coinage. Enumeration of the Circumstances which may depress the Value of Gold Coin below that of Bullion. Effect of the Restriction on Cash Payments. Risk of excessive Issue of Paper; Consequences of that Excess upon Prices in general, and upon the foreign Exchanges. Definition of the Par of Exchange. Effect produced upon it by the Balance of Trade and Payments; and by the Debasement of the Currency. Former Effect limited by the Cost and Risk of transporting Gold from one Country to another. Average Amount of this Cost of late Years. Peculiar State of Trade during the last Year. Balance of our Exports and Imports. Official Statement on that Subject. Effect of a large foreign Expenditure in promoting an Exportation of Commodities. Grounds upon which the Committee conceived that the Depression of the Exchange had not exceeded the Limit prescribed by the Cost of transporting Gold. Evidence given on this Point. State of the real and the computed Exchange between London and the Markets of Holland, Amsterdam, and Paris respectively. Opinion of the Bank upon this Subject. The Principle upon which they had regulated their Issues hitherto. Discussion of that Principle. Notice of the Misconception it appears to involve. Practical Operation of the Bank Discounts in increasing the Amount of the circulating Medium. Average Amount of Bank Notes in circulation of late Years. Progressive Increase of Bank Discounts since the Year 1797. *Circumstances which affect the Proportion which the Circulation bears to the Wants of the Community. Case of the Country Banks. The Manner in which the Issue of Country Bank Paper is connected with, and limited by, that of the Bank of England. Great increase of the Country Bank Issues.*

General Decision of the Committee on the whole Question. Ill Effects on various Classes of the Community, attributable to the Excess of Currency. Case of the Wages of Labour. Alteration of the Standard. A Return to Cash Payments within a definite Period, recommended as the best and only Remedy for these Evils.

Our readers will recollect that in the preceding session of parliament, a select committee had been appointed by the house to inquire into the cause of the high price of bullion, the state of the circulating medium, and of the exchange between this country and foreign parts. The report of this committee was presented not long before the close of the same session. It was drawn up with great ability, and, from the importance of the subject of which it treated, and the manner in which they were discussed, excited general attention. We therefore feel it necessary to give a somewhat copious abstract of its contents.

The committee began by stating those facts respecting the price of bullion, and the decline of our foreign exchanges, which had given occasion to the institution of this investigation. The mint price of gold bullion is 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce of standard fineness; but during the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, the price in the market was as high as 4*l.* Towards the latter end of this last-mentioned year, a rapid advance took place, and during the whole of 1809, the market price of gold in bars fluctuated from 4*l.* 9*s.* to 4*l.* 12*s.* per ounce; about 15 or 16 per cent above the mint price. The same excess in the market over the mint price continued to prevail in the year 1810, up to the period at which the committee gave in their report.

It was observed also, that towards the end of the year 1808, the exchanges with the continent began to be very unfavourable to this country, and became still more so in the course of 1809. During the last six months of that year, and the three first months of 1810, the exchanges on Hamburgh and Amsterdam, were depressed as low as from 16 to 20 per cent below par; and that on Paris was still lower. The contemporaneous occurrence of these two circumstances, viz.; the rise in the market price of gold, and the depression of our exchanges to the continent, very early awakened the suspicion of the committee, that there was something in the state of our own domestic currency which operated as the cause of both appearances.

This however was not generally the opinion of the commercial world at the time. The merchants who were called upon to give information on this subject to the committee generally ascribed the high price of gold to an alleged scarcity of that article, arising from an extraordinary demand for it on the continent; chiefly for the use of the French armies; but increased by the practice of hoarding which commonly prevails at a period of alarm, and of want of confidence.

The committee remarked, how-

ever, that if this were the fact, the same cause would have produced, in the first instance, a corresponding high price of bullion in the continental markets. But no evidence of any such rise was given; on the contrary, it was distinctly stated by Mr. Greffulhe, an eminent continental merchant, that no alteration had of late taken place in the mint price of gold in foreign places, nor had the market prices experienced an advance at all relative to the rise that had taken place in England.

With respect to the supposed operation of the wants of the French military chest, it was observed, that such a cause must more or less have operated at former periods; and yet it does not appear that, during the seven years war, or the American war, that any want of bullion was felt in the kingdom. The evidence given before the committee led them to doubt even of the alleged fact, that a scarcity of bullion had been lately experienced in this country. Guineas, no doubt, had disappeared from the circulation; but that did not prove a scarcity of bullion any more than a high price proved that scarcity; and a very extensive home dealer acknowledged, that he found no difficulty in getting any quantity he wanted, provided he was willing to pay the price for it.

But, independent of this consideration, the committee remarked, that there was a manifest misconception in ascribing the high price of gold to its scarcity. In England, gold itself is the measure of all exchangeable value—the scale to which all money prices are referred. The price of gold, therefore, being itself measured and expressed in gold, cannot be raised or lowered by an increased or diminished demand for it: an ounce of gold will exchange for neither more nor less than an ounce of gold of the same fineness, unless where one ounce is coined, or otherwise manufactured, and the other is not; in which case allowance is to be made for the expence of that coinage or manufacture. An increased demand for gold, and consequent scarcity of that article, will indeed make it more valuable in proportion to all other articles; in other words, the real price of gold, or the quantity of commodities given in exchange for it, will rise, and the money prices of all commodities will fall: the money price of gold itself remaining unaltered; but it was manifest that such was not the present state of things; the prices of all commodities had risen, and gold appeared to have risen in price only in common with them.

The object of coinage, observes the report, is to affix a stamp under the royal authority to pieces of gold, which are thus certified to be of a given weight and fineness; and gold in bullion is the standard to which the legislature has intended that the coin should be conformed, and with which it should be identified as much as possible. Two circumstances, however, may contribute to the depression of the value of the gold coin below that of bullion. First, the coin may become diminished in weight by use: this deterioration is limited to 1.11 per cent at the utmost by the statute, which enacts that guineas, of which the full weight when fresh from the mint is 5 dwts.

$9\frac{3}{8}\frac{2}{9}$ grains, shall not be a legal tender if worn below 5 dwts. 8 grs. A still more material cause of depression is to be found in the law which forbids any other gold coin than that which has become light by use to be put into the melting pot, and, with a very questionable policy, prohibits the exportation of our gold coin, and of any gold, unless an oath is taken that it has not been produced from the coin of the realm. It appears that the difference between the value of gold bullion which may be sworn off for exportation, and that of the gold produced, or supposed to be produced from our own coin, which by law is convertible only to domestic purposes, amounts to between 3*s.* and 4*s.* per ounce. These two circumstances constitute the whole of that depression to which the value of gold coin, as compared with that of bullion, was liable at the times when the bank paid in specie; and the limit fixed by those two circumstances conjoined, to the excess of the market price of gold above the mint price, was a limit of about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Accordingly it will be found, that in all the periods preceding 1797, the difference between what is called the mint price and the market price of gold never exceeded that limit.

Since the suspension of cash payments in 1797, however, gold has been exposed to a new cause of variation, from the possible excess of that paper which is not convertible into gold at will; and the limit of this variation is as indefinite as the excess to which that paper may be issued. A rise will take place in the market price of gold above its mint price, if the local currency of this particular country, being no longer convertible into gold, should at any time be issued to excess. That excess cannot be exported into other countries, and not being convertible into specie, it is not necessarily returned upon those who issued it; it remains in the channel of circulation, and is gradually absorbed by increasing the prices of all commodities. It is equally evident, that, in the event of the prices of commodities being raised in one country by an augmentation of its circulating medium, while no similar augmentation in the circulating medium of a neighbouring country has led to a similar rise of prices, the currencies of these two countries will no longer continue to bear the same relative value to each other as before. In this manner, a general rise of prices—a rise in the market price of gold, and a fall of the foreign exchanges—will be the effect of an excessive quantity of the circulating medium in a country which has adopted a currency not exportable to other countries, or not convertible at will into a coin which is exportable.

The committee then entered upon the consideration of the present state of exchanges between this country and the continent. The *par* of exchange between two countries is that sum of the currency of either the two countries, which, in point of intrinsic value, is precisely equal to a given sum of the currency of the other; that is, contains precisely an equal weight of gold or silver of the same fineness. Thus, if twenty-five livres of France contained precisely an equal quantity of fine

silver with twenty shillings sterling, twenty-five would be said to be the par of exchange between London and Paris. The *rate* of exchange which is produced at any particular period by a balance of trade or payment between the two countries, and by a consequent disproportion between the supply and demand of bills drawn by the one upon the other, is a departure from the real and fixed par. But that real par will be altered if any change takes place in the currency of one of the two countries, whether that change consists in the wear or debasement of a metallic currency below its standard, or in the excess of a paper currency not convertible into specie. Yet although the real par of the currency is thus altered, the dealers, having little or no occasion to refer to the par, continue to reckon their course of exchanges from the former denomination of the par; and, in this state of things, a distinction is necessary to be made between the real and computed course of exchange. The computed course of exchange, as expressed in the tables used by the merchants, will then include, not only the real difference of exchange arising from the state of trade, but likewise the difference between the original par and the new par. Those two sums may happen to be added together in the calculation, or they may happen to be set against each other.

It has long been understood as a principle, that the difference of exchange resulting from the state of trade and payments between two countries, is limited by the expence of conveying and insuring the precious metals from one country to another; at least, that it cannot for any considerable time exceed that limit. From the evidence given before the committee, it appeared, that the expence of transporting gold from London to Hamburgh, independent of the premium of insurance, was from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent; and the average risk for the last fifteen months about 4 per cent. During the last six months, the expence of sending gold to Holland varied from 4 to 7 per cent, for all changes, whether for risk or freight. In the case of an inland market, like Paris, for example, the cost would, upon an average, be higher than that of carrying the gold to Amsterdam or Hamburgh. In the year 1797, the cost of sending specie from London to Hamburgh, in that time of war, including all charges as well as an average insurance, was estimated at a little more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

It appeared, therefore, that the limit to which the exchanges, as resulting from the state of trade, might fall and continue unfavourable for a considerable length of time, had of late been a good deal lower than in former times of war; but it also appeared, that the expence of remitting specie had not increased so much, and that the limit by which the depression of the exchanges is bounded had not been lowered so much as to afford an adequate explanation of the fall of the exchanges so great as from 16 to 20 per cent below par. The increased cost of such remittance would explain, at those moments when the risk was greatest, a fall of something more than 7 per cent in the exchange with Hamburgh and Holland, and a fall still greater

Perhaps in the exchange with Paris; but the rest of the fall which had actually taken place remained to be explained in some other manner.

The committee expressed themselves inclined to think that the circumstances of the trade of the country in the course of 1809, were such as to occasion a real fall of our exchange with the continent; and perhaps at one period almost as low as the limit fixed by the expence of remitting gold from hence to the respective markets. This opinion was grounded both upon what was stated respecting the excess of imports from the continent above the exports, and also by the consideration of the mode in which the payments in our trade were described to have been effected latterly, an advance being paid upon the imports from the continent of Europe, and a long credit being given upon the exports to other parts of the world.

Some difficulty, indeed, lay in deciding how far the question had been affected by the balance of our foreign trade. An account of our exports and imports for the last five years was laid before the committee by Mr. Irving, the inspector-general of customs. In this it was endeavoured to calculate how much should be deducted from the value of goods imported on account of articles, in return for which nothing is exported; such as the produce of fisheries, and of the imports from the East and West Indies, which are of the nature of rents, profits, and capital remitted to proprietors in this country. The balance of trade in favour of this country, upon the face of the account thus made up, was,

In 1805 about	£6,616,000
1806	10,437,000
1807	5,866,000
1808	12,481,000
1809	14,834,000

It was observed, however, that this document was defective, inasmuch as it supplied no account of the sums drawn by foreigners (at that period peculiarly large) on account of freight due to them for the employment of their shipping; nor, on the other hand, of the sum receivable from them on account of freight arising from the employment of British shipping. Moreover, it left out of consideration all interest on capital in England possessed by foreigners, and on capital abroad belonging to this country. It took no cognizance of contraband trade, and of exported and imported bullion, of which no account is rendered at the custom-house: above all, it omitted the bills drawn on government for our naval, military, and other expences in foreign parts; the variations of which, if correctly stated, would probably have in a great degree corresponded with the fluctuations of the apparently favourable balance. The report remarked, that a favourable balance of this nature was a very probable consequence of large draughts on the government for foreign expenditure; an augmentation of exports and diminution of imports being promoted, and even enforced, by such draughts; for if the supply of bills drawn abroad, either by the agents of government or by individuals, is disproportionate to the demand, the price of them in foreign money falls, until it is so low as to invite purchasers; and the purchasers, who

are generally foreigners, not wishing to transfer their property permanently to England, have a reference to the terms on which the bills on England will purchase those British commodities which are in demand either in their own country or in intermediate places, with which the accounts may be adjusted. Thus the price of bills being regulated in some degree by that of British commodities, and continuing to fall till it becomes so low as to be likely to afford a profit on the purchase and exportation of these commodities, an actual exportation, nearly proportionate to the amount of the bills drawn, can scarcely fail to take place. It follows, that there cannot be, for any great length of time, either a highly favourable or unfavourable balance of trade; for the balance no sooner affects the price of bills, than the price of bills, by its reaction on the state of trade, promotes an equalization of commercial exports and imports.

The committee observed, that the evidence given before them afforded satisfactory grounds of conviction, that the real exchange against this country had not exceeded the limit fixed by the cost of transporting specie at the time. It is manifest that the exchange between two countries is at its *real par* when a given quantity of gold or silver is convertible, at the market price, into such an amount of the currency of one country, as will purchase a bill of exchange on the other country, for such an amount of the currency of that other country, as will then be convertible, at the market price, into an equal quantity of gold or silver of the same fineness; and according as the quantity of gold thus procured is more or less than equal to that with which the bill was originally purchased, will the exchange be favourable or unfavourable to the country in which the bill is bought. With a view to this criterion, Mr. Greffulhe, a respectable continental merchant, was asked the following questions:

"Supposing you had a pound weight troy of gold of the English standard at Paris, and that you wished, by means of that, to procure a bill of exchange upon London, what would be the amount of the bill of exchange which you would procure in the present circumstances?—I find that a pound of gold of the British standard, at the present market price of 105 francs, and the exchange at 20 livres would purchase a bill of exchange of 59*l.* 8*s.*—"At the present market price of gold in London, how much standard gold can you purchase for 59*l.* 8*s.*?—At the price of 4*l.* 12*s.* I find it will purchase 13 ounces of gold, within a very small fraction.

"Then what is the difference per cent in the quantity of standard gold which is equivalent to 59*l.* 8*s.* as at Paris and in London?—About $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent."

From further questions it appeared, that, in the case of Hamburgh, the difference was about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and in that of Amsterdam about 7 per cent, These numbers, therefore, may be taken as the amount of the real difference of exchange, resulting from the state of trade and balance of payments between this country and the three markets in question; and it consequently appears, that when the computed exchange with Ham-

burgh was 29—that is, from 16 to 17 per cent below par—the real difference was no more than 5½ per cent against this country; that when the computed exchange with Amsterdam was 31.6—that is, about 15 per cent below par—the real exchange was no more than 7 per cent against this country; that when the computed exchange with Paris was 20—that is, 20 per cent below par—the real exchange was no more than 8½ per cent against this country. After making these allowances for the effect of the balance of trade and payments upon our exchanges with those places, there will still remain a fall of 11 per cent in the exchange with Hamburgh, of about 8½ per cent in the exchange with Holland, and about 11½ per cent in the exchange with Paris, to be explained in some other manner. The committee observed, that if the same mode of calculation were applied to the more recent statements of the exchange with the continent, it might perhaps appear, that though the computed exchange was against this country, the real exchange was in its favour. They added, that it was difficult to resist the inference, that a portion at least of the great fall which the exchanges had lately suffered, resulted, not from the state of trade, but from a change in the relative value of our domestic currency; but when this deduction was joined with that which had been stated respecting the market price of gold, that inference appeared to them to be demonstrated.

This, however, did not seem to be the view which the bank itself took of the case. Several of the directors were examined by the committee, and they stated, that they did not see how the amount of bank notes issued could operate on the price of bullion or the state of the exchange; and that, in point of fact, they never did advert to these two circumstances with the view of regulating the general amount of their issues. In substantiation of their opinion upon this point, they presented an account, from which it appeared, that there was no correspondence, in point of time, between the amount of Bank of England notes and the state of the Hamburgh exchange during severalyears. The committee seemed disposed to admit, that a material depression of the exchanges could not be manifestly traced in its amount and degree to an augmentation of notes corresponding in point of time. They said that they conceived the more minute and ordinary fluctuations of our exchange were generally referable to the state of our commerce; that political events operating upon the state of trade, might often have contributed as well to the rise as to the fall of the exchange; and in particular, that the first remarkable depression of it in 1809 was to be ascribed to commercial events arising out of the occupation of the North of Germany by the troops of the French Emperor. The evil was, that the exchange when fallen had not the full means of recovery under the subsisting system. The restoration of the exchange used to be effected by the clandestine transmission of guineas, which improved it for the moment by serving as a remittance, and also by the reduction

of the total quantity of the remaining circulating medium; to which reduction the bank were led to contribute by the caution which every drain of gold naturally excited. The guineas in circulation were now so few as to form no important remittance, and the reduction of paper seemed therefore the chief, if not the sole remedy to be resorted to.

The sole principle upon which the bank had hitherto regulated their issues, consisted in confining the discount of mercantile bills to paper of undoubted solidity, arising out of real commercial transactions, and payable at short and fixed periods; and the directors uniformly expressed their persuasion, that as long as they acted upon this principle there could not be possibly any excess in the issue of Bank of England paper. The committee stated, however, that they conceived the bank to be labouring under an important misconception upon this point. The principle by which they regulated their discounts was perfectly sufficient so long as the bank paper was convertible into specie at the will of the holder, since they could not then exceed the proper limits in respect to the quantity and amount of bills discounted, so as thereby to produce an excess of their paper in circulation, without quickly finding that the surplus returned upon themselves in demand for specie. The removal of that check, however, rendered it possible that such an excess might be issued by the discount of perfectly good bills. The fallacy of the bank directors, in this respect, lay in not distinguishing between an advance of capital to merchants and an additional supply of currency to the general mass of the circulating medium. In the first instance, when the advance is made by notes paid in discount of a bill, it is undoubtedly so much capital —so much power of making purchases placed in the hands of the merchant who receives the notes; and so far the operation is useful and productive to the public. But as soon as the notes are exchanged for some article, they fall into the channel of circulation, and form an addition to the mass of currency. The necessary effect of every such addition to the mass is to diminish the relative value of any given portion of that mass in exchange for commodities. If the addition were made by notes convertible into specie, this diminution of the relative value of any given portion of the whole mass would speedily bring back upon the bank, as much as was excessive. But if by law they are not so convertible, of course this excess will not be brought back, but will remain in the channel of circulation until paid in again to the bank itself in discharge of the bills which were originally discounted. Before this, however, they have already been followed by a new issue of notes in a similar operation of discounting. If the whole sum of discounts continues outstanding at a given amount, there will remain permanently out in circulation a corresponding amount of paper, and if the amount of discounts is progressively increasing, the excess of paper will progressively increase also, and the money prices of commodities will progressively rise. While the rate of commercial profit is very considerably

higher than five per cent, the only rate at which the bank can legally discount, there is in fact no limit to the demands which merchants, of perfectly good capital, and of the most prudent spirit of enterprize, may be tempted to make upon the bank for accommodation by discount.

From the accounts laid before the committee by the bank, it appears, that for several years previous to the year 1796, the average amount of bank notes in circulation was between 10 and 11,000,000*l.* hardly ever falling below 9,000,000*l.* and not often exceeding to any great amount 11,000,000*l.* They gradually increased to about 17,000,000*l.* in the year 1804, and continued at that amount till 1809, when they rose to 19,000,000*l.*; and in the month of May 1810, the whole amount of bank notes in circulation was found to be 14,136,610*l.* in notes of 5*l.* and upwards, and 6,173,380*l.* in notes under 5*l.* making the sum of 20,309,990*l.*; and including 939,990*l.* of bank post bills, the sum of 21,249,980*l.*

It was not thought advisable to call upon the bank to make a distinct statement of the amount of their commercial discounts: a comparative scale in progressive numbers, however, was given in; from which it appeared, that the amount of discounts had been gradually increasing since the year 1796, and that the amount of them in 1809 bears a very high proportion to their largest amount in any year previous to 1797.

The committee remarked, that the mere numerical return of the amount of bank notes out in circulation, could not be considered as at all deciding the question, whether such paper was or was not excessive The same amount of paper might at one time be less than enough, and at another time more. The quantity of currency required would vary in some degree with the state of trade, but not in any fixed proportion; the effective currency depends upon the quickness of circulation, and the number of exchanges performed in a given time, as well as upon its numerical amount; and all the circumstances which have a tendency to quicken or to retard the rate of circulation, render the same amount of currency more or less adequate to the wants of trade. A much smaller amount is required in a high state of public credit, than when alarms make individuals call in their advances, and provide against accidents by hoarding; and in a period of commercial security and private confidence, than when mutual distrust discourages pecuniary arrangements for any distant time. But above all, the same amount of currency will be more or less adequate in proportion to the skill which the great money dealers possess in managing and economising the use of the circulating medium.

The committee then came to consider the amount of country bank paper in circulation. They remarked, that so long as the cash payments of the bank were suspended, the whole paper of the country bankers was a superstructure raised upon the foundation of the paper of the Bank of England. The same check which the convertibility into specie provides against the excess of any part of

the paper circulation, is, during the present system, provided against an excess of country bank paper by its convertibility into Bank of England paper. If an excess of paper be issued in a country district, while the London circulation does not exceed its due proportion, there will be a local rise of prices in that country district, but prices in London will remain as before. Those who have the country paper in their hands will prefer buying in London, where things are cheaper, and will therefore return that country paper upon the banker who issued it, and will demand from him Bank of England notes or bills upon London; and thus the excess of country paper being continually returned upon the issuers for Bank of England paper, the quantity of the latter necessarily and effectually limits the quantity of the former. If the Bank of England paper itself should at any time be issued to excess, a corresponding excess may be issued of country bank paper, which will not be checked; and thus the excess of Bank of England paper will produce its effect upon prices in a proportion much higher than the ratio merely of its own increase.

Some conjecture as to the probable total amount of the country bank issues may be formed from the amount of duties paid for stamps on the re-issuable notes of country banks in Great Britain. Owing to the introduction of a new regulation respecting the reissue of 1*l.* or 2*l.* country bank notes, it was not possible to ascertain the comparative increase of them in 1809; but from a comparison of the number of country bank notes of the denomination of 5*l.*, 10*l.*, and 20*l.*, stamped in the years ending 10th of October 1808 and 10th of October 1809, it would appear, that the amount for 1809 exceeded that for 1808 in the sum of 3,095,340*l.*, and this exclusive of the notes for 1*l.* or 2*l.* If to this sum we add an increase within the same period of Bank of England notes to the amount of about 1,500,000*l.* we obtain an addition upon the whole of between four and five millions to the circulation of Great Britain alone, deducting only the gold which, in the course of that year, may have been withdrawn from actual circulation—which cannot be very considerable—and also making an allowance for some increase in the amount of such country paper as, though stamped, may not be in actual circulation. The committee observed, that this increase in the general paper currency in last year, would probably be little short of the amount which, in almost any one year since the discovery of America, had been added to the circulating coin of Europe.

In conclusion, the committee stated that, upon a review of all the facts and reasonings which had been submitted to their consideration, they had formed an opinion, which they submitted to the House in the following words:

'That there is at present an excess in the paper circulation of this country, of which the most unequivocal symptom is the very high price of bullion, and next to that, the low state of the continental exchanges; that this excess is to be ascribed to the want of a sufficient check and control in the issues of paper from the

Bank of England; and originally, to the suspension of cash payments, which removed the natural and true control. For, upon a general view of the subject, your committee are of opinion, that no safe, certain, and constantly adequate provision against an excess of paper currency, either occasional or permanent, can be found, except in the convertibility of all such paper into specie. Your committee cannot, therefore, but see reason to regret, that the suspension of cash payments, which, in the most favourable light in which it can be viewed, was only a temporary measure, has been continued so long; and particularly, that by the manner in which the present continuing Act is framed, the character should have been given to it of a permanent war measure.

'Your committee conceive that it would be superfluous to point out, in detail, the disadvantages which must result to the country, from any such general excess of currency as lowers its relative value. The effect of such an augmentation of prices upon all money transactions for time; the unavoidable injury suffered by annuitants, and by creditors of every description, both private and public; the unintended advantage gained by government and all other debtors; are consequences too obvious to require proof, and too repugnant to justice to be left without remedy. By far the most important portion of this effect appears to your committee to be that which is communicated to the wages of common country labour, the rate of which, it is well known, adapts itself more slowly to the changes which happen in the value of money, than the price of any other species of labour or commodity. And it is enough for your committee to allude to some classes of the public servants, whose pay, if once raised in consequence of a depreciation of money, cannot so conveniently be reduced again to its former rate, even after money shall have recovered its value. The future progress of these inconveniences and evils, if not checked, must, at no great distance of time, work a practical conviction upon the minds of all those who may still doubt their existence; but even if their progressive increase were less probable than it appears to your committee, they cannot help expressing an opinion, that the integrity and honour of Parliament are concerned, not to authorize, longer than is required by imperious necessity, the continuance in this great commercial country of a system of circulation, in which that natural check or control is absent which maintains the value of money, and, by the permanency of that common standard of value, secures the substantial justice and faith of monied contracts and obligations between man and man.

'Your committee moreover beg leave to advert to the temptations to resort to a depreciation even of the value of the gold coin by an alteration of the standard, to which Parliament itself might be subjected by a great and long continued excess of paper. This has been the resource of many governments under such circumstances, and is the obvious and most easy remedy to the evil in question. But it is unnecessary to dwell on

the breach of public faith and dereliction of a primary duty of government, which would manifestly be implied in preferring the reduction of the coin down to the standard of the paper, to the restoration of the paper to the legal standard of the coin.

'Your committee, therefore, having very anxiously and deliberately considered this subject, report it to the House, as their opinion, that the system of the circulating medium of this country ought to be brought back, with as much speed as is compatible with a wise and necessary caution, to the original principal of cash payments at the option of the holder of bank paper.

'In effecting so important a change, your committee are of opinion that some difficulties must be encountered, and that there are some contingent dangers to the bank, against which it ought most carefully and strongly to be guarded. But all those may be effectually provided for, by intrusting to the discretion of the bank itself the charge of conducting and completing the operation, and by allowing to the bank so ample a period of time for conducting it, as will be more than sufficient to effect its completion. The particular mode of gradually effecting the resumption of cash payments ought to be left in a great measure to the discretion of the bank, and Parliament ought to do little more than to fix, definitively, the time at which cash payments are to become as before compulsory. The period allowed ought to be ample, in order that the bank directors may feel their way, and that, having a constant watch upon the varying circumstances that ought to guide them, and availing themselves only of favourable circumstances, they may tread back their steps slowly, and may preserve both the course of their own affairs as a company, and that of public and commercial credit, not only safe but unembarrassed.

'With this view, your committee would suggest, that the restriction of cash payments cannot safely be removed at an earlier period than two years from the present time; but your committee are of opinion, that early provision ought to be made by Parliament for terminating, by the end of that period, the operation of the several statutes which have imposed and continued that restriction.

'In suggesting this period of two years, your committee have not overlooked the circumstance, that, as the law stands at present, the bank would be compelled to pay in cash at the end of six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace; so that if peace were to be concluded within that period, the recommendation of your committee might seem to have the effect of postponing, instead of accelerating, the resumption of payments. But your committee are of opinion, that if peace were immediately to be ratified, in the present state of our circulation it would be most hazardous to compel the bank to pay cash in six months, and would be found wholly impracticable. Indeed, the restoration of peace, by opening new fields of commercial enterprize, would multiply instead of abridging the demands upon the

bank for discount, and would render it peculiarly distressing to the commercial world if the bank were suddenly and materially to restrict their issues. Your committee are therefore of opinion, that even if peace should intervene, two years should be given to the bank for resuming its payments; but that even if the war should be prolonged, cash payments should be resumed by the end of that period.'

The passages which we have here transcribed appear to us to contain all that is peculiarly important in the facts or reasonings brought forward in the report of the committee. We believe it will not be thought necessary to make any apology for the unusual copiousness of our abstract. It would not be easy to compress within a less compass that full account of the view taken of the state of our currency by the committee, which is necessary to the understanding of the controversy which was subsequently founded upon it, both within and without Parliament. The report itself was supposed to have been drawn up chiefly by Mr. Horner, who had originally moved the appointment of the committee, and had presided over it as chairman during the course of its investigations.

CHAPTER V.

Series of Resolutions moved by Mr. Horner in the Honse of Commons, on the Subject of the State of the Currency. Debate upon those Resolutions. Speech of Mr. Horner. Increase in the Depreciation of the Currency since the Summer preceding. Price of Gold on the Continent. Rise in the Price of Commodities, particularly of Corn. State of the Exchange between the Continental Markets respectively. Increase in the Amount of Bank Notes in Circulation since the Report of the Bullion Committee. Speech of Mr. Rose in Opposition to the Resolutions. Details respecting the Correspondence between the Price of Bullion, the Rate of Exchange, and the Quantity of Bank Notes in Circulation during the last Century. Political Circumstances to which the late Fall of the Exchange was attributable. Mr. Henry Thornton supports the Resolutions. Great Fall in the Value of Money since the beginning of the War. Effects of this upon Trade. Danger of a Departure from the Standard. Mr. Vansittart strongly opposes the View of the Question taken by the Bullion Committee. He denies that, in fact, any fixed invariable Standard of Currency exists. He dwells upon the Danger connected with an early Resumption of Cash Payments; and deprecates the Adoption of the Measure until the return of Peace. Mr. Huskisson contends for the Existence of a legal fixed Standard of the Coin of the Realm. He illustrates the Question by a Reference to the Financial Measures lately adopted in Austria. Lord Castlereagh opposes the Resolutions. He asserts that the Holder of the Bank Note is not in Fact deprived of any fair or legal Advantage by its alleged Depreciation. He distinguishes the Case of

the Bank of England from that of ordinary Banks of Deposit. Advantages derived during the War from our Paper Currency. Peculiar Situation of our Foreign Trade in Consequence of the Measures of the Enemy. Increase of the Currency not more than proportionate to the increased Wealth of the Country. Its effect in raising Prices counterbalanced by the Encouragement given to the Productive Powers of the Country. Advantages afforded by the present System for carrying on the War. Mr. Parnell supports the Motion. Mr. Manning and Mr. Baring defend the Conduct of the Bank. Mr. Sharp adduces some Facts in Proof of the Depreciation of the Paper. The Chancellor of the Exchequer opposes the Motion as pregnant with the utmost Danger to the Country. Mr. Canning entirely agrees with the Doctrines of the Bullion Report. He dwells upon the Admission involved in the Increase which had lately been given to the current Value of the Dollar. He agrees with all the Resolutions, with the exception of the 11th and the 16th. Sir F. Burdett, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Wilberforce, support the Motion. The Resolutions are rejected, on a Division, by a large Majority. Extraordinary Protraction of the Debate.

On the 6th of May, the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the report of which we have just given so full an abstract. On this occasion, Mr. Horner moved a series of sixteen resolutions, which the reader will find given at length in another part of the volume. The first seven recited the several laws, enacted at various periods, by which the gold and silver coin of the realm had been regulated. The ninth resolution stated that, in authorising a temporary suspension of bank payments in cash, it was never the intention of Parliament that any alteration should take place in the value of the promissory notes of that corporation. The subsequent resolutions contain the substance of the views taken by the select committee, and of the recommendations to Parliament which they grounded upon those views. They are as follows:

'That it appears that the actual value of the promissory notes of the Bank of Englaud (measuring such value by weight of standard gold and silver) has been, for a considerable period of time, and still is, considerably less than what is established by the laws of the realm, to be the legal tender in payment of any money contract or stipulation.

'That the fall which has thus taken place in the value of Bank of England notes, and in that of the country bank paper which is exchangeable for it, has been occasioned by too abundant an issue of paper currency, both by the Bank of England and by the country banks; and that this excess has originated from the want of that check and controul on the issues of the Bank of England which existed before the suspension of cash payments.'

With respect to the long and extraordinary depression of our exchanges of foreign parts, the

13th resolution stated, that although the adverse circumstances of our trade, and the large amount of our military expenditure abroad, might have contributed to produce that depression, yet that it was in great measure occasioned 'by the depreciation which had taken place in the relative value of the currency of this country, as compared with foreign countries.'

Mr. Horner's next resolution laid it down, 'that during the continuance of the suspension of cash payments, it was the duty of the directors of the Bank of England *to advert to the state of the foreign exchanges*, as well as to the prices of bullion, with a view to regulate the amount of their issues.

The 15th stated, 'That the only certain and adequate security to be provided against an excess of paper currency, and for maintaining the relative value of the circulating medium of the realm, is the legal convertibilty, upon demand, of all paper currency into lawful coin of the realm.'

By the 16th and last resolution, it was affirmed, 'That in order to revert gradually to this security, and to enforce meanwhile a due limitation of the paper of the Bank of England, as well as of all the other bank paper of the country, it is expedient to amend the Act which suspends the cash payments of the bank, by altering the time till which the suspension shall continue, from six months after the ratification of a definite treaty of peace, to that of two years from the present time.'

In the commencement of the speech with which he prefaced the proposition of these resolutions, Mr. Horner announced it to be his intention to separate the last of them from those which precede it: the preceding resolutions embraced and embodied what appeared to him to be the causes and effects of the scarcity of bullion; and the last pointed the remedy which he conceived best adapted to correct the evil. He was aware that a great variety of opinions prevailed on the subject, and that many who approved of the principles and opinions expressed in the first series, might not coincide with him in the last. This last, therefore, he should move distinctly from the first fifteen.

Mr. H. then proceeded to the consideration of the question in general. He observed, that since the period of the inquiry in the preceding session, the evil complained of had greatly increased. 'The standard price of gold,' said he, 'is 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.*; last summer it was as high as 4*l.* 10*s.*; this year as high as 4*l.* 14*s.*, and in some tables it has been quoted as high as 4*l.* 18*s.*; the average, however, may be taken at 4*l.* 14*s.*, which is twenty per cent. above the price settled at the mint. This high price of gold in the market, is most evidently a departure from the standard value of the coin of the realm. The lawful currency of the realm being coined gold and silver, all issues of paper money are of course nothing more than stipulations to pay, in the lawful coin of the realm, just so much as the issues of paper bear on the face of them, or promise to pay. This being the case, the bank note of one pound must be taken as a stipulation to pay on demand twenty shillings of lawful coined

money of the realm. Now, as bank notes of that value purport to represent gold and silver, and as the real value of a note of that description, estimated from the high price of gold bullion above the price settled by the mint, is of course depreciated in value, the real quantity of precious metal which it will purchase is 15*s.* 10*d.* and it is no longer therefore a quantity of gold or silver to the value of twenty shillings.

'It is well known that the king's coin has totally disappeared, and that there is no money but that of the bank. To say that bank notes are held in public estimation equivalent to coin, is to evade altogether the argument. The question is one wholly of fact. Is the Bank of England note worth what it purports to be worth? Certainly not. It has been correctly said by Mr. Huskisson, that, as things now stand, a light guinea would pass for more than a heavy guinea. Suppose a person is indebted to another for 26*l.*, and he is called upon to discharge that debt, which ought to be done in the lawful coin of the realm, he must give his creditor, if in silver, at the rate of 5*s.* 2*d.* per oz. 100½ ounces; but suppose they should give him 26*l.* in notes, they would, in consequence of their depreciation, only purchase 86 ounces and two-thirds. What is the effect of this deterioration? It is the cause of infinite loss to creditors, has a great effect upon monied incomes, gives an undue advantage to debtors, and affects materially persons holding stations in society which property of that description gives.

'All that has been urged by the adversaries of the bullion report in explanation of the present state of our currency and circulation, appears to be reducible to two points: first, it is said, that gold has experienced an actual rise in its real value from a positive scarcity; and secondly, that the unfavourable state of the exchange has caused a local rise in its price at home. The first of these positions implies that the demand for gold has greatly increased on the continent; the second has no foundation whatever in fact, and is in my opinion a complete fallacy. The money value of gold cannot rise in this country. Its real price is unquestionably subject to all the variations arising from the increase or diminution of the means of supply; but its standard value, as a measure of exchange, cannot possibly fluctuate under any change of circumstances. The only effect which can take place by any diminution of the circulating medium in any country, must be to make all commodities cheap, and I will put to the committee, whether, by the disappearance of specie, any such effect has been produced in this country. In 1795 there was a great scarcity of gold, arising from the large sums which were necessary to be paid in that period of scarcity for foreign grain. In 1796 and 1797 there was also an unusual demand for specie for internal purposes, and the practice of hoarding was carried to a very great extent. Yet, during the whole of this period not the smallest rise took place in the market price of gold.

'With respect to the alleged rise in the price of gold on the

continent, I am ready to admit that some, though small rise, has taken place there; but it bears no sort of proportion to the extravagant rise that has taken place in this country. I find that, on the 16th of April last, English pure gold was worth, at Paris, only 3*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.* per ounce. The prices at Hamburgh nearly correspond; at Amsterdam the English guinea sells for twelve guilders and a fraction, whereas a one pound note passes for little more than seven guilders.

'It is not gold alone that has undergone this extraordinary rise: silver also has risen considerably in price; and as this is not to be attributed to any diminution in the amount of supply, it can be traced to no other source than to the depreciated state of our circulating medium. Instead of diminishing, our importations of that precious metal have greatly increased.

'The depreciation of our currency is equally demonstrable by the fact of the extraordinary rise which has taken place in the price of the necessaries of life, not as compared with the precious metals, but as compared with the actual circulation. Let us but consider the rise which, within the last few years, has taken place in the price of that great and paramount standard of all value—corn. It appears that, from the years 1771 to the year 1785 inclusive, the average price of wheat was 46*s.* per quarter. It also appears that from 1776 to 1787 inclusive, being a period of twelve years, the average was 52*s.* a quarter, but omitting the years 1795 and 1796, which were years of peculiar scarcity, the average was 47*s.* 2*d.* A very different rate of increase will be found to have taken place since the year 1797. During the period of twelve years, from 1797 to 1808 inclusive, omitting altogether the two years 1800 and 1801, as years of scarcity, the average price of the quarter of wheat was 71*s.*; and if the two years of scarcity are included, it will amount to 79*s.* What facts can possibly be required more strongly to prove the incontestible depreciation of our currency? What evidence can be produced more decisive of that circumstance than that, while the precious metals, the practical measure, and bread corn, the real standard of all value, have maintained their due proportions towards each other, and both have equally risen as compared with our circulating medium, that such circulating medium is depreciated precisely to the same amount.

'This depreciation cannot have been produced by the state of our foreign exchanges. Admitting, for the sake of argument, what I know not to be the case in fact, that the whole of the existing depression of exchanges is a real depression, without any reference whatever to the state of our currency, yet I must most strenuously deny that such depression would have the effect of raising the price of gold. It will not be questioned that, during the last century, the foreign exchanges have been occasionally subject to considerable depressions, yet I challenge any gentleman to produce a single instance, during the whole of that period, in which the depression of the rates of exchange has had the effect of enhancing the price of gold.

'With respect to the question of exchange, I must beg leave to call the attention of the committee to the state of the exchanges between Hamburgh and the capitals of the continent. At Vienna, the par with Hamburgh is 146 guilders; the exchange at present is 900 guilders. To what is this attributable? To the depreciated state of the paper in Vienna. The paper currency in Sweden is also depreciated; and the consequence is, that although the par with Hamburgh is 48 stivers, the present exchange is 136! At Copenhagen the paper is depreciated, and the par with Hamburgh being 125 rix dollars, the present exchange is from 750 to 800! But at Paris, where there is a metallic currency, and no depreciation, the par with Hamburgh being 184 livres, it appears by the last return that the exchange is 180; that is, four in that number in favour of Paris.

'In the years 1792 and 1793 the exchange with France fell from 22 to 17, to 15, to 12, to 9, to 4, and ultimately to nothing. Nobody has ever pretended that this was owing to any thing but the enormous paper currency, the assignats, of France at that period. How is it possible, after hearing all these facts, to resist the inference, that a main cause of the present situation of our exchanges is the state of our currency?'

Mr. Horner then adverted to the increase which had taken place in the issue of Bank of England notes ever since the investigation and report made upon the subject by the bullion committee. By that report the average of the notes in circulation in 1809 is stated to be 19 millions; the average of the last half year of 1809 to be 19,800,000*l.*; the average down to the 12th of May 1810 to be 21,200,000*l.* By the documents on the table it appeared, that the average of the bank notes in circulation, taken for the whole of the year 1810, rose to 22,700,000*l.* and that the average of the first seventeen days of 1811 was 23,500,000*l.* being an increase of above two millions in the number of bank notes in circulation since the report of the bullion committee. Mr. Horner reprobated this as a most wanton and unjustifiable proceeding. It was defended on the ground that such commercial distresses existed in the last year, as the bullion report itself pointed out as the proper subject of relief from the bank. But Mr. H. observed, that whatever might have been the nature of those distresses, certainly the want of money could not be one of them, for money was in abundance.

Mr. Horner, in conclusion, adverted to the remedy which it was the duty of the House to apply to a state of things so pregnant with inconvenience and danger to the country. What that remedy was he had shewed in his last resolution. He said, however, that he was fully aware that many who concurred with him in his principles might differ with him as to this point; and he confessed his opinion, that if Parliament were to stop short even with a simple declaration of the nature and existence of the evil, such a declaration would have a powerful effect upon the conduct of the Bank of England, and consequently in checking the progress of the ex-

cessive issue and the increase of the depreciation.

Mr. Rose made a long speech, which was not so much an answer to that of Mr. Horner, as a laboured analysis of the statements and reasonings of the bullion report, which he affirmed contained more errors and mis-statements than any which was ever made to a House of Parliament. We find it impossible to give even an abridgment of this speech; it was, in fact, for the most part made up of citations from statistical documents: he contended in general, that our commercial distress could not be imputed to the stoppage of payments in cash, as, during the first twelve years of that suspension, proofs of our rapidly increasing prosperity had been annually laid before Parliament. Our commerce, he observed, did not suffer till the enemy had resorted to such measures of hostility against it as were never before practised in any civilized country upon earth. He endeavoured also to show that the report was not only full of errors, but that it was contrary to the whole of the evidence, with the exception of the examinations of Sir Francis Baring, and of another merchant; he affirmed that the bank, with the best inclination to procure gold, could by no possibility obtain it, and that if they could procure a large supply, the public could not derive the most trifling accommodation from it, unless the price could be reduced; and he expressed his persuasion, that the worst enemy of the country could not propose a measure more likely to be injurious to its best interests than that which was under their consideration. In particular, he denied that there was any connection between the extraordinary rise in the market price of gold here, and the depression of our exchange with the continent. In support of his opinion, he brought forward a table of the amount of bank notes in circulation, the price of gold, and the rate of exchange with Hamburgh, at various periods in the course of last century. On the face of this table it appeared, that in Jan. 1805 the issue of bank of England paper was 17,849,000*l.* and the price of gold the same as in the year 1710, when the issue of paper was under 2,000,000*l.*, and the rate of exchange was likewise decidedly more favourable to this country in the latter than in the former year. Again, in July 1809, when the issue of bank paper was 18,813,000*l.* the course of exchange was 28-6; yet, in Oct. 1810, when the issue of bank paper had increased to 24,833,000*l.* the exchange, instead of falling, rose to 31-6. During the period from 1784 to 1808, the amount of bank notes was increased from 6,391,000 to 17,218,000, without any correspondent effect on the exchange, or on the price of bullion. Adverting to particular periods, we find that, in July 1793, the amount of bank notes was 12,713,000*l.*, the exchange 37-2, the price of gold 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* an oz., while in January 1796, with a reduction of bank paper to 10,632,000*l.* and gold at the same price of 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* an ounce, the exchange fell to 32-7. Mr. Rose contended, that no unusual effect was produced on the price of gold or on foreign exchange till Oct. 1808. It was in the summer of

that year that the French ruler began to produce the effects of creating great delays in remittances from the continent for our exports. Other circumstances, he observed, contributed to aggravate the evil thus occasioned. During 1810 not less than 7,000,000*l.* sterling were paid by us for foreign corn, and not less than five millions and a half for foreign freights, from the impracticability of employing British shipping to the ports in the north of Europe. Our foreign expenditure, in the course of the same year, could not be computed at less than 11,300,000*l.* The naval pay drawn, and dividends in the funds remitted to foreigners, formed at least an additional million; so that altogether we find a total sent out of the country, unconnected with its ordinary course of trade, of 24,800,000*l.*

Mr. Henry Thornton contended 'that, in the arguments to prove that the quantity of paper had an influence on the price of bullion and on the exchanges, there were but two steps. First, he had to shew that the quantity of paper influenced its value, or, in other words, the relative value of the commodities exchanged for it. Could this be doubted? The augmented supply obtained from the mines of the New World was acknowledged to have generally lowered the value of money in Europe; and why should not paper be subject to the same law? Now if the increase of paper tends to augment the general price of commodities in exchange for that paper, it must influence also the state of the exchanges, and raise the price of bullion. It is clear, that supposing the circulating medium of other countries to remain the same as before, that is, to bear the same price as before in exchange for commodities, while the value of our currency has been altered, it follows, that our currency must exchange for a new quantity of foreign coin. It also follows equally, that it must exchange for a new quantity of bullion; for foreign coin is itself made of bullion, and deviates from it in only a limited degree.' Mr. Thornton then remarked upon the rate of interest as materially affecting the question of the bank issues. Since the beginning of the war there had been a continual fall of money, whether consisting of cash or paper. This had been estimated by some at 60 or 70 per cent. and certainly was not less than 40 or 50 per cent. which was on the average 2 or 3 per cent. per annum: it followed from hence, that if a man borrowed 1000*l.* of the bank in 1800, and paid it back in 1810, having obtained it by means of successive loans through that period, he paid back that which had become worth less by 20 or 30 per cent. than it was worth when he first received it. He had in reality, therefore, borrowed at 2 of 3 per cent. instead of 5 per cent. This extra profit was exactly so much additional advantage derived from his being a trader upon borrowed capital, and was so much additional temptation to borrow.

In the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Thornton made some just remarks respecting the danger incurred of finally departing from the standard of our currency, if we suffered the present depreciation of our paper to continue.

He remarked that 'While that state of things lasted, the argument in favour of a deterioration of our coin grew stronger every day. The very argument of justice after a certain time passed over to the side of deterioration. If we have been used to a depreciated paper for only two or three years, justice is on the side of our returning to the antecedent standard; but if eight, ten, or fifteen years have passed since the paper fell, then it may be deemed unfair to restore the ancient value of the circulating medium, for bargains will have been made, and loans contracted, under an expectation of the continuance of the existing depreciation.'

Mr. Vansittart, like Mr. Rose, denied that the depreciation of our currency could necessarily be inferred from the state of our exchange; and contended, that 'nothing was more frequent in our commercial annals than a rate of exchange much exceeding the expence and risk of transportation from one country to another. In January 1760, the exchange between London and Hamburgh was 8 per cent. in favour of London. The expence and risk of importing gold from Hamburgh to England could not at that time have much exceeded 3 per cent. According to the principles laid down by the committee, this fact amounted to a demonstration that the currency of Hamburgh was depreciated. Yet it is well known that no paper currency was then, or ever has been, issued by the bank of Hamburgh; nor could the debasement of the metallic currency have produced the effect, since all bills of exchange are there paid in bank money, which represents a deposit of fine silver by weight.'

Mr. Vansittart insisted, too, that the burthen of proof ought to rest on those who asserted the depreciation of bank notes. As the law stood, bank notes were not a legal tender, and a creditor might refuse to accept them, and proceed to judgment and execution either against the person or effects of his debtor, until payment was obtained in lawful money. Now, in 14 years that this law had subsisted, no instance had been known of such a proceeding. Again, it was not even asserted that any difference is made between cash and bank notes in any bargain or transaction whatever. A tradesman might lawfully say, 'The price of such an article is 6*l.* but I will take 5 guineas in gold; the price of such is 1*l.* but I will take 17 shillings in silver;' yet no instance of such a practice had been produced.

Upon the particular resolutions prepared by Mr. Horner, Mr. Vansittart expressed his objections as follows: 'To the first I object that it is erroneous in fact and in law. I affirm that a standard, in the sense used by these gentlemen, viz. a fixed and invariable weight of the precious metals, as a measure of value, never existed in this country. At what fixed weight is silver money authorised to pass current in this country? For any sum not exceeding 25*l.* it is a legal tender at whatever weight; and certainly of payments made in actual cash, at least 999 out of 1000 are for sums under that value, and were

so before the bank restriction. The degree in which our silver coin is reduced is familiar to every body. But in 1797, when the committee admit the true standard to have existed, the case was still stronger. The act of 1774, which first limited the legal tender of silver to 25*l.* had expired in 1783, and was not revived till 1798. Therefore, at the very time when our standard is supposed to have been most perfect, silver money, of whatever weight, might be tendered to any amount. As far as silver coin is concerned, therefore, the resolution is wholly unfounded; the same reasoning applies to the gold coin down to the year 1774, till which period this ancient, established, invariable standard had no existence. But what was then made the standard? Was it 5 dwts. $9\frac{1}{2}$ grains, the mint price of a new guinea, or 5 dwts. 8 grains, the current weight? The difference is not great, but it destroys the principle of a fixed standard as much as if it were, if fixed standard must be something accurately defined, certain, and invariable, and such a standard the metallic currency of this country has never been.

'If I am right in this opinion it is clear, that not only the first resolution must be rejected, but that the six immediately following must fall with it as depending on the same assumption.

'The eighth is true in point of fact, but being introductory to succeeding resolutions, which I think equally unfounded in fact, and dangerous in their consequences, I cannot assent to it in the place and manner now proposed.

'The ninth resolution is true in fact, but nugatory and useless. The tenth I most decidedly object to. It proposes to Parliament to declare that which is not, and never has been true, and the declaration of which must have the most alarming effects. It either means that bank notes have lost their relative value compared with the current coin which they represent—a proposition which I have already shewn to be unfounded—or it means that the value of bank notes should be measured by the price of bullion; and this is equally untrue. Bank notes never have been the representatives of any thing but the legal money of the realm, and this they continue to be for every legal and honest purpose as effectively as ever.

'To the eleventh resolution, so far as it respects the Bank of England, I equally object, for reasons already given. The twelfth merely states a matter of fact generally allowed. In the thirteenth Mr. Horner admits, that 'the adverse circumstances of our trade, together with the large amount of our military expenditure abroad, may have contributed to render our exchanges with the continent unfavourable.' Admitting this, by what scale can he measure the precise degree of their operation, or avoid agreeing with me, that they may have produced the whole of the depression we observe?

'The mere ambiguity of the fourteenth resolution appears to me a sufficient reason for its rejection. It imposes a solemn duty on the directors of the bank, but instead of letting them know what that duty is, it leaves them to guess at it as they can. More-

over, it seems to imply a censure on the directors, which, in my opinion, their conduct has not deserved, but which, if supposed to be merited, ought to have been so distinctly expressed as to be capable of a direct answer.

'Of the fifteenth resolution I shall only say, that I am ready, in the fullest manner, to admit the great importance of the legal convertibility of our circulating paper into coin, not because I think it the only security against an excess of paper, but because it is the only adequate remedy for public alarm. But agreeing thus far, I disapprove of the resolution as directly leading to that last resolution which he has at present withdrawn from our consideration. Without that resolution it is utterly useless—with it, it would be dangerous and injurious.

'Let us consider the effects of an immediate resumption of cash payments. It would introduce the use of gold in our internal transactions—a circumstance desirable, no doubt, but hardly worth the risk which must be encountered. No improvement of the exchange could take place unless our coin were exported—a measure which even the bullion committee have not ventured to recommend, however clearly arising out of their principles. But supposing the free exportation of our gold coin permitted, who can doubt but that the drain would be so great as to force us to have recourse, from direct necessity, to a fresh restriction, under circumstances still more unfavourable and alarming than the present?

'But the committee propose the resumption of cash payments only after the expiration of two years. This interval would be pregnant with the utmost danger. The bank would be compelled to collect a large quantity of bullion; that necessity would make the rate of exchange still more unfavourable to us, because the price of bullion would every where rise in proportion to the wants of so great a purchaser, and the effects upon the exchanges would, from the peculiar nature of the article, be still greater than would be occasioned by the purchase of other commodities. The bullion so collected would remain locked up in the bank without being of the smallest use to any person whatever; and the bank itself would be forced, from motives of self-preservation, to circumscribe its issues of paper, in order to lessen the demands which might be made upon it when the period of cash payments arrived. And what would be the situation in which the government, the merchants, and indeed every class of men, would be placed if the issues of bank notes were greatly diminished while gold was even scarcer than at present?

Again, does it make no difference whether, at the end of the two years, the country is at war or at peace? Do the committee think that peace would give no additional security and facility to the bank in preparing for the resumption of cash payments? that it would afford no advantages to government in so arranging its pecuniary concerns, as to be independent of assistance from the bank? that it would give no stability to commercial credit in general? What would be the con-

sequences of the measure to government at this moment? It would have to carry on the operations of war for the next two years, not only without the accommodations afforded by the bank—not only under the inconvenience of a forced repayment of bank advances, but under the pressure of a contracted and cramped circulation.'

Mr. Huskisson said, that a real standard of value was, and had always been recognized by the law of this country; the only legal tender was gold or silver, of a certain fineness, and containing a certain quantity of the precious metals, to be ascertained by weight. The weight of coin had, in all former times, determined the value of money in this as in other countries. A regulation was made in the reign of Henry III. determining the proportion a quartern loaf should bear to certain coins. He was astonished Mr. Vansittart should seem to conceive that the shilling was a coin which had no regular standard. Was he ignorant of the existence of the act of the 14th of the king, entitled 'an act for regulating the weights to be made use of for determining the value of gold and silver coins;' the first provision of which set forth what the weight should be for trying certain pieces of gold coin called guineas, and certain pieces of silver coin called shillings?' Were they then to be told that a thing called a shilling, but which he could only call a counter, could legally pass current without any reference to its weight? By the same act the guinea was prohibited from passing as money, if it did not weigh 5 dwts. 8 grs.; and the privy council at that time had it in contemplation to allow it to pass current, although it weighed less, on a scale of diminished value according to its weight. In illustration of the possibility of the depreciation of a part of our currency, Mr. Huskisson said he would call the attention of the House to a report made to the lords of the treasury in the year 1776. This report stated, 'that the regulations of the mint having established the gold currency of the country at a higher rate, with respect to silver, than the market price of bullion, acted as a premium for the exportation of silver coin.' The market price of silver was then 14 oz. and $\frac{3}{4}$ths for the ounce of gold, whereas the mint regulations made it 15 oz. and $\frac{1}{2}$th for one ounce of gold; and this difference obviously held out a strong temptation to persons to buy up silver coin with gold for the purpose of exportation. The remedy was found in the restoration of the relative value of silver, as compared with gold, to the exact proportion which it bore in the market. The consequence was, that the exportation of bullion ceased, and the fall of one farthing in the value of Louis d'ors in Paris, had the effect of bringing that coin in abundance into this country. Unequal currencies, therefore, could not exist, as the perfect part would quickly vanish, and the debased currency alone remain. It was ridiculous to suppose that laws could prevent the exportation of guineas, when, by exporting them, there was a profit of 25 per cent. Mr. Huskisson, in the conclusion of

his speech, alluded to the edict recently issued by the Emperor of Austria for reducing the public debt of that government to the extent of four-fifths, by providing, that for every 500 florins due, 100 should be paid to liquidate the debt. The edict, however, was accompanied by a table, shewing the rates at which the sums due, on transactions between individuals, should be liquidated; in which rates allowance was made for the depreciation of the currency at the time of the contract. These proportions had been arranged from month to month, so that debts contracted on or before the 1st January 1809 were to be discharged at the rate of 100 for every 103 florins; in February it continued 103; in March it was 105, and so on till 1811, when it was 100 for 500 florins. Could it be doubted that this measure had a tendency to lower prices generally, to raise the exchange, and to equalize the market and mint prices of bullion?

Lord Castlereagh opposed the resolutions in a speech of much clearness and ability. 'The preliminary point to be considered,' said he, 'is the principle upon which it is asserted that the Bank of England notes are depreciated. It is contended that they contain on the face of them an obligation that their amount shall be paid on demand in the standard coin of the realm, such coin being the only lawful money of Great Britain; that such payment is now withheld; that the quantity of precious metals which the holder of bank notes is entitled to receive in standard coin, being worth, at the present market price of bullion, more than the note itself, the holder is consequently deprived, from the nature of the payment he receives, of a part of his just advantages.

'This divides itself into two questions: first, whether, if payments were made in gold coin, the person receiving it could, without a violation of the law, derive this advantage from it; and secondly, whether his not receiving payment in coin, under the special circumstances which occasioned the bank restriction bill, does not rest, not only on the sanction of positive law, but of a law enacted in perfect consistency with the spirit and obligations of the original contract under which the valuable consideration was given for the bank notes.

'Upon the first question the law is clear. No person can deface or melt down the current coin of the realm, being of standard weight. It cannot be converted, therefore, into the shape of standard bullion, to be sold, without a violation of that law, by a reference to which the obligation of payment in gold by the bank must be interpreted to have been contracted. The person receiving the guinea ought, therefore, in strictness of law and good faith, to apply it to purposes of internal circulation only; and so used there is no reason to presume that it passes at a value, in Great Britain, superior to a bank note. The contingent but illegal profit derived from diverting the coin from its legitimate purpose, is a species of value which the bank paper never was in equity or in fact intended to represent.

'The second question, viz. the

non-convertibility of the bank note into cash, upon demand, must certainly be admitted to be an abandonment, for the time, of the standard coin, as the medium of our payments; for although the act does render bank notes a legal tender for debt, yet it must have been foreseen, that when the bank, the main source of our circulation, ceased to issue gold, individuals as well as private bankers must experience a similar indulgence from their creditors. But that the restriction bill, if passed under an adequate necessity, does not sanction any breach of faith btweeen the Bank of England and the holders of its notes, is clear when we advert to the nature of that corporation. It is not, in its constitution, simply a bank of deposit, as the Bank of Amsterdam, where no other value is received than deposits of silver, and for the return of which silver on demand, to the person holding the note, there can be no justifiable ground of evasion. The Bank of England is a bank of discount as well as of deposit. It is notorious, to all holders of their notes, that a large proportion of their funds are at all times lent out upon credit, although in general returnable at short periods; that their supply of guineas never can be equal to answer all their notes, if suddenly pressed upon them for payment; that the solvency of the Bank of England, indeed of all banks, as far as cash payments are concerned, has always rested upon the presumption that the demands upon them for gold would be confined within certain limits. This understanding is the foundation of the banking system, and whoever takes a bank note must be understood to accept it subject to the contingency, that a case may arise, the consequence of public calamity and alarm, which would render it impossible for the bank to continue to supply a circulating medium to the country, paying, at the same time, its notes in cash; and such was the actual case in 1797. It cannot be the right of a portion of the community holding such securities, by being the first to press forward for payment, to take a benefit which cannot be partaken of by others similarly entitled. A modification of the right, therefore, becomes necessary for the purposes of justice and the interest of the whole.'

Lord Castlereagh however admitted, that though the passing of the restriction act was no breach of public faith, yet it was, like the suspension of the habeas corpus act, or the exercise of martial law, a surrender, for the time, of the sound and legitimate regulations of our ordinary system, and therefore only justifiable by the necessity of the case. 'We should never, however,' said he, 'forget that this measure, by supplying the country with a circulating medium of undoubted credit, has, for the first time, solved the problem of national prosperity with a state of war. In former contests the country invariably declined in its commerce, in its revenue, and even in its industry. In this war, while our exertions both by sea and land have in extent surpassed all former efforts, the country has risen in manufactures, internal improvement, revenue and commerce, with a rapidity never experienced even in

a period of peace. What is this owing to? Principally to the bank's being enabled to do its duty by the country without trembling for its own safety. Instead of ruinously contracting its issues at every moment of temporary pressure and alarm, to protect the establishment itself from being drained of its gold, they are enabled to support public credit with a steady hand; the productive labour of the country, which is its true and only wealth, is not only kept up, but enabled to extend itself; the taxes are collected with facility, and the loans are raised on moderate terms.

'It may be said, if such are the advantages of the system, you must surely mean to render it permanent, at least as a war measure. I have no such view, because I do not believe that, in ordinary cases of war, such a measure is necessary. The extraordinary means resorted to by the enemy to exclude our commerce from the continent, have produced a rate of exchange unfavourable to us. In ordinary times, the immediate effect of this would be, by a reduction of price to the foreign consumer, resulting from the advantage of the exchange, to force out a greater proportion of our manufactures; and so long as goods could be applied to settle the account, the price of bullion would not rise materially above its natural price. But now goods cannot be sent as in ordinary times. What then must be the result? Either that our imports must be reduced, or the precious metals sent out, as that export which can most easily find its way to the continent; and thus the country is necessarily drained of its bullion.

'But it is said, that in consequence of the bank's being released from the ordinary control of cash payments, their issues have been excessive, and their paper is now depreciated. I doubt, however, of the infallible nature of this criterion for regulating the due amount of bank issues. My persuasion is, that in prosperous times—that is, when no run upon the bank is apprehended—this regulating principle is of little help to the bank in guiding their judgment with respect to the quantity of paper it may be fit for them to issue; while, in times of difficulty, it leaves them no option but to restrict, for their own security, their issues, often to an extent which they must know to be prejudicial to the public interest. There is no proof that their issues are at present excessive. The amount of circulating medium now in existence does not appear to exceed what existed previous to 1797 in a greater degree than is required by the immense increase of our trade, manufactures, and agriculture; the whole conducted under the accumulated expence of increased taxes and advanced prices of labour. The country possesses considerable security against excessive issues from the rapidity with which any excess is known to return to the bank. Again, it is said that though bank notes may not be depreciated, the quantity issued is such as to occasion a progressive advance in the price of all commodities, injurious to the consumer, and, by its tendency to check export, to the manufacturer. The effect I be-

lieve to be the reverse of what is supposed. Reduce the circulating medium, and it is then that you lower prices; but the measure would soon operate in a corresponding degree to check reproduction; and although the produce on hand would still cheapen, less being produced, the prices must speedily rise again, the demand continuing the same, from the scarcity of the articles. Whereas an abundant circulation encouraging reproduction, the competition between the sellers infallibly lowers the price, and the consumer obtains what he requires on the lowest terms for which the commodity can profitably be produced. However, so far from prices having advanced in the two or three last years, since exchanges became unfavourable, and bank notes are assumed to be depreciated, I believe the fact to be the reverse; that the rise has been gradual for a series of years past, in a degree not more than commensurate with the growth of taxes; and that in the last three years, when the excess of notes has been most complained of, there has been a decline rather than an advance in the prices current.'

Lord Castlereagh then dwelt, in strong terms, upon the ill consequences likely to arise to our public credit, both at home and abroad, if any parliamentary countenance were given to the notion of a depreciation in the established currency of the country. Moreover, he denied the fact. 'It is affirmed,' said he, 'that paper is the mere representative of the precious metals, and is depreciated when not convertible into them; but is it seriously meant to be intended that gold may not be augmented in value 20, 30, 50 or 100 per cent. from special causes, such as are now in operation? And if so, on whom is the loss to fall of supplying coin at such a price? Can it be imagined that the bank is bound both to find gold and to keep up its circulation of notes, when such is the demand for the precious metals to be employed in war and in purchases abroad? The bank, if permitted to discontinue its issues, to leave the commercial world without discount, might, I have no doubt, without delay pay off all its outstanding notes in gold; as by contracting their issues to three or four millions of notes, it might continue uninterruptedly to pay in cash; and by this the bank would suffer in a comparatively small degree, but the nation, left without an adequate circulation, would be ruined. In fact, the whole case of the committee is built on an assumption that we live in ordinary times, and that we may conduct ourselves upon accustomed principles. Out of the necessity of abandoning for a time the convertibility of paper into cash, has arisen an increased facility of conducting your expenditure abroad, in proportion to the quantity of precious metals exported; and we have found, that when the means of sending bullion hence have been exhausted, wherever our arms have been carried, foreign gold has been supplied upon credit here, the amount of which was either returned to those countries in British commodities, or invested in our funds; thus

supplying fresh resources, from the capital of the foreigner, for carrying on the war.'

May 8. Mr. Parnell, in a long and able speech, supported the resolutions. M. Manning defended the bank against the charge brought forward by Mr. Horner, of having been guilty of a wanton issue of bank notes, in the course of last summer, to the amount of three millions. He observed, that in the two first weeks of July 1809, the issue of bank post bills amounted to 7,390*l.*; in the corresponding weeks for July 1810, at the time of the failures at Salisbury and Exeter, the issue of bank post bills amounted to 14,300*l.*; so that there was but an excess of 7000*l.* over the issue at the same period in the former year; and notwithstanding the great and material difference in the circumstances of those two periods, there had been, in addition to this, an issue of small notes between the preceding June and the October following, to the amount only of a million and a half. He stated for himself and the rest of the bank directors, that from the year 1797 to the present time, the greatest anxiety had prevailed among them so to shape their conduct as to return at the earliest period to cash payments. In the month of October following the restriction act in 1797, the bank had declared to the house their readiness to resume cash payments; but parliament notwithstanding passed an act continuing the restriction during the war.

Mr. A. Baring, another bank director, admitted that there was a depreciation of our paper currency, inasmuch as it no longer bore that value which attached to the precious metals it purported to represent. He did not agree, however, that this depreciation was to be attributed solely to the excess of the circulation of paper, but to the state of trade and the balance of the exchange being against us.

Mr. Sharp said, it had been observed that no practical man went to the extent of the opinions expressed in the bullion report. He presented himself solely as a practical man, and though he was persuaded that the scientific consideration of the question was capable of actual demonstration, he should confine himself to the statement of certain facts. He then referred to the state of Hamburgh and Holland. Those countries were labouring under every species of political and commercial distress; yet as they had not resorted to a fictitious currency, their exchanges were favourable. But the depreciation of our currency had been denied. It had been usual to send over specie to Guernsey to pay our troops there. Each guinea had recently been paid to the soldiers at the rate of twenty-three shillings. One regiment, however, refused to receive them at that rate, and there the matter rested. Again, a person who inherited from a distant relation the sum of 1000 guineas, was lately paid in specie. He went to invest the money in the funds; and on asking the price of 3 per cents. was told 64½. On inquiring, however, at what rate he could obtain the stock, if he paid real money for it, he was told, after some consideration, that he might have it for cash at 60;

and at that price he actually purchased it.

The chancellor of the exchequer then rose. His speech on this occasion was, perhaps, hardly marked by his usual clearness and acuteness. He denied the fact either of the excess of currency, or of the depreciation of paper; but there was little of novelty in the reasoning with which he supported his position. He so far agreed with the bullion committee, as to state his belief that a diminution of bank paper would tend to raise our foreign exchanges; but this advantage, he conceived, would be purchased at the expence of the most dreadful calamities to this country. It would ruin our manufactures, destroy agriculture, and dry up all those sources of wealth which enabled us to make exertions proportioned to the exigencies of the awful period in which we lived. Was parliament to incur the risk of all these evils, merely for the purpose of making an experiment to bring the rate of exchange nearer to par? But the resumption of cash payments was, in fact, impossible. Gold could not be procured, and if it could, the bank would immediately be drained of it, without any advantage to the public; the proposed remedy, therefore, would but aggravate the evil, and accelerate what they sought to avoid.

The chancellor of the exchequer was followed by Mr. Canning. That right honourable gentleman stated, that he disagreed with those who considered Mr. Horner's concluding resolution as the only essential object of deliberation; and who contended, that if the house was not prepared to decide with him on the opening of the bank, it had nothing to do with all the preliminary resolutions, but to get rid of them as soon as possible. 'To record principles,' said he, 'which are true, and which have been called in question, is not of itself an idle nor an unparliamentary practice; and it is no paradox to say, that to record principles is never so much a matter of duty, as when some overruling necessity obliges us to a practical departure from them. It then becomes incumbent on us to prove that we are acting indeed from necessity, and not from indifference or change of system; to take care that our deviation shall not be made a precedent to be resorted to on occasions of less urgency; to provide that the exception shall not be erected into a rule. I for one am not prepared to vote for the opening of the bank, and shall therefore vote against the concluding resolution; but I think that the question, important as it is, whether the bank be opened or shut, sinks into insignificance in comparison with that which has been raised, with respect to the principles upon which the whole money system, and consequently the whole credit of the country, essentially depends.

'The chancellor of the exchequer assumes, without argument, that to the continuance of the war, and of our successes in the peninsula, it is essential that the present system of our currency should remain unchanged. Just as fairly might I assume, without argument, that a change in our currency is necessary to this same purpose of continuing the war, and then retort upon my right honourable friend his own expos-

tulation against fettering the energies and cramping the exertions of the country.

'Why is the continuance of the present system of currency essential to the continuance of the war? Is it because our currency is in a sound state? or that being depreciated, a depreciated currency is the best instrument of foreign exertion? Which of these two propositions is it meant to maintain?

'Persons calling themselves practical men, and who are continually admonishing us to beware of abstract theories, after exhausting in vain every attempt to find an earthly substitute for the legal and ancient standard of our money, have divested the pound sterling of all the properties of matter, and refined away the standard into a pure abstraction. On the authorities of ancient records, of positive institution and existing law, I contend that a certain specified weight of gold or silver, of a certain fineness, is the only definition of a pound sterling which we are bound to regard or to understand. A pound sterling is either $\frac{20}{62}$ of a pound of standard silver, or $\frac{20}{21}$ of a guinea, weighing not less than 5 dwts. and 8 grains. This is the simple and the only definition which the practice of our ancestors recognizes, and the law of the country allows. Does a one pound note represent this portion of the precious metals, or does it not? If it does, the legal coin of the country and the notes of the bank are equivalent; if not, either the law is mis-stated, or the depreciation is proved.

'Oh but,' it is said, 'the bank note represents the coin itself, *quatenus* coin, and has no reference or relation to the quantity of gold or silver which that coin contains.' But do you not see that it is impossible to avail of the law in one instance and to deny its operation with the other. The king's proclamation, confirmed by act of parliament, has fixed the denomination of the coin; which denomination, it is admitted on all hands, the bank note continues to represent: but the same act of parliament has fixed the weight of the coin as the sole and indispensable test of the value which that denomination implies. The law watches with such scrupulous anxiety over the weight of the guinea, as to consider the loss of a single grain as sufficient to destroy its character as a legal coin. When the law evinces this anxiety about weight, is it not a little too much to assume in argument, that its only care is denomination?

'The value of the dollar has lately been raised from *5s.* to *5s. 6d.* Is not this of itself a conclusive proof, not only of the existence of a depreciation of bank paper, but of the opinion of the bank and of the government that such depreciation does exist? With this example before their eyes, there are yet persons who contend that the disappearance of our legal coin, the guinea, is no proof of the depreciation of bank notes in respect to that coin, but is entirely owing to the balance of trade and of payments, and to the wiles of our inveterate enemy. The bank note which, confronted with the dollar, shrunk from 20 to 18 shillings, preserves, as they affirm, in the face of the guinea, an unaltered and unalterable equivalency. And what is it, accord-

ing to their theory, that occasions this peculiarity?—The law. The law which does what?—The law which makes it criminal to exchange the guinea for more than its denominative value in bank notes, and which prohibits the exportation of the legal coin of the realm.

'But in what mode are these laws now operating? The object of them was, of course, to keep our legal coin at home, and to maintain it in circulation. The actual result is, that such coin has vanished from domestic circulation, and that it is exported to all parts of the world. The dollars were sent into circulation unprotected by any law which should prevent their exportation to foreign countries; for a time they circulated in abundance; at length they began to disappear. By what process has it been attempted, and successfully, to check their disappearance?—By the same process which is so wisely contrived to prevent the dissappearance of guineas?—By forbidding more to be given for them than they had hitherto been exchanged for in bank notes? No; but by a precisely contrary process—by allowing the dollars to pass at, or above their value. The consequence is, a continued circulation of dollars in this country, in spite of the balance of trade and of the wiles of the enemy. Here, then, we have two metallic currencies. Of the one the exportation is permitted—of the other prohibited; the one is exchangeable for its full marketable value in our domestic currency—whereas the law enforces the exchange of the other at no more than its denominative rate. The bank note is the common measure both of the guinea and the dollar, of the exportable and unexportable coin: the guinea it is allowed by law, to measure only according to its denomination; the dollar, by the ordinance of the bank, it is allowed to measure according to its marketable value. What is the result? The coin which is by law unexportable flies to another market, while the exportable remains at home.

'It is said, however, that it is not the bank note which is worth less, but the dollar which is worth more. Admitting, for argument sake, that the rise of the dollar is not a proof of depreciation in the bank note; it follows, then, that if the bank note which would heretofore have purchased four dollars, is not depreciated in respect to the dollar, because it is now obliged to call in two shillings to its aid, in order to make the same purchase; neither would the bank note, which heretofore purchased a guinea with the aid of one shilling only, be depreciated in respect to the guinea, if it should now be allowed to make the same purchase with the aid of four or five shillings. Why then is not the operation which has been so successful with respect to the dollar, applied to the guinea? What difference is there in the principle or in the practical policy of the transaction, but such as would preponderate in favour of the guinea? It may be answered, that 'the guinea is a light coin, which the dollar is not; and that the experiment could not, be tried on the guinea without an alteration of the law.' But the light guinea, at any rate, is not, any more than the dollar, a legal coin; it is divested by law of all its qualities as

coin, and is reduced to its intrinsic value in bullion. Now, on the principle on which the denomination of the dollar was raised, there can surely be no objection to suffering the light guinea to go for what it is worth, and thereby obtaining an anomalous gold currency to correspond with the anomalous silver currency, each alike independent of the legal coin of the realm. The legal coin—the guinea of full lawful weight—would still remain, in the eye of the law, in that of the imagination, and in the argument of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Vansittart), as the equivalent for bank notes.'

In taking into consideration Mr. Horner's resolutions, Mr. Canning stated his willingness to vote for the first ten, as expounding the law of the currency, and establishing the fact of the actual depression of that part of it which consists in paper money. But here he was disposed to leave the matter. 'With respect to the eleventh resolution,' said he, 'though I have no doubt of the truth of it, I am not prepared to affirm it by my vote. I think it asserts more than it proves; and, beside, implies a degree of blame upon the bank which I am not ready to impute to that body. The check and controul which are here said to have been wanting in the issues of the bank, may have been, and, in point of fact, in part at least, were extrinsic to the bank. The check of cash payments once removed, I know of no test by which the bank could ascertain the fact that their issues had become excessive, except by that of their paper having become depreciated. The long and great depression of the exchange strongly indicates, and the high price of bullion incontrovertibly proves, the depreciation; the depreciation proves the excess. But such being the order of the demonstration, it is not till the fact of the depreciation was established, that I could consider that of an excessive taxation as proved; and it would not be until such excess should have been persevered in against better knowledge, that I should think it just to animadvert upon the conduct of the bank in the terms of this resolution. Beside, I cannot help being satisfied, that without any specific resolution on the subject of excess, the effect of this debate, should the first ten resolutions be adopted, will be to correct that evil.

'It is said, indeed, that there cannot be an excess in the issue of bank notes, because those notes are never issued except upon solid security—the security of real mercantile transactions. This may be an adequate precaution against loss to the bank; it is none against excessive issue. It cannot be contended that every mercantile transaction, that is to say, every object of commerce, may be represented, not once only, but as often as it changes hands, without any inconvenient augmentation of the mass of that currency.'

Of the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th resolutions, Mr. Canning expressed his approbation. To the 16th and last, he objected that it might be unfair towards the bank to require that it should be ready to resume its cash payments at a period previous to the one which parliament had fixed for that resumption; since it might have thought itself obliged to adopt a different course of conduct with a

view to prepare for the resumption of cash payments at a period of six months after a definitive treaty of peace, from that which it would have adopted with a view to a different period, definite in point of time, but independent of the consideration of peace or war. He thought, too, that the change would be impolitic as well as unjust, and that the bank directors, suddenly driven out of the course which they might have adopted in reliance upon the former act, by this new and unlooked for interposition, might, by the very measures which that interposition rendered necessary, create a state of things which would oblige us hastily to recall it.

On the following evening (May 9th), the debate was continued. Sir F. Burdett, Mr. Grenfell, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Wilberforce, supported the resolutions; Mr. Davies Giddy approved of all but the last of them.

After a reply from Mr. Horner, the committee divided on the first resolution. Ayes, 75—Noes, 151—Majority, 76. The fourteen following resolutions were then put, and negatived without a division; and on the sixteenth, or last resolution, the committee again divided: Ayes, 45—Noes, 180. The discussion upon these resolutions lasted for four nights, from May 6th to May 9th; many of the speeches took up three hours in delivery.

CHAPTER VI.

Committee of the whole House upon Mr. Vansittart's Resolutions respecting the State of our Currency. Mr. Horner's Amendment. Speech of Mr. Vansittart. He considers the Effect of increased Issues upon Foreign Exchanges. State of Exchange during the Course of the last Century. Counterstatement of Mr. Horner's Amendment. Question of a fixed Standard. Mr. Thornton opposes the Motion. Increased Economy now exercised in the Use of the Currency. Speech of Mr. Canning. Question of the King's Prerogative on this Subject. Suggestion respecting a Limitation of the Amount of Profit to the Bank during the Continuance of the Restriction. Mr. Canning moves that the Chairman leave the Chair. The Chancellor of the Exchequer explains his View of the Connection between the Amount of the Currency and the Rate of Foreign Exchange. Mr. Canning's Amendment is rejected. The Report is brought up. The Resolutions are opposed by Mr. Johnstone and Mr. W. Smith. Mr. Tierney moves an Amendment on the Third Resolution. It is negatived; as are the Amendments of Mr. Horner, without further Discussion. Lord King's Letter to his Tenants, requiring the Payment of Rent in Coin. Lord Stanhope brings forward a Bill to render such Proceedings illegal. Debate on the Second Reading of this Bill. Conduct of Ministers with respect to it. Lord King's Speech in Defence of his Proceeding. Speech of Lord Grenville on the Subject. The Second Reading is carried, and the Bill is committed. Lord Stanhope's Remarks on the Question as affecting the Public Creditor. New Clauses introduced in the Bill.

Third Reading. Speeches of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Grenville, Lord Holland, and Lord Liverpool. It is carried by a large Majority. The Bill is introduced into the Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is opposed by Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Tierney, and supported by Mr. A. Baring. Debate on the Second Reading. Speeches of Mr. Brougham, Mr. Milnes, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Johnstone. The Bill is passed. Scarcity of Silver Coin. The Bank issues Tokens of Eighteen Pence and Half-a-Crown each.

NOTWITHSTANDING the almost unprecedented protraction of the debate which had already taken place upon the subject of the currency, the discussion of this question was renewed on the 13th, when Mr. Vansittart proposed for the adoption of the house a series of resolutions, in which he had embodied the views which he took of the matter in controversy. These resolutions had been laid before the house, and printed, nearly at the same time with those brought forward by Mr. Horner, and they had been continually referred to in the course of the late debate; our readers will find them in another part of the volume, accompanied by the amendments upon them, which were suggested by Mr. Horner. Mr. Horner communicated these amendments previously to the opening of the discussion; and it will be seen that Mr. Vansittart's speech was chiefly taken up in obviating the objections, or rebutting the assertions, which they contained.

In his three opening resolutions, Mr. Vansittart laid down the theory and the actual state of our currency. In the first, it was affirmed, 'that the right of establishing and regulating the legal coin of this kingdom hath, at all times, been a royal prerogative, vested in the sovereigns thereof, who have from time to time exercised the same as they have seen fit, in changing such legal money, or altering or varying the value, and enforcing or restraining the circulation thereof, by proclamation, or in concurrence with the estates of the realm, by act of parliament; and that such legal money cannot lawfully be defaced, melted down, or exported.'

The second stated, 'that the promissory notes of the governor and company of the Bank of England are engagements to pay certain sums of money in the legal coin of this kingdom; and that, for more than a century past, the said governor and company were at all times ready to discharge such promissory notes in legal coin of the realm, until restrained from so doing on the 25th of February 1797, by an order of council, confirmed by act of parliament.'

The third directly asserted, that 'the promissory notes of the said company have hitherto been, and are at this time, held in public estimation to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm, and are generally accepted as such in all pecuniary transactions to which such coin is lawfully applicable.'

The ten succeeding resolutions were occupied by a review of the most remarkable facts relating to money and exchanges which had taken place since the revolution. In the 13th and 14th it was en-

deavoured to show, what in the 15th was directly affirmed, 'that the situation of this kingdom, in respect of its political and commercial relations with foreign countries, as above stated, was sufficient, without any change in the internal value of its currency, to account for the unfavourable state of the foreign exchanges, and for the high price of bullion.'

The 16th admitted, 'that it was highly important that the restrictions on the payments in cash of the Bank of England should be removed whenever the political and commercial relations of the country should render it compatible with the public interest;' but it was added, in the 17th and last resolution, 'that under the circumstances affecting the political and commercial relations of this kingdom, it would be highly inexpedient and dangerous now to fix a definite period for the removal of the restriction of cash payments at the Bank of England, prior to the term already fixed by the act 44 Geo. III. c. 1., of six months after the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace.'

In the preliminary part of his speech, Mr. Vansittart animadverted with much force on the language which had been held by some of the advocates for the resumption of cash payments. 'They proposed it, it seems, as a measure of experiment; if it failed there was no harm done; or even if mischief did ensue, still it would establish a principle. A principle of what?' asked Mr. V. 'The great principles of religious and moral truth are fixed and unalterable, and to them we ought to sacrifice every other consideration; but what are called principles of political economy, are no more than maxims of prudence collected from observation and experience. Such a principle, whenever its application is mischievous, is in that case false, however true and important it may be in other cases, apparently, but not really analogous; and, in such a case, to adhere inflexibly to the principle is not wisdom or firmness, but blundering pedantry.'

Mr. V. then remarked upon the admission which had been made by the chancellor of the exchequer, that a great reduction of bank issues would improve the exchange. Mr. V. allowed 'that it was the general tendency of a reduction of currency, whether metallic or representative, to raise its value, and consequently to diminish imports and increase exports; and therefore gradually, and by a slow progress, to improve the rate of exchange; but we were not to overlook what was a principal element of all calculation respecting the intercourse of nations, the effect of which was not the less real from its not being capable of arithmetical estimate—he meant confidence. If, as Mr. Perceval himself anticipated, the diminution of our currency would have the effect of occasioning great commercial distress and numerous bankruptcies, the injury done to confidence abroad might produce an unfavourable effect on the exchange, more powerful and more rapid than the beneficial operation of a reduction of currency could counteract. Commercial embarrassments would occasion a fall in the value of government securities, and particularly of the funds; foreign stock-

holders, as well as other foreigners possessing property here, would take the alarm, and would be desirous of withdrawing their capital even at some loss; and thus the general balance of payments, and consequently the exchange, might become still more unfavourable, notwithstanding some improvement in the course of trade abstractedly considered.'

The right honourable gentleman adverted to the conduct of those members who, agreeing in all the principles of the committee, and supporting all Mr. Horner's resolutions except the last, yet proposed to stop short, and merely to record the existence of the depreciation of our currency, without applying any remedy to so great an evil. He particularly commented on 'the singular compliment paid by Mr. Canning to the learned chairman (Mr. Horner), whose reasoning and whose report he defends. He offered,' said Mr. V. 'to vote for the two last of the resolutions which I am about to propose, on condition that I would accede to the first seven resolutions of Mr. Horner. Now, in that learned gentleman's resolutions, I did not, indeed, see any very strict and logical connection; but I never thought of passing so bitter a sarcasm upon them as Mr. Canning has done, who thinks that they are premises which will equally lead to contradictory conclusions; that having been drawn up by the learned gentleman for the purpose of proving that the bank ought to pay in cash, they will serve rather more conveniently to prove that it ought not to do so.'

It will be seen, by a reference to the papers in the appendix, that the amendment moved by Mr. Horner applied only to the technical statements respecting the price of bullion and the course of exchange contained in the resolutions of Mr. Vansittart, and accordingly referred only to the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 14th of those resolutions. We find it impossible to afford our readers any satisfactory account of the conflicting statements of facts brought forward on this occasion by the two parties in corroboration of their respective theories. It could not be given without an entire transcription of the several speeches delivered. We must, therefore, content ourselves with the notice of such insulated points as are, from their nature, capable of separation from the general contexture of the argument.

Mr. Horner's amendment on the 4th and 5th resolutions affirmed, that prior to the restriction of cash payments, the depression of exchanges never exceeded the whole expence of transmitting specie abroad; and that the price of standard gold never rose more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. above the mint price, except during the wars of William III. until the recoinage, during the seven years' war, and until the year 1774, at which periods the coins of the realm were defaced.

Mr. V. on the contrary contended, 'that on the only occasions within the period alluded to, on which, from political and commercial circumstances, such an effect was to be expected, a depression of the exchange, and a rise of the price of bullion, actually took place. During the wars of Queen Anne, from the year 1711 to 1714,

the exchange with Holland varied from 10 guilders 10 stivers, to 11 guilders, being a loss varying from $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Yet it was certain that, during the whole of that period, the expence of sending gold to Flanders could not much exceed 2 per cent.

'So also with respect to the price of bullion. It appeared from accounts on the table, that from 1702 to 1709 the bank bought no bullion. Now, as that corporation always buys bullion when it can be procured at or a little above the market price, it was evident that they could not at that time obtain any at such a price. In 1709 some gold was actually purchased at 4*l.* per ounce, and from that time the purchases continued.

'So much for the period between 1696 and 1756; now take that between 1744 and 1797. The recoinage which commenced in 1773 was not completed till 1777, and the exchange with Hamburgh which, in the year 1773, previously to the new regulations respecting the coin, varied from 34.6 to 35, was in the year 1777 from 32.2 to 32.1, being not a rise, as by the theory it should have been, but a depression of about 7 per cent. This, however, was a season of peace, and it could not be depressed to any great degree, or for a long continuance, except in the case of scarcity. But towards the end of the American war, from the year 1780 till some time after the restoration of peace, the exchange with Hamburgh continued from 5 to 8 per cent. against England, though the expence of sending specie to Hamburgh could not have been more than about 3 per cent. At the same time, the price of foreign gold rose about 6 per cent. and that of silver bullion no less than 8 per cent. above the mint price.'

The amendment on the 6th resolution stated, that 'taking the issues of bank notes in circulation, not at their amount on a particular day, but on a fair average antecedent to any alteration of the exchange and price of bullion, it does not appear that the price of gold has been highest, and the exchanges most unfavourable, when the issues of bank notes had been considerably diminished, and have been restored to their ordinary rate, subsequently to those issues being increased.' And 'that since the restriction act, the price of bullion has been highest, and the exchanges have been most unfavourable, at times subsequent to the periods in which the issues of bank notes have been most increased.'

Mr. Vansittart observed, that this amendment was founded upon a misunderstanding of the object of his resolution. 'What I affirm,' said he, 'is that the price of bullion has frequently been highest, and the exchanges most unfavourable, at periods when the issues of bank notes have been considerably diminished. The amendment denies that it has been so, taking a comparison of averages, and not of particular days. If it be meant that, upon a comparison of averages, it never appears to have been so, which would be necessary to support the theory of the committee, I can abundantly prove that the fact is against him. If it be merely meant to deny that it has been uniformly so, my argument will remain untouched. My

object is to shew, that the issues of notes have produced no apparent effect on the exchange and the price of bullion, in opposition to the theory of the committee, who contend, that an increased issue of notes necessarily occasions an unfavourable state of the exchange, and a reduction of notes as uniformly corrects it. This theory cannot be well founded if any instances to the contrary can be produced. I have already mentioned several, but I will add another of more recent date. It appears that the issues of bank notes in circulation since January last, has been from two to three millions less than it was in the preceding summer, yet the exchange has since fallen 10 or 12 per cent. In the period from 1802 to 1809, the amount of bank notes was increased only from 17 millions to 17½ millions, or less than 3 per cent., and the intermediate variations were not considerable. But the exchange varied about 11 per cent.; the price of foreign gold about 8½ per cent; that of standard silver about 10; and that of dollars 13½ per cent.'

Mr. Vansittart defended with much earnestness the opinions he had avowed on the subject of a fixed standard of currency, and which were embodied in his first resolution. He repeated, that he did not in that resolution refer to the present state of the currency as consisting chiefly of paper, but to the legal metallic money of the kingdom. 'What I affirm,' said he, 'is that a fixed and invariable equivalency between our legal money and bullion, never has been established by our laws. I have proved it in practice, by showing that very different weights of silver money are, and always have been, equally current as a legal tender. It is not less easy to prove in theory that, until our laws are altered, it is impossible this equivalency should be preserved. So long as the exportation of our coin is prohibited, the merchant who wants to send gold abroad must be contented to give more for such bullion as may be legally exported, than its weight in lawful money; and the value of our money may not only fall short of bullion, but may, as in the case of recoinage, being improved, exceed it.

'A right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) has treated with great ridicule the idea which he supposed me to entertain, that public estimation could be the true standard measure of the value of a currency. I have never hinted that the value of a legal currency was to be measured by public estimation. But of the value of a paper currency—a currency purely representative—public estimation is the true and only measure. By what other measure would the right honourable gentleman try the depreciation of bank notes? Whether he infers that depreciation from a comparison of notes with legal money, with bullion, or with any other article, public estimation is still the rule which ascertains their comparative value.

'The depreciation of bank notes, it is said, consists in this, that whereas they did, in fact, heretofore represent the real as well as the nominal value of the coin which constitutes our lawful money, they now represent its nominal value only. If by real value, is meant the value of the

metal contained in the coin, considered as bullion, and by the nominal value the legal current value of the coin, we are so far agreed, for I only affirm, that bank notes are equivalent to the legal current value of the coin; and the only difference between us will be, that you affirm that they heretofore did represent the bullion value of the metal; which I deny. I affirm, on the contrary, that they have represented sometimes more and sometimes less than that bullion value; nay, sometimes both more and less at the same time, which, in fact, is the case at present. For if bank notes are of less value than the gold contained in the gold coin which they represent, they are of much more value than the silver contained in the silver coin which they equally represent, and which is equally legal money.'

Mr. V. added, however, that they were not then so much discussing whether bank notes were actually depreciated, as whether it was proper for the house to declare that they were not. For himself, he thought there could be no doubt of the propriety of solemnly recording the opinion of parliament. It was necessary to counteract the impression produced by the report of the bullion committee, by a deliberate, and, at the same time, distinct and unequivocal judgment of the house at large. 'It is,' said he, 'at present the office of parliament to calm the agitation of the public, by declaring its decided and deliberate opinion, that our difficulties arise, not from any radical defect in our system, but from a violent and unnatural state of things operating abroad; that our situation is still sound, and that any attempt to disturb it in the hope of improvement would only be productive of injurious consequences.'

Mr. H. Thornton opposed the resolutions. He observed that it was not accurate to assume that the bank issues were not excessive, because the difference between their numerical amount then and in 1797 was not greater than the comparative trade and expenditure of the country at the two periods would fairly justify. A very increased degree of economy was now practised in the use of notes. Originally the fund which private bankers, who were then goldsmiths, kept in store as a provision against emergencies, consisted chiefly of gold; by slow degrees it became bank of England notes. But still the banker suffered a loss of interest proportionate to the amount of bank paper in his possession; for which therefore he would be disposed to substitute a paper from which no such disadvantage accrued. Exchequer bills furnished one provision of this sort; bills of exchange were also made use of, and a variety of devices were resorted to for the same purpose. Evidence had been given before the bullion committee of the increasing number of money brokers who passed from one banking house to another, and supplied the daily and hourly wants of one quarter by carrying away the superfluity of another. It was probable, too, that the quantity of notes kept by private families was continually diminishing through the increased habits of employing bankers, and of circulating draughts upon them in and round the metropolis.

The resolutions were likewise opposed by Mr. Canning. He began by questioning the policy of deciding so peremptorily, as was done in the first of them, the prerogative of the crown respecting the currency. 'The sovereign, it is said, can alter the value of the currency. But,' asked Mr. Canning, 'can he do that at the present moment without the consent of parliament? Can he do it against existing acts of parliament? Can he, except by the aid and concurrence of parliament, repeal the acts of the 14th of the present reign, which were passed on occasion of the last recoinage of gold, and which must be repealed and amended if any alteration should be made in the current value of the guinea? Unquestionably the king, according to the theory of his prerogative, can, by his proclamation, reduce or raise the denomination of the current coin. But if by so doing he would place his subjects in the dilemma of either disregarding his proclamation, or acting in contravention to an act of Parliament, would it be, in that case, a sound or a safe statement of the law to give a naked definition of the prerogative, without reference to the practical restrictions by which the exercise of it must necessarily be controuled?'

Mr. Canning observed, however, that the third resolution was that of most importance, as containing the sum and substance of all Mr. Vansittart's doctrines. 'By this resolution,' said Mr. V. 'we pledge ourselves to believe the equivalency of bank notes to coin.' 'Pledge ourselves to believe!' exclaimed Mr. Canning. 'This is perhaps more than any man ever before avowed of himself: but certainly more than any man ever openly declared his intention to exact from others. Of all martyrs, of whatever faith, the praise has commonly been, that they adhered stedfastly to a belief founded on sincere conviction; not that they anticipated that conviction by pledging themselves beforehand what their belief should be. But the right honourable gentleman's martrydom is of a superior description; it not only professes its faith, but creates it.

'The right honourable gentleman, has not done full justice to his own resolution. The pledge which it contains goes much farther than he describes. It is not we the resolvers who are pledged by it; it pledges all mankind except ourselves. It is so contrived that even I might consistently vote for it, denying, as I do, every syllable of the doctrine which it contains.

'The object of the right honourable gentleman is to settle the public mind on a question on which there is great division of opinion. To effect this he has discovered a new mode, viz. a resolution of the house of commons declaring, not its own opinion, but that of the litigants themselves.

'Are bank notes equivalent to the legal standard coin of the realm? This is the question which divides and agitates the public opinion. 'I,' says the right honourable gentleman, 'will devise a mode of settling this question to the satisfaction of the public.' By advising a royal proclamation? No. By bringing a vote into parliament? No. By proposing to declare the joint opinion of both

houses, or the separate opinion of one? No. By what new process then? Why, by simply telling the disputants that they are, and have been all along, however unconsciously, agreed upon the subject of their variance, and gravely resolving for them respectively, an unanimous opinion.

'That the public would have bowed with reverence and submission to the pronounced opinion of the house of commons, cannot be doubted; but when the house of commons speaks, not as a judge, but as an interpreter, it can hardly be expected to be regarded as infallible by those whose opinions it professes to represent. In public estimation,' says the right honourable gentleman, 'bank notes and coin are equivalent.' Indeed! what then has become of all those persons who for the last six months have been, by every outward and visible indication, evincing, maintaining, and inculcating an opinion diametrically opposite? Who wrote, or who read, that multitude of pamphlets, with the recollection of which one's head is still dizzy? Were these writers and readers no part of the public? Or does the right honourable gentleman apprehend that his arguments have wrought their conversion? Far be it from me to say that, whatever I may think of his arguments, the authority of his name would not have great weight with me and with the public. Therefore, I do regret that, if he does not think fit to frame his resolutions in the name of the house of commons, he should not at least resolve in his own name, the equivalency which he is so bent upon establishing. A resolution, importing that 'in the estimation' of the right honourable gentleman individually 'bank notes are equivalent to the legal coin of the realm,' though I do not pretend to say that it would carry all the force of a decision of the legislature, would yet be a prodigious comfort even to those who are hardened in disbelief of that equivalency, as it would show them in what quarter to apply when they wished to make an exchange upon equal terms.

'But the right honourable gentleman warns us that we overlook the force and real meaning of the word legal, as employed in his resolution. He alludes, not to the laws, which have fixed the standard, and which insure the weight and purity of our coin, but those which provide, by wholesome penalties, against the influence of its real upon its denominative value. The gold *of* a guinea may be worth what it will; the resolution applies only to the gold *in* a guinea. It does not say that a bank note is worth as much as a guinea. It says only that a guinea can pass for no more than a bank note. It ties the living to the dead, and pronounces them equal to each other. Be it so. This, then, may be the law, but how does this prove 'public estimation?' If the resolution had purported merely that by law the guinea could pass for no more than twenty-one shillings, perhaps the right honourable gentleman may have the law on his side. But this proposition he had the sagacity to see, would not answer his purpose. It would do nothing for the bank note. It would settle the proportion between gold and silver, but not between either of those metals and bank paper.

'But bank notes, it seems, are not only 'equivalent to legal coin,' but are 'generally accepted as such;' which, to be sure, it is natural to expect they should be, if equivalent. They are so accepted, however not in all transactions. No; only in 'transactions to which such coin is legally applicable.' Is the purchase of bullion a legal transaction? I presume it is. A pound of gold bullion is at this moment worth about 58*l.* 16*s.* in bank notes; 58*l.* 16*s.* in guineas, according to their current value, makes 56 guineas. Now 44 and a half of these guineas we know weigh exactly one pound. The right honourable gentleman, therefore, means gravely to affirm, that there exist persons who will, with equal readiness, give 58*l.* 16*s.* or fifty-six golden guineas, in payment for a commodity which is intrinsically worth exactly forty-four guineas and a half. It warms one's heart to hear such heroic instances of more than Roman virtue; but I must be permitted to doubt whether they can truly be stated to be as 'general' as the right honourable gentleman supposes. I doubt whether he himself does not stand the single instance of such striking self devotion; and would again submit to him, therefore, whether his third resolution, instead of affirming any thing about the public, ought not to run singly in his own name.'

Mr. Canning then passed on to the fifteenth resolution, which contained Mr. Vansittart's doctrine of exchange. He remarked that in this Mr. V. did not distinctly deny that the state of our currency has any influence on the foreign exchanges, or on the price of bullion. He only asserted, that 'there are other causes sufficient to account for the unfavourable state of the exchange and the high price of bullion, without any change in the internal value of our currency.'

'The right honourable gentleman,' said Mr. Canning, 'we know does deny the depreciation of our currency; but are we also to understand him as saying that a depreciated currency would not have those effects? or only, that as our currency is not depreciated, such effect cannot, in this instance, be attributable to that cause?'

'If he admits that such would be the natural effects of a depreciated currency, admitting, at the same time (as he does) that such effects do exist, the whole of his argument is destroyed by his own admission. The utmost advantage that he could then derive, even from the most undisputed admission of all the facts enumerated in his statistical resolutions, would be to show that there are other causes which may, in some degree, affect the price of bullion and the rate of the exchange—which nobody denies.

'On the other hand, does he contend that the depreciation of our currency, even if it existed, would not affect the exchange? To argue that it would not affect the price of bullion in that currency, is certainly more than he can venture. But it has been contended by others, who take the same side with him, that depreciation of 'the internal value of the currency' (meaning, it seems, value in internal or domestic currency, as opposed to value abroad) 'has

no tendency to alter the foreign exchange.' According to this principle, the currency of a country may be depreciated to an indefinite degree, and yet if the inhabitants of that country continue, no matter whether voluntarily or by legal compulsion, to receive that depreciated currency at its full nominal value, the foreign exchange would not exhibit any symptom of being affected by it. The very definition of exchange, about which I apprehend there is no dispute, is of itself sufficient to confute this doctrine. The par of exchange between two countries being an equal quantity of precious metal, in the respective currencies of those countries, to say that the rate of exchange will continue the same when one of the currencies between which the comparison is made has lost part of its value, is to say, in other words, that an equation is not destroyed by a change in the value of one of its terms.

'What then becomes of the assertion in the 15th resolution, whichever sense we assign to it? If it is meant to deny the connection of internal currency with foreign exchange, can the house consent to adopt a vote so directly at variance with the fact? If, admitting that connection, it is meant only to deny its effect now, why, I should be glad to know, is the present time to afford an exception to an universal rule? There is a great stagnation of commerce, it is true; but that stagnation of commerce is not peculiar to this country. The continent shares largely in all the distress which the decrees of the tyrant of the continent produce; and yet it is in comparison with the continent that the exchanges are in our disfavour.

'The fact is, if gold and silver have ceased to be the common measures of the value of other commodities, and weight and fineness combined have ceased to be the standard of value in gold and silver, there is no more to be said; but, in that case, instead of these resolutions, let the right honourable gentleman come boldly forward with an assertion, not merely that paper is equivalent to the precious metals, but that it has altogether superseded them.'

In the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Canning threw out a suggestion, that the great and unusual gains made by the bank proprietors under the operation of the restriction act, might be so far limited, that the dividends should not exceed their present amount, viz. 10 per cent.; and that all surplus profit, during the continuance of the restriction, might be strictly appropriated as a fund for the purchase of bullion at whatever price. He ended by moving that the chairman leave the chair.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Canning had alluded to the admission made by the chancellor of the exchequer, on a preceding night, that a diminution of the quantity of paper might diminish the balance of exchange against us. Mr. Perceval now repeated his opinion on that point, and insisted that it did not at all clash with the principles which he maintained. The diminution of paper in circulation might raise the exchange, but then it would be necessary to discontinue our exer-

tions abroad, and to abandon our allies: nor would this be the only inconvenience which would result; the same operation would affect our commerce, our agriculture, and all those sources of wealth by which we had been so long able to maintain the contest.

The house divided on Mr. Canning's amendment, when 42 members voted in favour of it, and 82 against it.

The resolutions were then agreed to *pro forma* in the committee. On the 14th the report was brought up, and the debate resumed. Mr. Johnstone and Mr. W. Smith spoke in favour of the principles which had been laid down in the report of the bullion committee. Sir John Sinclair and Mr. Thompson dwelt upon the danger attending any attempt to alter the existing system.

May 15. On the third resolution, Mr. Tierney moved an amendment, stating, 'That it was highly important that the bank restriction should be removed at as early a period as possible; and that, during the continuance of it, it was the duty of the directors to regulate their issues on the principles on which they were governed while they were obliged to make cash payments.' Mr. Tierney took occasion to remark on the manner in which the resolutions were likely to affect our foreign trade. Was there no danger in circulating all over the world that the rigour and violence of the enemy had done the greatest injury to our trade, had kept the rates of exchange unfavourable to us, and had produced an apparent depreciation, at least, of our bank paper? He saw great inconvenience in proclaiming to the world that our enemy had brought us into a situation of unparalleled embarrassments, unless the means of getting out of them were also pointed out. It appeared to him, moreover, most ridiculous for the house to tell the public what the public estimation was respecting bank notes, for the public must at least be as good judges of that as the house.

On a division, Mr. Tierney's amendment was rejected by 76 votes to 24. Mr. Horner then proposed his several amendments to the resolutions of Mr. Vansittart, not with a view to any discussion, but that they might be entered on the journals. They were accordingly put and negatived. Mr. Tierney then proposed his amendment, as an addition to the 16th resolution; but this addition was also rejected: after which the whole of Mr. Vansittart's resolutions were put, and agreed to.

The question respecting the actual equivalency of bank notes and coin, in public estimation, was shortly after subjected to a practical experiment. Towards the close of the session, a member of the upper house, Lord King, sent the following letter to his tenantry:—

'By the lease dated 1807, you have contracted to pay the annual rent of 100*l.* in good and lawful money of Great Britain. In consequence of the late great depreciation of paper money, I can no longer consent to receive bank notes, at their nominal value, in payment or satisfaction of an old contract; I must therefore desire you to provide for the payment of

your rent in the legal gold coin of the realm. At the same time, having no other object than to secure payment of the real intrinsic value of the sum stipulated by agreement, and being desirous to avoid giving you any unnecessary trouble, I shall be willing to receive payment in either of the modes following, according to your option:

'First, in guineas; secondly, if guineas cannot be procured, by payment of Portugal gold coin, equal in weight to the number of guineas requisite to discharge the rent; or, thirdly, by the payment of bank notes of a sum sufficient to purchase the weight of standard gold requisite to discharge the rent. The alteration in the value of paper money is estimated in this manner:—The price of gold in 1807, the year of your agreement, was 4*l.* 2*s.* the ounce; the present market price is 4*l.* 14*s.*, arising from the further depreciation of the value of paper; in that proportion, an addition of 14*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* per cent. in paper money, will be required as the equivalent for the payment of rent.'

This was a proceeding perfectly well calculated to bring the dispute to a point. It is perhaps somewhat remarkable that the first person who took alarm at the probable consequences of this step on the part of Lord King, was a member of the opposition. On the 27th of June, Earl Stanhope brought the subject under the consideration of the House of Lords, and presented a bill, rendering it illegal for any man to pay or accept the current gold coin of the realm for a greater value than the current value of such coin; and also preventing Bank of England notes from being received for any smaller sum than the sum therein specified; and for staying proceedings upon any distress by tender of such notes. The noble earl dwelt upon the disastrous consequences, both to individuals and to the public at large, which were likely to ensue if Lord King's example were followed to any extent, particularly during the recess of parliament, when the legislature could not interfere. It involved too, he said, a gross injustice towards the tenant. Suppose one of these owed him 400*l.* would it be just to call on him to pay 500*l.* in bank notes? Again, if the landlord received notes in that way, what was he to do with them? Suppose he owed his coachmaker 500*l.*, would he pay those notes at the rate of 16*s.* for the pound, and so put 100*l.* in the coachmaker's pocket?

It is somewhat remarkable that ministers did not, in the first instance, take the same view of the real nature of the emergency with Lord Stanhope. Upon the original proposition of the measure, Lord Liverpool, though he admitted the serious importance of the subject, and the probable efficacy of the remedy suggested, expressed his opinion, that at the very late period of the session, and under all the circumstances of the case, it would not be advisable to proceed any further with the bill at that time. He said he could not believe that Lord King would persevere in his intention, or that, if he should, that the example would be followed by any other person.

The bill, however, was read a

second time on the 2nd of July; and on this occasion Lord King attended himself, to defend the propriety of his late proceeding. He observed, that since the late decision of the House of Commons, it appeared to be the declared intention of government, that the restriction on cash payments should continue to the end of the war, however distant that period might be; and it was therefore high time that every man should make a stand in defence of his property, which this system made liable to yearly and even monthly deterioration. It had moreover been argued, in another place, that as no man had ever ventured to refuse bank paper, in satisfaction of a lawful debt, there existed, in point of fact, no difference in value between paper and gold, and no actual depreciation. By bringing this question to issue, one of the remaining supports of this wretched system would be overthrown.

Lord King then asked, 'where was the hardship of his demand on the tenant? The price of the produce of land, of labour, of every great staple commodity, were all affected by the value of the currency, and were augmented in proportion as that is depreciated. The covenants of a lease secure the payment of rent in the lawful money of Great Britain: the lawful money of Great Britain contains a certain known weight of gold, of a certain known fineness of standard; and if bank notes, from any cause whatever, will no longer purchase that weight of gold which, according to the regulation of the mint, ought to be contained in a certain given sum of lawful money, they will no longer fulfil an old contract according to the spirit of the agreement. To put an extreme case, which no man can assert to be impossible, because in another country it has actually been exceeded: a note of one pound may not be worth, or pass current, for more than a shilling; consequently, all commodities would be advanced to twenty times their former value. In a case so palpable, it would be impossible for any one to imagine that a payment in such a degraded currency would be, in any sense, a satisfaction for a contract concluded before the depreciation of the currency had taken place. The gross produce of a farm is generally supposed to be divided into four shares, three of which are allotted for all expences, taxes, and profit of capital employed, and one for rent. This last is then estimated at the average price of produce during some preceding years, and thus converted into a money price for the mutual convenience of both landlord and tenant. But the effect of the depreciation of the currency is to augment the price of all the four shares of the gross produce of the farm, of those which are to defray the expences, as well as of that portion from which the rent is supplied. And the tenant suffers no loss if he is required to make only an equitable compensation, equivalent to the depreciation of the currency.' Lord King then protested against this attempt to compel an individual to account in parliament for his conduct in the management of his private affairs. 'If the value of bank paper was really at par, it was not

in the power of any individual to alter the fact; if, on the contrary, bank paper was greatly inferior in value to gold coin and bullion, it was highly meritorious to expose and resist a system through which the whole community was impoverished and defrauded.'

The proceeding of the noble lord was advocated by lords Holland and Lauderdale. Lord Grenville, also, spoke warmly on the same side. The most remarkable part of his speech was that in which, after affirming that Mr. Pitt and himself had originally never contemplated the measure of restriction as other than of temporary adoption, he expressed his deep regret that he had ever allowed any consideration to induce him to consent to its extension for a second short period. He denied that it was the want of gold which made the continuance of the measure necessary. We had now, said he, free access to the countries which produce gold, and, in consequence, both imported and exported in larger quantities than at any antecedent period. It was to a destructive policy alone that the evil was to be attributed. It was to supply the exigencies of a profuse and wasteful expenditure, that the bank was permitted to make unlimited issues, and to spread through the country a depreciated currency.

The tone taken by Lord King and his friends on this occasion seems to have convinced ministers of the real necessity of some measure of the nature of that proposed; and the second reading was carried by a majority of 36 to 12.

On the 4th, the house went into a committee on the bill. Lord Stanhope again stated that the object of it was to prevent injustice. In the case of money borrowed by the public, the whole landed property of the country was pledged to the payment of the public creditor. Was it just, then, that the public creditor should be compelled, as he was, to receive bank notes in payment of his dividend, at the full value expressed in them, viz. that he should receive only 100*l.* for his 100*l.* income, while the landed proprietor should receive for his 100*l.* rent 120*l.*?

Ministers having now taken the measure under their own care, several alterations were introduced into it. As the law then stood, though no arrest could take place where a tender of the debt was made in bank notes, still the party might refuse to accept of it, and might proceed in his action. A clause was inserted, extending this to cases of distress for rent; and providing, that though, in such circumstances, the summary process must stop where a tender was made in bank notes, still the landlord might, if he chose it, go on with his legal remedy, till he should see how far that would avail him. The operation of the bill was also limited to the 25th of March 1812; and, by a distinct clause, Ireland was specially exempted from the operation of it.

On the third reading, July 8. the lord chancellor remarked, that the bill was not compulsory on the landlord to take bank notes from the tenant in payment of rent; it merely decided, as the legislature in 1797 had done with respect to creditors

generally, that he should not seize the goods or stock of his tenant, where the rent had been tendered in bank notes. If the landlord persevered in bringing his action, the tenant would be justified in resorting to every legal mode of fighting out his landlord upon the question, and bringing his writ of error to have it solemnly determined. Those who objected to the measure must be prepared to go to the full length of saying that they were ready to repeal immediately the act of 1797, for otherwise they could not in fairness object to a bill which grew out of that transaction. There would otherwise be no equality in the situation of contracting parties equally entitled to protection. The learned lord added, that he was peculiarly situated with respect to this question, having in his situation the official care of 25 millions of the property of his majesty's subjects, and without the means of enforcing the payment of any part of that sum except in bank notes.

The report given of the lord chancellor's speech on this occasion, would appear to be considerably defective, or it would hardly have afforded sufficient grounds for the tone or purport of the reply which it called forth from Lord Grenville. 'A more alarming view of the subject,' said he, 'than that taken by the learned lord, I never before heard, in any discussion upon any question. Recollect, my lords, the effect will not stop with the landlord and tenant; it will pervade every contract, every transaction of exchange. What then, according to his own description, will be the effect? He has adverted to all the enormities—to all the horrors which such a system is calculated to produce—and what is the conclusion? That the system ought to be abandoned? No: but because it is destructive of every fair reciprocity between man and man; because its continuance is inconsistent with every thing like justice; because it completely overturns the fundamental principle of exchange, and agreement of every description—you are to aggravate and extend the existing evil, by making it impossible for one man—nay, for one transaction, to pass without feeling its effects.'

With respect to the act of 1797, Lord Grenville said, that it was to be justified by necessity, and by that only. 'I am satisfied, therefore,' said he, 'that the original suspension was wise; but I do not entertain the same satisfaction at the recollection that the act was continued. I have often said that, on reflection, I was long since satisfied that there was no necessity for continuing the suspension till the end of the then existing war; and, of course, that the continuation was improper. It was afterwards continued during the peace, when every shadow of necessity had vanished; and when the present war broke out, it was likewise continued to the end of the war; but upon no argument that would not equally apply in the case of any war whatever.'

Lord Holland professed that he could not understand how the suspension of cash payments was necessary for carrying on the war. He knew no way by which the de-

preciation of the currency of the country could support the war, but by the defrauding of the public creditor; was that the assistance wanted? He had heard of facilities in the raising of money, but they had never been sufficiently explained to him; and he could not but think, that what they gained on the one hand, they more than lost on the other, by the additional expense of these expeditions to the continent.

Lord Liverpool repeated what had been urged by all the supporters of the bill, that as the national creditor received bank notes at par, he ought to be placed in a situation enabling him to part with them at par. If in this point the landholder obtained an advantage, the fundholder sustained an injury. He contended too, that there was no depreciation whatever. The rise in price of commodities was not universal. The increased price of corn was attributable to the increase of population and consumption. But with respect to many articles of home produce and manufacture, such as wool, iron, copper, lead, hides, &c.; of these some had been reduced, while others had remained stationary in price. He remarked that a noble lord, after a great deal of elaborate disquisition, had arrived at the profound conclusion, that if the notes of the bank of England were to be increased to the amount of the assignats of France, they would become equally depreciated! This was indisputable: but was there the least apprehension of such an event? while the issue was only about 23 millions, and the revenue amounted to between 70 and 80 millions, there could be no ground for fearing a ruinous excess.

On a division, there were found for the bill, 43; against it, 16: after which it was read a third time and passed.

The bill was then sent to the commons. On moving the first reading of it, (July 9th) the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that originally he had not felt much alarm respecting the consequences of lord King's proceeding. It was probable, he had thought, that when the noble lord considered, that those whose conduct had previously resembled his own, were exclusively pedlars and jews and smugglers, he would not persevere. When he found, however, that instead of being discountenanced and condemned, this conduct was extolled by a great party as just and even patriotic, it became expedient to adopt some measure, to prevent the ill effects which such doctrines and examples might have on the community at large. No doubt the noble lord thought he was acting a part most highly creditable; but Mr. Perceval said, he would at the same time declare, that he could conceive no act whatever, that in proportion to the limited sphere of an individual, was calculated to produce more formidable injury to the interests of the society. Mr. Perceval observed, that, no doubt, it would be highly desirable to avoid making bank notes a legal tender; but he was nevertheless prepared to say, that from accidental alarm or other causes affecting the state of the country,

it might become proper and expedient to propose such a measure.

Mr. Whitbread opposed the bill. 'If,' said he, 'they passed this bill, what would be the next step? Why to make bank notes a legal tender, and that once done, they must then impose a *maximum* on prices; and what was all this but treading the footsteps of revolutionary France, in her progress to national bankruptcy? Was this bill directed against lord King? No, say gentlemen, but its object is to support bank paper—support bank paper! They might as well screw up the barometer and call it fine weather. But where was the injustice or hardship of lord King's conduct? Bank paper was either depreciated, or it was not; if it was not, where was the hardship? and if it was, where was the injustice? If any man had lands out of lease, would he, after the passing of this bill, renew such leases on the old terms? Or were they weak enough to suppose that lord King would desist in consequence of this act? Something had crept abroad like an insinuation, that the courts of law might, in their construction of the law of the land, open a door of relief to the tenant, against the just and legal demands of the landholder. Good God! what must be the awful situation of the country, when such shameful subterfuges could be thought of—when, in order to force a depreciated currency, men would take refuge in the hope that the tribunals of justice would resort to chicane, to expound the laws against themselves!'

Mr. Alexander Baring said, that the question was not, generally speaking, whether this was a desirable bill, but whether the situation of the country was such as to render such a measure necessary. The circulation of the country rested upon no other security but a combination of wealthy individuals; and this general good faith among individuals held the place of compulsion. His own opinion was, that bank notes ought to be made a legal tender at once. Such a measure would be more efficient than the provisions of the present bill, but it ought to be accompanied with some security, that bank issues should not exceed a certain quantity; so that the public might not be exposed to suffer from the mere will of any set of men.

Mr. Tierney strongly reprobated the opinions avowed by Mr. Baring, and Mr. Perceval on the subject of legal tender. The doctrine indeed he said came from the most suspicious sources possible—a chancellor of the exchequer and a bank director. Mr. Manning defended the bank. Instead of 23 millions, as returned to the house, the amount of notes outstanding on the Saturday preceding, did not exceed 22 millions; and the public owed to the bank in the amount of its capital, and in loans subsequently advanced, about 19½ millions, which was little short of their issues.

The first reading was carried in a division, by 64 to 19. In the debate on the second reading, (July 15th), Mr. Brougham observed, that 'the bill would be ineffectual to secure the pretended

object in view; it simply prevented the landlord from distraining for rent, but left open to him every other mode of proceeding. He might eject his tenant, obtain judgment, and thus recover the lease he had granted; and would not this make it compulsory on the tenant to pay in the fair and just manner which his landlord might prescribe? And what would be the case with other debtors? They would be in the same situation as tenants, and yet the bill did not propose to relieve them. It did not propose to relieve the trader who had borrowed the funds by which his commercial speculations were sustained. It did not propose to relieve the annuitant, the widow, or the orphan. The creditor proceeding at law, and obtaining judgment as eventually he must do, would have it in his power to arrest his debtor, unless he paid either in gold or in notes, estimated at a rate equivalent to gold.'

After stating at some length his objections to the measure, Mr. Brougham described that which he should propose as a substitute for it. This was to induce the establishment of two prices for commodities; a money price and a paper price; the relation of which should not be fixed by law, but should vary in conformity to circumstances, rising or falling in proportion to the comparative scarcity of one article and abundance of the other. Among other advantages, he said we should thus have a constant and unerring test of the depreciation of paper; and when the pound note rose to nineteen shillings, parliament having certain access to the knowledge of this fact, might enable the bank to resume its payments in specie.

Mr. Milnes defended the bill as just and necessary. Respecting lord King's proceedings, he remarked, that the noble lord's payments to the state ought to be made in the same way that he exacted payment from others. Where would be the injustice, if the chancellor of the exchequer were to calculate the depreciation of the taxes, and compel his lordship to contribute according to the real value? He should like therefore to see an enactment compelling every landlord who demanded his rent in guineas, to pay his taxes in guineas; there would then be a speedy end to the cry of depreciation. He was aware that bank notes had been made a legal tender to the tax-gatherer, but it had never been in the contemplation of Mr. Pitt, or of the legislature, that the revenue should be deteriorated.

Lord Castlereagh said, that 'he considered the proposed bill to be, in fact, little more than declaratory of the true intent and purpose of the act of 1797. That act constituted bank notes a legal tender in all debts due from the subject to the state; and though it was not expressly enacted, that they should be a legal tender in the payment of dividends to the public creditor, yet no exception was made in his favour, and in fact, he has had, since 1797, no other option than to accept bank notes at par, or to remain unpaid. Could it be contended that the legislature meant, in matters of contract, that one law should pre-

vail between the public and the individual, and another between private persons? The object of the present bill was not by law to give a compulsory value to a guinea or to a bank note; no law could have this effect, and it would be unjust if it could. The intention was to deprive creditors, during the interval of cash payments being suspended at the bank, of the power legally to compel debtors to pay them bank notes at less than they are actually worth.'

Mr. Johnstone delivered his sentiments on this subject, and on the question of depreciation in general, in a very able and comprehensive speech. He remarked, that the bank was no further solvent than as government should discharge its obligations to it. Its demands on government amounted to 19 millions, to which was to be added, 800,000*l.*, advanced to the East India company, in the security of 1,200,000*l.* three per cents., and the whole amount of exchequer bills purchased by the bank in the market, making no less than 26,000,000*l.* Under such circumstances, the bank was little else than a machine of government, and could not controul its own progress. What had happened last year? after the examination of the bullion committee, it was impossible to suppose that the bank directors were not willing to have made the experiment of a decreased issue with a view to remedy the exchange; and the opportunity was afforded to them; for the demand for discount fell greatly short of its usual extent; but was their circulation diminished in proportion? was not the influence of government exercised to induce the bank to make advances to Mr. Goldsmid and others, and to purchase exchequer bills in the market, to such an extent as involved an increase of bank notes to the amount of twenty-three millions, being three millions more than in the former year, when the issue had been deemed excessive? In this, Mr. Johnstone said he neither blamed the government nor the bank; he stated it only to shew the impossibility of the bank's diminishing its issues in the present state of things, and to demonstrate that the depreciation which now amounted to 20 per cent. had no other limit than the wants and necessity of government.

Mr. Johnstone made some just remarks upon the real effects of a depreciation of the currency upon the several classes of the community. He observed that, in this case, neither the landholder nor the labourer are affected by it, as the value of land and the price of labour rise in proportion. Nor are merchants and traders who buy to sell again, in any way injured; they only pay a greater nominal value for each commodity they purchase, which they sell again for a proportionate increase. The only persons who are substantially injured are the public creditors, and all other classes of men who have fixed incomes, or are under contracts, the measure of which is regulated by a monied price. With respect to the public revenue, so much of it as consists of *ad valorem* duties, such as the stamps, property-tax, and many others, rises with the depreciation

of the currency, and the state has moreover the power of compensating itself for a depreciation in the value of its revenue, by an increase of imports. The state therefore remains a gainer on all payments made to its creditors, of the difference between the value of money at the time when it pays, and of the value of money at the time the loan was contracted; and ultimately nations have generally availed themselves of such a contingency to expunge their public debt. The wealth, the industry, the commerce, the agriculture of the nation, are neither advanced nor impeded. Mr. Johnstone remarked, that it was absurd to suppose that the state acquires a power of maintaining foreign wars, and adds greatly to its pecuniary resources by means of a depreciated currency: 'foreign wars,' said he, 'can only be supported by the surplus of our agriculture and commerce, beyond what is necessary for our own consumption; and the means of the state are always proportioned to the extent of that surplus, whether represented by a greater or smaller quantity of nominal value.'

Mr. Johnstone, in conclusion, expressed himself decidedly adverse to the bill. Mr. Western took the same view of its tendency. Mr. Wilberforce, said he was willing to support it merely as a temporary expedient, rendered indispensible by the existing inquiry—and Mr. Sheridan advocated the adoption of it upon the same grounds. On a division, the numbers were, in favour of the third reading, 95; against it, 20. The bill was then passed.

It is remarkable, that about this period, a scarcity of silver coin also, was felt in the country, and in a degree such as to occasion considerable inconvenience in the ordinary transactions of trade. Whatever may be the weight belonging to the reasoning by which the depreciation of our gold currency was attempted to be accounted for, it is evident that none of the causes adverted to in that controversy, could have operated here; inasmuch as our silver coin was, and for some time past had been, intrinsically worth much less as bullion than as coin.

In order, in some measure, to supply the deficiency thus occasioned, the bank was induced to issue silver tokens at the denominative value of eighteen pence, and three shillings each. It is a singular circumstance in the history of this country, that at this period the king's coin was almost wholly superseded by the promissory notes and tokens of the bank of England, and of the various banking companies, which had grown up in every part of the kingdom.

CHAPTER VII.

Ireland. Supposed Feelings of the Regent in favour of the Catholic Claims. Proceedings of the Catholic Committee at Dublin. Mr. Hay's Circular to the Irish Catholics. Circular of the Irish Secretary to the Sheriffs and Magistrates. Lord Lansdowne moves for

Papers on the Subject in the House of Lords. Speeches of Lords Liverpool, Grenville, and Ross. The Motion is rejected. Mr. J. W. Ward makes a similar Motion in the Commons. Speeches of Mr. Grattan and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Motion is rejected. Mr. Ponsonby's Motion on the same subject. Mr. Wellesley Pole's Statement. Proceedings of the Catholic Committee in the Years 1809 *and* 1810. *Appointment of a Committee of Grievances. Intended Augmentation of the General Committee, by Delegates from all parts of Ireland. Forbearance of the Irish Government. Views entertained by the leading Members of the Committee. The Motion is lost. Mr. Grattan moves for a Committee to take into Consideration the Catholic Claims. Sir John C. Hippisley seconds the Motion. General Mathew dwells on the Military Services of the Catholics of Ireland. Dr. Duigenan opposes the Motion. Speeches of Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Perceval, and Mr. Whitbread. The Motion is rejected. Similar Motion by Lord Donoughmore in the House of Lords. Speech of the Bishop of Norwich. Statement of Lord Redesdale, respecting the Motives of Mr. Pitt's Resignation in* 1801. *Counter-statements of Lords Spencer and Grenville. The Motion is rejected. Mr. Parnell's Motion, respecting Irish Tithes. Seconded by Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Wellesley Pole opposes the Motion which is rejected. Further Proceedings of the Catholic Committee of Dublin. An aggregate Meeting is assembled to petition the Prince Regent for the Dissmission of the Duke of Richmond. A new General Committee appointed to consist of Delegates from all parts of Ireland. Evident illegality of this Proceeding. The Lord Lieutenant issues a Proclamation, declaring all such Elections and Meetings to be unlawful. The Committee persists in its course. General Meeting of the Delegates in a Theatre in Dublin. The Petition to Parliament is read and adopted, and the Meeting adjourned before the arrival of the Magistrates. Trial and Acquittal of Dr. Sheridan. Exultation of the Catholic Populace. Second Meeting of the Delegates. Arrest of Lord Fingal and Lord Netterville. Resolutions passed by the aggregate Meeting. Disorders among the Peasantry. Special Commission.*

THE affairs of Ireland seemed likely to occupy an important portion of the business of the present session. The prince of Wales was generally believed to be favourable to the claims of the Irish catholics; in fact, the whig administration of Ireland, in 1806, had in some sort pledged his royal highness to that effect, and accordingly his accession to the regency was hailed by that body, as the earnest of the approaching triumph of their cause. They were not on that account the more disposed to relax in their own efforts, for the promotion of a consummation so desirable; on the contrary, the hope seemed to animate them to fresh exertion.

A society, calling itself 'the general committee of the catholics of Ireland,' had, for some time past, held public sittings at Dub-

lin, for the transaction of business connected with the interests of the body of that persuasion. On the first of January, the secretary of this committee, Mr. Edward Hay, transmitted a circular letter to the catholics in the different counties throughout Ireland, stating, that 'the committee being intrusted with the petition of the catholic body, felt it incumbent on them to state their conviction of the imperative necessity of an increase of their numbers, so that there might be managers of the petition connected with every part of Ireland; and this,' it was added, 'was the more necessary, when there appeared to be so near a prospect of complete emancipation.' It was suggested, therefore, that each county should appoint ten managers of the petition. The committee, however, reminded their friends, that as the law stood no species of delegation or representation could be suffered to take place, and that consequently, in whatever other mode it might be thought proper to nominate the managers, it must not be by any election or appointment to represent any persons or districts whatever.

This paper was in the first instance transmitted privately, and had in consequence been acted upon before it came to the knowledge of government. Delegates were appointed, selected chiefly from among persons habitually residing at Dublin, and the committee continued its operations with fresh vigor, under the corroborative sanction of their presence. The sittings, as we have before said, were public; the most violent and inflammatory language was employed by several of the orators, and being regularly reported in the newspapers of their own party, was thus circulated through every part of the kingdom. These proceedings at length awakened the attention of the government. On the 12th of February, the lord-lieutenant caused to be written a circular letter, addressed to the several sheriffs and chief magistrates of the principal towns throughout Ireland, stating that it was the general report, that the Roman catholics had been, or were about to be, called together in the several counties for the appointment of persons to act in their behalf—in the assembly calling itself the catholic committee, and requiring them, the magistrates, to inforce against any such proceedings the provisions of the convention bill, passed by the Irish parliament in the year 1793. By this act all persons concerned in the election or appointment, in any manner, of such representative or delegate, or who should publish any notice of such election or appointment, were made liable to be arrested and committed to prison.

The issuing of this circular was immediately made the subject of question in both houses of parliament. Lord Lansdowne moved for the production of all correspondence with the Swiss government relating to this matter. He observed, that 'the statute referred to had lain dormant for more than thirteen years; within that interval, meetings of the Roman catholics had regularly been held; the government had on every occasion been privy to those meetings

so held, and inasmuch as it had permitted them, the catholics were naturally led to believe, that they received their sanction and acquiescence. If any set of men should form themselves into a convention for the violation of the law, by giving themselves a permanent existence, he should be the first to set his face against it. But where was this spirit to be discovered in the catholics of Ireland? Mr. Hay's letter did not contain a syllable which could lead to such a conclusion; but breathed throughout a spirit of submission and respect to the laws of their country. Though forty-three days had been suffered to elapse without any notice being taken of this letter, the urgency of the occasion it seems became suddenly so great, that time was not given to consult with the government of England on its propriety, or even to learn the pleasure of the prince regent respecting it, who was just then taking upon himself the reins of government. But there could not be much doubt what were the feelings of his royal highness on this question, or respecting his disposition towards the catholics of Ireland.'

Lord Liverpool said, that 'he would not enter into the question whether it had been wise or not to allow the present committee at Dublin, being also a violation of the law, to continue its sittings; but he was persuaded, that it was impossible to overlook the attempt to give it an entirely new character in the manner that had been proposed. And he should think the same, were his opinions decidedly favourable to the entire removal of the remaining disabilities to which the catholics were subject. Indeed there was no greater grievance for the catholics, than the existence of such a body, professing to be their representatives. He believed in his conscience, that the majority of the catholic body were loyal and well affected to the connection with England, and that they did not desire to be represented in the manner proposed by a few of their number.

Lord Grenville disapproved of the proceedings of government as rash and intemperate; but said, that 'he did not desire to be considered as disposed to vindicate the cause of any description of persons who meant to act in an illegal manner. If the catholics had any intention of establishing a permanent convention to represent them, he should be sensible of the danger of such an attempt, and would be prepared to resist them. But of this there was no proof; as little was there any proof of any kind effort on the part of the Irish govenment to admonish them of the danger of such an attempt, or of any disposition to make allowances for the irritation they must feel at seeing themselves excluded from an equal participation of the privileges enjoyed by their protestant fellow subjects: such a disposition, however, was not to be expected from ministers, though they might well suppose it to be the disposition of the illustrious person who was at the moment preparing to assume the direction of government. What right had the ministers to suppose that the prince regent would approve of

the act? Was the matter pressed upon them so suddenly, that they had no time for communication? On the contrary, it turned out that Mr. Hay's letter was dated January 1st.; and Mr. Wellesley Pole's, February 12th. Had the interval been employed in any attempt whether of remonstrance or reconciliation?'

The earl of Ross remarked, that 'though the letter of Mr. Hay was dated January 1st, it did not appear that it was circulated on that day; or that it was, in the first instance, circulated openly at all; so that some time would elapse before government would be apprised of it. Moreover, at the meeting of the catholic committee, on the 2nd of February, a motion was made to rescind the resolution for circulating this letter, on which, upon a division, the numbers were; for it, 14; against it, 24; but the votes of those who had been delegated from the counties having been objected to, they were taken from the 24, and the numbers were then 15 to 14 against the motion, which was lost therefore by a majority of one only. It was possible that government might expect, that a measure carried by so small a majority would not be persisted in, and that it might be induced to delay till the last moment, a resort to any harsh proceeding.' The motion was negatived without a division.

On the same day, a similar motion was made in the house of commons, by Mr. J. W. Ward. The honourable gentleman contended that 'when his majesty's servants were found to rummage the darkest pages of the statute book, in order to inflict pains and penalties on persons, who, however erroneous in any particular act, were generally and substantially as meritorious subjects as any in the king's dominions, it became necessary to interfere, and not to allow the security of a whole people to be endangered, without calling on those, to whom the putting it to hazard was imputable, for a full explanation of the motives by which they had been influenced. It was now four years since the present minister was called to the government of these kingdoms; and what was the result of his administration in Ireland? The state of that country grew every year worse and worse under his management; it was every year becoming more and more a part not of our strength but of our weakness.'

Mr. Yorke said, 'that the catholic secretary's letter carried on the face of it a violation of the existing law of Ireland. It was true that a wish to avoid offending the law was professed in certain passages of that paper, but that did not at all alter its nature; for how was it possible for men to be sent to join the catholic committee, without being appointed by an act of the body of the catholics? As for the interval which had elapsed before the issuing of Mr. Pole's letter, he believed that the catholic paper, though it bore the date of January 1st, was not circulated till a much later period; and at any rate the government of Ireland knew nothing of it till a short time previous to the publication of its own circular.

Mr. Grattan contended, that if

the house continued to refuse to the catholics a seat in the legislature, at least it should keep the communication between that body and parliament as free and unembarrassed as possible. It was, therefore, that he condemned a measure which tended to obstruct that communication. The catholic committee consisted of the delegates of 1806, and of those appointed at the general meeting of 1793. It had continued to meet unchecked and unreproved since the year 1807, and since 1809 it had made various communications to both houses of parliament. Parliament had never refused to entertain the petitions of this body, against which, as a lawless and dangerous convention, the full force of a penal statute was now revived. Lord Fingal had sat in the chair of it since 1809. 'In my judgement,' said Mr. Grattan, 'such popular meetings, so conducted, are not justly the cause of alarm. It is well that opportunities should exist for the minds of the people to evaporate. The aspirations of genius should not be subjected to eternal controul; nor the high mettle of the Irish youth condemned to waste itself in indolence and tavern enjoyments. I see much of public spirit in the catholics of Ireland, and much indeed of vehemence, but of a vehemence that threatens no evil consequences. The fire should be kept in its proper orb, and it will emit a salutary light and heat, without bursting into conflagration. It is the undoubted privilege of the subject to be sometimes clamorous and violent in the maintenance of his rights; I will not say that it is his right to be foolish also; but I am sure that, to suppress any mischief that can be apprehended on that score, the worst plan is that of a harsh exercise of the power and authority of government. Occasional ebullitions of warm feeling do not call for its chastising arm; they are the symptoms of a free spirit—the calenture, if I may use the word, of a lofty mind, harmless when gently treated. It is to no purpose that you suppress the catholic committee; the spirit by which that committee is actuated will break out in some shape less temperate and forbearing. Until you remove those disqualifications by which you have in Ireland sunk a part of the community below the level of general society, nature will assert and will endeavour to recover her rights. The Irish catholic will never be satisfied while he is less than yourselves. But to him I strenuously recommend temper and forbearance. The time will come—it must come—when you will have him sitting with you, and voting with you—as he is now fighting for you, and ready to die for you!'

The chancellor of the exchequer lamented 'that it was the constant practice of some gentlemen to give gloomy representations of what they called the degraded state of Ireland, and earnestly call on the house to remedy the evil by granting catholic emancipation. There was much inconsistency in the mode of talking which prevailed on this point. At one time it was contended that the disturbances in Ireland had nothing to do with politics; while at another they were described as evils to be cured by catholic emancipation. As to the convention which was about

to be called, had it been a protestant meeting, the same measure ought to have been resorted to. It was the offence committed against the law which had called for the interference of government. The act which had been enforced was described as obsolete. It appeared, however, from the circular convening the catholics, that they were not only aware of the existence of the law, but that they were recommended to conform strictly to the letter and spirit of it. Such, however, was clearly not the real intention. The letter stated, 'That it is highly desirable that the committee should become the depository of the collective wisdom of the catholic body; that it should be able to ascertain, in order to obey the wishes, and clearly understand the wants of all their catholic fellow subjects.' Could a representative body be better described than in the words of that paragraph? But it was said that they were convened merely to consider of the petition. Why, then, were the persons to be named as 'managers' to be such 'whose avocations require, or leisure permits their permanent or occasional residence in Dublin?' That could not have been necessary if they were to meet in one solitary instance, and with but one object in view? The question was not whether the delegates of 1795 and 1806, from the nine parishes of Dublin, were to be considered as an illegal assembly; or whether, if illegal, it ought not have been winked at—but whether some notice ought not to be taken of it when it assumed the authority of issuing writs to collect together 320 additional representatives? The discussions which had taken place in the committee were highly inflammatory, and had been circulated with great activity all over the country; and if the information he had received from the Irish government were correct, there could be no doubt, that not only had it the right, but that it was its duty to take the steps which it had adopted. All possible lenity would be observed in enforcing the law. Ministers had stated, in their instructions to the Irish government, that 'it was their confident hope and expectation that every degree of mildness and lenity would be shewn in putting the law in force, consistent with the public security.' This was the course they had been commanded to take by the regent, and it was consonant with the principles upon which they had hitherto acted. There was no intention on the part of the English or Irish government to obstruct the right of the catholics to approach the legislature with the expression of their grievances; but that right was most effectually guarded when the petitioners were kept within proper bounds.'

Mr. Whitbread asked 'how the act in question was to be executed mildly? If executed at all, it must be rigorous. The law commands you to apprehend, and therefore if it be at all put in force, you cannot dispense with the apprehension.' Mr. Ponsonby contended for the necessity of further information, before the house could absolve ministers from the charges of harshness and intemperance to

which they had been subjected. The motion was rejected by 83 votes to 40.

On the 7th a similar motion for the production of papers was renewed by Mr. Ponsonby. He remarked, that the Irish government must have been aware of the proceedings of the catholic committee, with respect to the county delegates, as early as the 22nd of January. He held in his hand an Irish paper of that date, giving an account of a debate which took place on the 19th, when it appeared that Mr. Hay read a number of letters which he had received from many of the counties of Ireland, in which the names of the managers returned by those counties were inserted. Mr. Ponsonby also animadverted on the construction of the law given in Mr. Wellesley Pole's letter. By that letter, any person 'attending, voting, or acting' at the election, were declared guilty of an offence against the act; the words of the act itself, however, were, 'if any person shall attend and vote, or by any other means shall vote,' &c.; so that voting, and not simple attendance, constituted the offence. Again, the right honourable secretary's letter contained instructions to arrest the persons therein described, and only to liberate them upon bail. The act declared that the persons so acting should, 'on their *being convicted*, be liable to be punished for a misdemeanor.' Now, the general rule in law has always been, that a justice of the peace, unless he is particularly empowered by statute, cannot, in the first instance, hold a party to bail, when no offence against the peace has been committed.'

By this time the lord lieutenant's secretary had himself arrived from Ireland; and on this occasion the right honourable gentleman attended in his place, to explain and defend the conduct of the Irish government, in the proceeding which had been made the matter of so much animadversion. We shall give his statement at length, as it appears to contain a succint and authentic narrative of all the important circumstances connected with the subject in debate. Mr. Wellesley Pole began by explaining why the catholic committee being an illegal meeting, the government had not interfered with it at an earlier period. 'In May 1809,' said he, 'there had been a general meeting of the catholics, the Earl of Fingal in the chair; they passed some resolutions which, though couched in strong, and even vehement language, the government did not wish to take notice of, because they were such as might have been expected from honest, loyal, and ardent catholics, anxious to convey to parliament a declaration of what they believed to be their rights and their grievances. They closed their resolutions, however, in a manner which shewed they had a thorough knowledge of the convention act, and that they were determined not to transgress it; for they declared that the persons who were instructed to prepare the petition could not be considered as the representatives of the catholic body; and they made it imperious on them to finish their labours within the

first fortnight after the meeting of parliament. This committee was composed of thirty-six representatives of the different parishes of Dublin, who, on a previous occasion, had formed a similar committee, of the remnants of the committees that prepared the petitions of 1805 and 1807; and finally, of the surviving delegates of the catholic convention of 1793, and the noble lords who compose the catholic peerage. The Irish government knew perfectly well the nature of the construction of this committee; they knew what passed at their meetings; but it was obvious to every man of a candid mind, that though their language was often stronger than propriety could justify, yet that their real, and indeed their sole object, was to frame their petition for parliament; and government, therefore, did not interfere with or take any notice of their proceedings.

'The committee of 1810 conducted itself in a very different way. It commenced much in the same manner, by a general meeting of the catholics, by which the committee of 1809 was re-established, and the same resolutions were passed as those which had been agreed to in the preceding year. An aggregate meeting afterwards assembled on the 2nd of November; a great difference of opinion prevailed among those who attended it with regard to the propriety of petitioning, and the debate was conducted with extreme violence. Much was said of the manner in which the English nation had been misled with regard to Ireland, and much of the stupidity and vulgarity of the people of England. Mr. Peter Finnerty, however, defended the English people from these charges; he insisted that they detested their government, and that it would be as great a libel to judge of the English nation by the principles of their government, as it would be to judge of the Irish people by theirs. After this Mr. Finnerty proceeded to recommend a petition to parliament for catholic emancipation, a petition for parliamentary reform, and a petition for the repeal of the union. His speech was received with the loudest applause, and he was rewarded by an unanimous vote of thanks of the aggregate meeting. This same meeting resolved, that the Catholic committee (that committee which had been appointed by the former aggregate meeting, for the sole purpose of framing the petition to parliament) should have the sole management of catholic affairs. All this was perfectly well known at the castle; but it was felt that, however imprudent, such conduct involved no danger to the state; and the Irish government, therefore, took upon themselves the responsibility of overlooking the whole transaction.

'On the 24th of November, the catholic committee met again, and Lord Fingal, one of the best and most loyal men in Ireland, was called to the chair. A motion was made for a vote of thanks from the catholics of Ireland to Lord Donoughmore. The impropriety of discussing a question of this kind in a committee appointed solely and exclusively for the purpose of preparing a petition to parliament, struck Lord Fingal;

he stated his doubts, and desired to be informed whether it was competent to the committee to do any thing but prepare the catholic petition? Mr. O'Connel answered, that the last aggregate meeting had removed all doubts upon that subject, by their resolution empowering the committee to conduct all the affairs of the Roman catholics of Ireland. This opinion accorded with the sense of the members present, and the resolutions were carried unanimously. In the meeting of the 1st of December, the committee went still farther; one of the members, in very strong language, commented on what he described as a very great grievance, which had been suffered by a catholic soldier. He told the committee that they were the natural guardians of the rights of the catholics, and proposed a subscription for prosecuting those 'bigoted delinquents,' as he called them, 'whatever their rank or station might be,' by whom this catholic soldier had been injured.

'On the 29th of November, the petition was received from the sub-committee, was read in the catholic committee, and acknowledged as the petition of the catholics of Ireland. It was to be presumed that their labours were now at an end. At this time many of the most respectable of the catholics of Ireland had become very much dissatisfied with the proceedings of the committee, and with the violent, inflammatory, and intemperate language which had been used in their debates. The lord-lieutenant, however, finding that the petition had been agreed to, and that nothing remained for the committee to do but to choose the persons who were to carry it over, was of opinion that, bad and mischievous as their proceedings had been, the evil must soon cease; and that it was much better, if possible, to allow it to arrive at a termination without any interference on the part of government, in order to convince the catholics that there was not the slighest disposition to interfere with them in the framing or managing their petition. But the catholic committee did not stop here: the next step they took, about the middle of December, was to appoint a committee of grievances. Thus the catholic committee, originally appointed for the sole purpose of preparing a petition to parliament, appointed a sub-committee to inquire into all the grievances, real or imaginary, of all the catholics of Ireland, and into all the indignities and insults which they might suffer, or to which they were in consequence liable!

'About the beginning of January, a member of the committee stated, that the committee of grievances had nearly prepared their report, which consisted of 300 folio pages. It was proposed that this report should be printed, that it might be circulated throughout Ireland; and it was proposed, though by what means that was to be regularly effected I really do not know, to lay a copy of it on the table of this house. One of these grievances was the number of offices which it was said catholics were incapable of possessing, and which, in this report, were made to amount to 32,000. It cannot be supposed that, during such proceedings,

Dublin was in a very tranquil state; in fact, they had produced a considerable effect upon the public mind, not only in Dublin, but in every part of Ireland. The quiet and well-disposed people, seeing that no steps had been taken to put a stop to such dangerous, proceedings, began to think that the government of Ireland was really dissolved: indeed nothing could have justified the Lord Lieutenant and his advisers in their abstinence, but the expectation that they naturally entertained that every meeting of this Committee would be the last. It is true, in a debate which took place towards the end of December, some symptoms appeared of the intention of these gentlemen to increase their number; but the intention was not manifested in the decided manner which it afterwards assumed. A resolution was agreed to, desiring the secretary to correspond with some gentlemen in the country who were friendly to their views, but not a word was said about any election. Afterwards a guarded resolution was adopted, stating that an augmentation of the number of the committee was desirable, and that the management of that augmentation should be vested in a sub-committee. On the 23d of January the Irish government became possessed of the fact, that a circular letter had been written by the secretary of the Catholic committee, and that several answers had been received thereto, but of the nature of the letters or of the answers they were wholly ignorant. To shew, however, what was the nature of the augmentation suggested in December, I beg to state the opinion of one of the members, who declared that when to the thirty-six representatives of parishes, ten members should be added from each county, the whole would make a greater number than he had ever seen at any aggregate meeting.

'The committee adjourned from week to week under the pretext of affording assistance to Lord Fingal in the conveyance of the petition, but at every meeting a violent and inflammatory debate almost invariably took place, and the principal Roman Catholics of Ireland had become more and more dissatisfied with the proceedings of the committee. On the 2d of February they agreed unanimously to a resolution, that the petition of the Catholics of Ireland should be transmitted to Parliament. On the same day a resolution was proposed that the Catholic committee had exceeded its powers by agreeing to augment its numbers by the addition of ten members from every county in Ireland. This motion produced a very warm debate, and was finally rejected.

'Up to this time no step had been taken by the government of Ireland; and it was assailed by representations from the peaceable and loyal in all parts of the country, calling upon it to take some measures to avert the dangerous consequences with which the proceedings of this committee threatened the kingdom. The circular letter of the 1st of January was never seen by the Irish government until the 10th of February. A noble lord (Donoughmore) has stated, in another place, that he was in possession of that letter

early in January. That is very possible—that noble lord may be more in the confidence of those from whom that letter emanated than the Irish government are. Every fair means was resorted to to obtain that information, and yet it was not till the 10th of February that a copy of it was obtained. At the same time private information of the most secret nature was received, that several thousand copies of that letter were circulating in Ireland; that some of the delegates had actually arrived at Dublin; and that the whole of them were expected to arrive time enough for the meeting of the 16th of February, or, at latest, for that of the 23d. It was also stated, that the letter had been penned by the lawyers belonging to the Catholic committee, and that great pains had been taken to keep within the letter of the law and to avoid incurring its penalties, the object being to obtain a complete representative body from all the counties of Ireland, under the pretext of assisting in managing the petition. It was added, that when all the members had arrived, and the Catholic convention had assembled, it would be kept sitting for the purpose of diffusing throughout Ireland, the flame which the committee had raised in Dublin. Government also received information of the mode in which the elections had been, and were to be, conducted. One main object it appeared was to secure secresy, and names were sent down from Dublin of particular persons resident in that city, whom the committee recommended to be returned as delegated from certain places; and by this contrivance it was expected that a full committee would always be secured. Such was the nature of the information received by the Irish government, and on that information they acted. It was resolved that the Attorney General should frame a letter to the sheriffs and chief magistrates, stating the law of the case, and calling upon them to enforce it. But when this letter was framed and sent, the Irish Government knew perfectly well that the law was not likely to be put in force against any man for any thing that was past, and that it was only to be made to operate prospectively; and the fact turned out exactly so; not one man was arrested,—not one man held to bail, except a printer at Galway, who persisted in advertising a meeting in contravention of the act.

'As soon as the meeting had been declared an unlawful one, it became the duty of government to take care that it did not again assemble without interruption. Having obtained information that it was to meet at a particular place, on a certain day, Government determined to enforce the act of parliament by dispersing the assembly; but in doing so the magistrates were instructed to act with the utmost kindness and conciliation. They went to the place appointed for the meeting; they found there a number of gentlemen assembled. Immediately upon their arrival Lord Ffrench was called to the chair, and Alderman Darley, one of the magistrates, asked if the persons assembled were the Catholic committee? Lord Ffrench answered

in the negative, and said they were a number of Catholic gentlemen assembled to sign a petition. Upon receiving this answer the Alderman hesitated, and at last determined to apply to government for further instructions. He came to the chief secretary's office and made his report. The court of chancery was at that time sitting; I went thither and had an interview with the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney General. We all agreed that after what Lord Ffrench had said, no attempt should be made to disperse that meeting. We considered Lord Ffrench to be a gentleman and a man of honour, and therefore, we placed implicit confidence in what we understood him to have declared.

'It seems,' continued Mr. Pole, 'that these friends of the Catholics on the other side of the house will not allow the word of a Catholic to be taken on any occasion; and the Irish Government are termed drivellers and blockheads, because, being gentlemen themselves, they believed the word of a gentleman. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Ponsonby) says, that the committee at a meeting three days afterwards, assert all that they had asserted before, and declare themselves to be the very illegal meeting which the government had threatened to disperse. The direct contrary is proved by their resolutions.—They state that 'not having received any appointment, except of the nature and for the performance of a single specific object, viz. the preparing the petition to parliament, the committee confidently felt that it could not by any construction be placed within the meaning of the law called the convention act.' If the assembled Catholics be really what they state themselves to be at this meeting, the Irish government would be the last men in the empire to molest them.'

Nothing could be more clear and decisive, than the statement we have just extracted, and though Mr. Parnell and Mr. Ponsonby still professed themselves dissatisfied, the motion on a division was rejected by a majority of 133 to 48. The like fate attended a similar motion made by Earl Stanhope in the house of peers.

The petition, the framing of which had been made the pretext of all these disorders, was, at length, presented to Parliament, and on the 31st of May, Mr. Grattan brought the matter of it under the consideration of the house of commons. There was little that is new in the arguments adduced by Mr. G. on this occasion, and perhaps his speech was hardly distinguished by his usual eloquence. This indeed was no more than might be expected, in the instance of a topic which for so many years has been made the subject of such constant debate and discussion, both within parliament and without. The honourable gentleman contended, that the established principle of the British government in Ireland was neither more nor less than a principle of disqualification; a government by the law of conquest. 'It is impossible,' said he, 'that any government can be conducted long upon such a principle with wisdom in its administration, or with safety to the people. If the people were subject to, or connected with another

power, or in a state of half allegiance, such a principle might be acted upon. But when applied to a population as much the subjects of his Majesty as the Protestants of Ireland themselves, it is utterly and absolutely inadmissible. I shall assume that no government has a right to make partial laws—that no government has a right to make arbitrary laws, that is to say, laws without reason—that no government has a right to establish an inquisition into the thoughts of men, or to punish a man purely for religion. Nor can any government or legislature arrogate to itself the power to depose God Almighty by forcing upon man any tenets of religion according to a particular creed. The Roman Catholic, when you disqualify him on the ground of his religion, may with great justice tell you that you are not God, that he cannot mould or fashion his faith by your decrees. You may inflict penalties, and he may suffer them in silence; but if parliament will assume the prerogative of heaven, and enact laws to impose upon the people a particular religion, the people will not obey such laws.

'But this I do not charge upon parliament, because in none of the penal acts has the parliament imposed a religious creed. The qualifying oath as to a great number of offices, and to seats in parliament, scrupulously evades religious distinctions—a dissenter of any class—a deist an atheist—may take it. The Catholics are alone excepted, and for what reason? If a deist be fit to sit in parliament, it can hardly be urged that a Christian is unfit. If an atheist be competent to legislate for his country, surely this privilege cannot be denied to the believer in the divinity of our Saviour.

'I can trace the continuance of the Catholic incapacities to nothing else than a political combination—a combination that condemns the Catholics, not because they are idolaters, but because they are suspected men. The Catholic is excluded not because his religion is considered as his crime, but because it is looked upon as the evidence of his disloyalty. By this doctrine the religion is not regarded so much an evil in itself, as a perpetual token of political disaffection; of eternal opposition to your government. But who are our allies at present, and for whom are we fighting? The king of the two Sicilies, and the prince regent of Portugal—both Catholics. Can we then consider the Catholic religion as an evidence of connection with the enemy? Or can we employ the blood and treasure of the Irish Catholic in support of our Catholic allies, and say that their religion is an evidence of connection with an enemy against whom they are bravely defending these allies?

'A little attention will be enough to shew that in the same proportion as we have conceded to the Catholics, we have grown strong and powerful by our indulgence, and that we have been the blind instruments of our own wretchedness by refusing justice to our fellow-subjects. If it be contended that in order to support the church it is expedient to continue their disabilities, I dissent from that opinion. Even if that could be proved, I should say

that you had acted in defiance of all the principles of human justice and freedom, in having taken away their church from the Irish, in order to establish your own, and in afterwards attempting to secure that establishment by disqualifying the people, and at the same time compelling them to pay for its support. For the benefit of eleven hundred Protestant clergymen to disqualify a population of four or five millions, is the insolent effort of bigotry; and all this not for the preservation of their property, for that was secured; but for intolerance; for a vile abominable usurpation. The laws of God and the spirit of Christianity cry out against such a system; the laws of England and the spirit of its constitution cry out against it. It is said that if the Catholics are admitted to their rights it will lead to the overthrow of existing establishments. But the Catholics are not to be punished for crimes existing only in imagination. The Catholics have sworn to preserve the establishments, and their oaths are better than the dreams of the Protestants. If the question were whether the church is to be established by the ruin of the civil liberties of the people of Ireland, I say that you have no right to make the attempt; you will fail in the execution, and the effort will endanger rather than support the establishment. But such is not in fact the question. In a political sense, the Irish hold every thing by the same tenure as their fellow subjects in England; the landlord and tenant claim equally by virtue of the act of settlement.'

Mr. Grattan, in conclusion, moved that the petition be referred to a committee of the whole house.

Sir J. C. Hippisley seconded the motion in a speech of considerable length. General Mathew insisted upon 'the strong claim of the Catholics to the rights which they now claimed, from the services rendered by them to the empire at large, and more particularly in their military capacity. He did not hesitate to state that the great military successes of this country since the commencement of the war, were chiefly to be attributed to Scotch and Irish valour. He did not say this from any principle of invidious comparison, but it so happened that the opportunity fell most to the Scotch and Irish. The glorious termination of the Egyptian campaign was reserved for Lord Hutchinson, an Irishman. The men who had stormed Monte Video were Irish Catholics; the men who had astonished the French at Maida were Irish Catholics; the men who had most distinguished themselves at the battle of Vimiera were Irish Catholics; in the hottest part of the battle of Busaco was a clear majority of Irish Catholics; and in the battle of Barrosa, the brave 87th, the Prince's own Irish heroes, who so generously distinguished themselves, were to a man Irish Catholics.'

Dr. Duigenan opposed the motion.—He observed 'that a great stress had been laid on the answers of the foreign universities upon a point of doctrine of the Catholic church. He did not, however, attach much weight to those answers, when they were contrary

to recorded articles of the Catholic faith. History had told us of the opinions of universities obtained by bribery. In the case of Henry VIIIth's divorce, the universities were divided; and it was afterwards discovered that King Henry had bribed one half of them, and the Emperor the other half. There was much exaggeration in the numbers at which the Irish Catholics were stated. The whole population of Ireland did exceed three millions and a half, of which one million and a half were not Catholics. Forty-nine parts out of fifty of the landed property belonged to Protestants, and so did at least nine-tenths of the personal property. It was the Protestants, then, and not the Catholics that paid taxes in Ireland. No doubt the Catholic soldiers behaved as bravely as others; but he did not think there was any particular merit in their enlisting for a bounty. Even of the privates a large proportion were Protestants,—but of the Irish officers, probably, not one out of a hundred was a Catholic, or one out of ten in the militia.' The right honourable Doctor then described the persons from whom the petition originated as composed of a few young barristers, not much troubled with professional business, and many other persons of a low description in society. Mr. Finnerty, who was a journeyman taylor and had made himself an orator in Gale Jones's forum, went over to Dublin, and immediately became a great man among them. Dr. D. concluded by reading very long extracts from speeches and pamphlets of the Catholics, in order to shew that they were inimical to the established Protestant government of this country.

Mr. Ponsonby dwelt on the grievances which the Catholics, barrister and soldier, were subjected to, in consequence of the disqualifying laws. The gallant officer (Colonel Keatinge) who the other day had mainly contributed to the conquest of the Isle of Bourbon, was an Irish Catholic. If he sought promotion, the law would tell him, that though he was permitted to enter the army, and to be as lavish as he pleased of his blood in protecting the interests of his country, yet as soon as his valour and skill had been displayed in such a manner as would prove him qualified for command, his further career would there be stopped, and if he continued his services to his country, he must do it from a spirit of disinterested patriotism, without the excitement of those honours and rewards which were contemplated by his fellow soldiers.

Mr. W. Smith said, it had been asked, if this measure was extended to the Catholics of Ireland, would it not be expected that it should go to the different sectaries in England likewise. Certainly it ought so to extend. The right of sitting in that house was all the privilege they enjoyed more than the Catholics; and during the years he had been a member, he could not have held a situation of the most trifling kind under the crown without transgressing the law of the land, for which he must be punished, were it not for the annual indemnity bill. He abhorred the notions of toleration and indulgence. He knew of nothing

but religious liberty which was the right inherent in every man to worship God in his own mode. For this he contended, and to this the Catholics, as well as every other sect of Christians, were entitled as a matter of right.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that 'he should not dispute that toleration might be claimed as a right; but that there would be any right to political power in consequence, was a proposition which he would resist to the utmost. Political power was not the right of an individual, it was a trust to the individual for the interest of the whole; and that power, if granted to the Catholics, would naturally be applied to the destruction of the established church. Mr. Grattan had said, that to refuse their claim was contrary to the canon of the Almighty; if so, he did not see upon what grounds the Catholics could be refused, if they were to apply for a participation of tythe and a proportioning of the division according to their numbers. He did not resist the motion upon the ground that the Catholics of Ireland were more rebellious subjects than any others, but upon the ground that the church establishment should be maintained in the whole kingdom, and not endangered in any part of it. Those gentlemen who had spoken so much of the Irish were not infallible. Dr. Milner had once been the god of their idolatry, but he soon became the reverse. So with respect to their declarations about the Veto. The Irish now would allow it, and now they would not. All this ought to generate some distrust in their knowledge. For himself, he loved Christian toleration; not the toleration of philosophy. The tolerating philosophers of France were atrocious persecutors, and they ended in overturning all establishments. As for the concord to be produced by this measure, he thought that the nearer any great sects are brought to an equality of rights and privileges, the nearer they are to a struggle. They ought to have subordination to have peace. It was not to be supposed that the Catholic petition was more agreeable to the nation because the public voice was less loud against it than formerly. The reason was, that the public fear was less active. He had understood Mr. Ponsonby to state, on a former occasion, when this question was agitated, that he would not have supported it but for the veto. Now they did not hear a word of the veto, and this was of itself a sufficient reason for him to oppose the motion, though he confessed he did not do so solely on that account.'

Mr. Whitbread affirmed that 'his friends had never held out that these claims ought not to be considered without the admission of the veto. The cause had been pleaded by Mr. Fox who said nothing of the veto. His right honourable friend had afterwards said, that he had authority to concede it; and for this he conceived he had power from Dr. Milner. It had since appeared that his right honourable friend was deceived; but he would rather be the deceived than the deceiver. It was urged that this measure would increase the power of Buonaparte. How? He had the Pope in his power, indeed, but would the Irish Catholics be less inclined to foreign influence with

their grievances existing, than they would be if removed? Was not the removal of grievances, in fact, the only effectual way to counteract that influence? Had the Pope prevented Spain and Portugal from resisting Buonaparte?'

After a reply from Mr. Grattan, the house divided, and the motion was rejected by a majority of 146 to 83.

June 18. The same question was soon after debated in the house of lords. Lord Donnoughmore, in an eloquent speech, moved that the petitions of the Irish Catholics be referred to a committee of the whole house. The motion was supported by the Marquesses of Downshire and Lansdowne, and by the Bishop of Norwich. This right reverend prelate, after expressing his conviction both of the justice and of the expediency of granting the privileges claimed by the Catholics, observed that it had been repeatedly and publicly objected to him that he had rashly ventured to differ in opinion on this subject, not only from his brethren on the same bench, but also from the two universities and the great body of the established clergy. It was true he did so differ, and he did it with regret; no affectation of singularity, no love of contradiction, could induce any man of common sense willingly to dissent from wise and good men of his own profession. 'It is however,' said he, 'some consolation to me, that if I dissent from them, I agree with many of those exalted characters and eminent writers to whom they, as well as myself, are in the habit of looking up to with respect and veneration. Not an argument have I ever urged either in writing or in speaking, hardly an expression have I made use of, which is not to be met with in the writings of Hoadley and of Locke on the liberty of prophesying; of Bishop Taylor; in the Irenicum of Stillingfleet, and in almost every page of the great Grotius.—Whatever, too, may be the opinion of the body of the clergy on this question, it appears to me by no means intitled to the stress that has been laid upon it. The question is not so much theological as it is political; it is not a difficult passage in either of the learned languages, but a complicated and comprehensive question of state; and it is not therefore to be settled by divines or by theorists in their studies, however pious or learned or well-intentioned, but by enlightened practical statesmen. And I venture to say without fear of contradiction, that the judgment of four such men as Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, carries far more weight with it upon a question like this, than the judgment of both the Universities, and indeed of all the divines who ever sat in convocation under the dome of St. Paul's, or in the Jerusalem chamber, from the Reformation to the present time.

Lord Aberdeen objected to the agitation of the question at that time, but expressed himself generally favourable to its eventual success. Lord Redesdale denied that 'any pledge had been given to the Catholics at the time of the union. Mr. Pitt, in retiring in 1801, did not assign to him (Lord Redesdale) as the reason for that

proceeding the impossibility of fulfilling a pledge to the Catholics; and he had further declared to him, a few months before his death, that he neither had nor could conceive any plan by which a sufficient security could be provided for the established church in the event of the Catholic claims being granted.'

This statement called forth an indignant contradiction on the part of some of Mr. Pitt's former associates in administration. Earl Spencer declared that he had the strongest reasons for believing that the grounds assigned by Mr. Pitt for his leaving office, were the only grounds for his doing so; and, indeed, except for a cause of such importance, he would not have been justified in leaving his majesty's service at that critical moment. With respect to the pledges supposed to have been given to the Catholics at the time of the union, the noble earl said he would not affirm that any distinct pledge had been then made, but undoubtedly it was the impression of ministers that the difficulties in the way of the Irish Catholics would be greater when not united with this country, and that the measure of emancipation would be much more easily carried, in an united than in separate parliaments. Lord Grenville confirmed this statement, and asked whether any friend of Mr. Pitt had ever heard him give any other reason for his resignation. 'The mind of my departed friend,' said he, 'was particularly undisguised; I have lived with him, not only in daily intercourse of business, but in the exchange of private friendship; and I can have no possible suspicion of any other ground of retirement than those agreed on between him and myself, and which we so stated to the two houses of parliament. It was not merely the general question which we were then anxious to bring forward; one great object was the taking the time in all respects the most favourable for carrying the measure into execution. An opportunity which will never be restored was thus lost by the misguided counsels and wicked misconceptions imposed on the mind of the sovereign.'

The Lord Chancellor so far corroborated the statement of Lord Redesdale, as to assure the house, that though he had taken repeated opportunities to ascertain Mr. Pitt's views on the subject, he never could learn from him what was the nature of those safeguards and securities which he admitted it was necessary to provide for the Protestant establishment, in case the claims of the catholics were granted.

The motion was lost on a division; there appearing

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The agitation of the important question of the tythe system of Ireland, was also renewed this year by Mr. Parnell. On the 11th of June he moved a resolution 'that the house would early in the next session of parliament take into its consideration the collection of tythe in Ireland.' He observed that the population of that island was estimated at five millions, of which there was reason to believe that nine-tenths consisted of dissenters from the church. But though it was unquestionably

a great hardship that a people should be obliged to pay the clergy of a church, the tenets of which they did not follow, yet they by no means carried their complaints so far as to seek for an abolition of tythe. All they asked for was relief from the oppressive and vexatious manner in which they were made to pay them. It was said, indeed, that if this concession was obtained, they would not rest satisfied, but go still further, till they had destroyed the Catholic church.—The church of Ireland, however, was fully secured from all such attempts by the letter and spirit of the act of union.

Mr. Sheridan seconded the motion. Mr. Wellesley Pole said that the more he investigated the subject, the more he was convinced of the impossibility of adopting any measure to remedy the evil complained of. The matter had frequently been considered by the most enlightened statesmen, and among others by Mr. Grattan, and yet none of them had ever been able to suggest a plan that would have the desired effect. The honourable mover himself did not appear to have been more successful.

Mr. W. Pole said he did not himself at first perceive the difficulty that existed; but he was now persuaded that there was no plan that could be adopted that would not place the people of Ireland in a worse situation with regard to tythe than that in which they were at present. He might here observe, that tythes so far from being an additional tax upon the landholder, were of the nature of an orignal charge upon all property, supposing that all property emanated from the crown. When a person took a lease he took it under the burthen of tythes, which were a tenth of the produce of the land, one third of which belonged to the lay impropriators, and the other two thirds went to the clergy in various ways. The persons paying tythe to the lay impropriators, were, generally speaking, more oppressed than those paying to the clergy. If there were any oppression at all, it was occasioned by the tythe-farmer, and not the tythe-proctor. Many things tythed in England were not tythed in Ireland. For instance, there were no tythes in Ireland for calves, milk and hay, and in many parts no tythe was taken for potatoes, and in other parts only sixpence per acre. So with respect to flax. In some places there was only one shilling taken for the whole flax upon the lands, and in other parts only sixpence per acre. The plan of taking a rate per acre in lieu of tythe would not relieve the cultivator; the only consequence would be that the landlord would charge the whole, instead of nine-tenths of the produce of the land, upon the tenant. Was it not universally seen, that where land is tythe-free the rent is higher in proportion? The evil, in fact, was not what it was supposed to be, if the truth was clearly understood. He believed that no class paid tythes more cheerfully than the Roman Catholics of Ireland. The disturbances which happened last year in the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary and Waterford, were not connected with the complaints against tythes.

Mr. Herbert of Kerry, Mr. Tighe, General Mathew, and Sir John Newport spoke in favour of the motion; Dr. Duigenan opposed it, and it was rejected on a division by 54 voices to 29.

It may be as well to state in this place the proceedings of the Irish Catholic committee subsequent to the period at which Mr. Wellesley Pole concluded his statement in his speech on Mr. Ponsonby's motion of the 7th of March. We have seen that at their meeting on the 26th of February, the committee passed a resolution declaring 'that not having received any appointment except of the nature and for the performance of a single and specific object, viz. the preparing and the procuring to be presented to parliament a petition for the removal of all such penalties and disabilities as affect those of their own persuasion, it confidently feels that it cannot by any forced and oppressive construction be placed within the meaning of the law called the convention act.'

Another meeting of the committee took place on the 2nd of March, and they so far adhered to the limitation which they had thus assigned to their powers, that one of the most intemperate of the members declared, that it had been his intention to propose an address to the Regent, praying him to dismiss the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Wellesley Pole from their administration; but that he was given to understand that he could not do it in the committee, which was appointed for a sole object, and that he would therefore defer his motion until an aggregate meeting should be assembled. It was then resolved that a meeting of that character should be convened on the 8th of the same month. Upon this occasion, an address to the Prince Regent of the nature and to the effect of that suggested, was agreed to; and a body of delegates, including most of the higher of the Roman Catholic laity were charged with the office of presenting it to his royal highness. The persons so nominated, however, were not all inclined to accompany their friends to this extent of violence; and many of them refused to accept the delegation. Some pleaded business or infirmity; and others, among whom were Lord Southwell and Lord Fingal, openly expressed their disapprobation of the petition.

Another aggregate meeting was held in July. Their proceedings on this occasion were characterised by even more than their usual intemperance; and they went the length of passing and publishing resolutions, by which they appointed a committee for the purpose of framing a petition for the repeal of the penal laws, and procuring signatures thereto from all parts of Ireland, and bringing such petition under the serious consideration of the legislature; and it was ordered that the said committee should consist of the Catholic peers and their eldest sons, the Catholic baronets, and the prelates of the Catholic church in Ireland; to which were to be added ten delegates for every county and five for every parish in Dublin.

Although the pretext of limiting their proceedings and discussions to the 'single and specific'

objects of petitioning parliament was continued to be assumed in these resolutions, it was perfectly obvious that the proposed assembly came distinctly within the meaning of the convention act.—By that statute it was enacted, 'that all assemblies, committees, or other bodies of persons elected, or in any other manner constituted or appointed to represent, or assuming or exercising a right or authority to represent, the people of Ireland, or any number or description of the people of the same, or the people of any province, county, city or town, within the same, under pretence of petitioning for, or in any other manner, procuring an alteration of matters established by law in church or state, are unlawful assemblies.' By the same act all magistrates are enjoined to disperse such assemblies, and in case of resistance to enter and apprehend the offenders; and further, all persons concerned in convoking such assemblies, or in voting for delegates to them, are declared to be guilty of a high misdemeanour.

Nothing could be less evident than the application of these enactments to the case of the committee described in the resolutions of the aggregate meeting. Accordingly, on the 30th of July, the Duke of Richmond issued a proclamation, reciting these provisions, and declaring that the Catholic committee now proposed to be convened, was an unlawful assembly, tending directly to endanger the peace and tranquillity of the state. By the same instrument all persons were commanded to abstain from all proceedings contrary to the statute, and the magistrates were required to inforce the law against all persons so offending.

Notwithstanding these denunciations, a special meeting of the general committee was held on the very day following that on which the proclamation was issued; the resolutions passed on the former occasion were reaffirmed and re-published, and it was further declared that 'the committee had determined to continue and to persevere in the constitutional course which they had maturely adopted.' On the other hand, the government proceeded to enforce the observance of the law which had been thus openly braved. A Dr. Sheridan and four other persons were prosecuted for assisting at the election of delegates for one of the parishes of Dublin. Aug. 9.

The leaders of the Catholic faction, for such their late proceedings entitle us to designate them, in the mean while were taking measures for continuing their course of defiance to government. It had for some time been known that the first meeting of the new general committee was about to take place, but the place of the assembly was kept a secret until the evening before the day on which it was convened. On the morning of the 19th of October the committee assembled in the private theatre in Fishamble-street. All parts of the house were crowded with spectators, with the exception of the stage, which was reserved to the delegates, who made their appearance to the number of 250 persons. At eleven o'clock Lord Fingal was

called to the chair. He addressed the assembly in a very few words, observing that the meeting had but one object in view, and accordingly requesting that no extraneous or irrelevant matter should be introduced into discussion. Lord Netterville then addressed the chair, and presented a draught of a petition to the imperial parliament for the full emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland, which he moved should be read by the secretary. The motion was seconded by Lord Southwell. Previous to this reading, however, it was proposed and carried upon the motion of Mr. Barnwall, that after the petition was read and agreed to the 'meeting' should adjourn until one fortnight previous to the meeting of the imperial parliament, when they might make any additions or alterations they might consider necessary. The petition being read Lord Fingal put the question, whether it should be received as the petition of the Catholics of Ireland, and it was carried unanimously in the affirmative. Lord Fingal then immediately left the chair, and Lord Netterville being called to it, a vote of thanks to the former noble lord was voted, and the meeting then adjourned, exactly seventeen minutes after the chair had been originally taken, and twenty-seven minutes from the hour appointed for opening the meeting in the public advertisement. The object of this dispatch was to anticipate the measures which it was expected that government would adopt for the dispersion of the meeting, as soon as the fact of its being assembled had reached the magistrates. In this they succeeded; during the confusion attending the sudden breaking up of the meeting, two magistrates, Mr. Pemberton and Counsellor Hare, made their appearance upon the stage, and called for the chairman; they were assailed, however, by a triumphant cry of 'too late, too late!' and Lord Fingal, in reply to their challenge stated that he was no longer in the chair, and therefore attended only in his individual capacity.

The triumph thus achieved by the committee involved a very slight mortification to government. The purpose of enforcing the convention act was equally attained, whether these meetings and the inflammatory debates of which they were made the pretext and occasion, were stopped by the actual interposition of the magistracy, or by their own act under the apprehension of that interposition.

The Catholics shortly after obtained another success, and one which was hailed with yet greater exultation by their party in general. On the 21st of November Dr. Sheridan was brought to trial on the charge of having assisted at the election of a delegate to the Catholic committee. The examination of witnesses and speeches of council occupied two days. The lord chief justice then charged the jury, that if they believed the testimony of the witnesses for the prosecution, they could have no doubt that the defendant had assisted at the election in question. With respect to the law of the case, the court stated that whether the convention or committee to which persons were

thus elected had in view a criminal purpose or one perfectly innocent, did not affect the case; it was the meeting of an assembly so constituted, however fair and unobjectionable its motive, which was prohibited by the law as dangerous to the public tranquillity. It was clear that this must be the operative construction of the act, since the second section declares the publishing a notice to meet to be a high misdemeanor, and makes the attending and voting of any elector to serve in the same a substantive offence; and the act moreover empowered the peace-officer to force his way into any such assembly, and to disperse it; evidently shewing that the offence lay in the mere act of meeting, independent of any consideration of subsequent proceedings. The act had in fact done nothing unless it had prevented the meeting of all delegated assemblies whether convened for the purpose of petitioning or otherwise.

After a deliberation of an hour and a half the jury returned a verdict of Not 'guilty;' grounded it seems, not upon any doubt as to the law of the case, but upon the insufficiency of the evidence. The issue was received with the loudest acclamations by the multitudes assembled both within and without the court. There were yet four other persons to be tried on the same indictment, but on the 26th the attorney general stated that as upon the late trial the court had formally and distinctly laid it down that by the law of the land the Catholic committee or convention was an unlawful assembly, he could not believe that the Irish Catholics would persist in their intention of assembling in violation of the law so unequivocally declared, and under that impression he felt it would not be consistent with the object of these prosecutions to press them to trial; the object never having been to punish the individual, but to prevent a public mischief.

The delegates met again pursuant to their adjournment on the 23d of December. Upon this occasion the magistrates were earlier on the alert, and Mr. Hare took his station beside the chair, before Lord Fingal had been voted into it. Soon after twelve o'clock the noble earl was called to the chair, and Lord Netterville moved the reading of the catholic petition. All further proceedings, however, were precluded by the interference of the magistrate, who stated, that he appeared there by the command of the lord lieutenant, and enquired of Lord Fingal whether or not they were a meeting of Catholic delegates? Lord Fingal refused to give any other answer than they were a meeting for the purpose of petitioning parliament; and Mr. Hare having in vain endeavoured to obtain a more explicit statement of the nature and object of the assembly, declared that he considered his lordship's refusal to give him a direct answer to be an admission that it was a meeting of the Catholic committee, and as such he pronounced it an unlawful assembly. He then called upon them to disperse, adding that he hoped no resistance would be offered, and that it would not be necessary for him to have recourse to those means with which he was intrusted for

the purpose of enforcing the observance of the law. Lord Fingal replied that it was not their intention to act in resistance to the law; but that he was determined not to leave the chair until obliged to do so, in order that he might bring his legal action against the person who should remove him. Mr. Hare then took his lordship by the arm and gently forced him from the chair, declaring that to be a legal arrest. Lord Netterville was then called to the chair by the meeting, and was removed from it by the same process, and after a short interval of confusion the meeting was induced to break up. A number of the members, however, immediately repaired to a neighbouring tavern for the purpose of signing a requisition for calling an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland. While the requisition was preparing, the magistrates entered the room, and inquired if that was an assembly merely of individuals.—Being answered in the affirmative, Mr. Hare intimated that in that case he should not attempt to molest them.

The aggregate meeting thus summoned, took place on the 26th; a series of resolutions were agreed to, in which it was affirmed that 'the Catholic committee had been illegally outraged and obstructed by the orders of the Irish government,' and that 'a spirit of progressive intemperance and exasperating intolerance was observable in the measures pursued by that government for some years past, the tendency of which was to alienate the affections of the Roman Catholic subjects of his majesty, sinking as they were under the heavy burden of equal taxes without equal benefits.' A board was appointed to prepare an address to the Prince Regent upon this subject, to be presented as soon as the restrictions on his authority should cease; and it was declared by another resolution that 'neither the said board nor the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland, consisted of persons in any manner constituted or assuming to represent the people of this kingdom, or any number or description of them, neither were they charged with any farther or other function than that of preparing Catholic petitions and addresses to the different branches of the legislature.' It is difficult to understand by what refinement of reasoning the former of these assertions could have been made good; or if the Catholic committee so constituted was not a representative assembly, by what features a representative assembly is to be distinguished. The present meeting, however, was so far persuaded of the accuracy of this description of the committee, that by another resolution it was resolved that the said general committee, should be requested to assemble in Dublin, at noon on the 28th of February, 1812.

Many of the Irish counties continued to be this year the scene of disorders and crimes, which in the history of any other country would require particular mention, from the circumstances of peculiar atrocity by which they were distinguished. In Ireland, however, this species of disorder has unfortunately become systematic, and almost habitual, and it were equal-

ly painful and unnecessary to afflict our readers by dwelling upon the details of transactions so disgusting. The counties of Limerick and Tipperary were those peculiarly visited by these irruptions; and it was found necessary to send down a special commission for the purpose of making immediate examples of such of the perpetrators of these atrocities as had fallen into the hands of justice.

CHAPTER VIII.

Increased frequency of Ex-officio *Informations for Libel. Lord Holland's Motion for the Production of Papers on this Subject. The Motion is opposed by Lord Ellenborough. Speeches of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Erskine, the Earl of Liverpool, and the Marquess of Lansdown. Lord Holland replies. The Motion is negatived. Lord Folkestone makes a similar Motion in the House of Commons. He adverts in his Speech to the Abuse to which Special Juries are liable. The Attorney General defends his Conduct in his Office. He explains the Mode of summoning Special Juries. The Motion is supported by Sir Francis Burdett and Sir Samuel Romilly. It is opposed by Mr. Stephen and Mr. W. Elliott, and rejected on a Division. Mr. M. A. Taylor's Motion respecting Delays in Cases of Appeal, and in the Court of Chancery. The Chancellor of the Exchequer moves the previous Question. Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Adam support the original Motion, which is lost on a Division. Committee appointed by the Lords to inquire into the State of Appeal Cases. Report of that Committee. It is adopted by the House. Mr. Taylor moves the Appointment of a Committee on the Subject in the House of Commons. It is carried on a Division by the Speaker's casting Vote. The Committee is instructed to inquire into the amount of the Chancellor's Emoluments. Sir Samuel Romilly introduces five Bills for the Amendment of our criminal Law. Dwelling House Robbery Bill. Admirable Speech of Mr. Frankland on this Occasion. The Bills pass the Lower House. Lord Ellenborough opposes them in the Upper House. And they are lost upon a Division. Lord Redesdale's Bill for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors. It is opposed by Lord Ellenborough, and withdrawn. Lord Moira brings in an Insolvent Bill, which is passed. Mr. Wynn's Bill for the Suppression of Bribery at Elections. It is rejected. Lord Sidmouth's Bill respecting the Licensing of Dissenting Teachers. Extraordinary Clamour excited on this Occasion.*

Perhaps no circumstance in the internal administration of the country, had of late caused more clamour on the part of the political press, than the increased frequency of official prosecution for libel, which had taken place since the accession of the present attorney general to office. Within the last three years not less than forty-two *ex-officio* informations had been filed against offenders of this

description, being a number exactly three times as great as that of those filed during the seven years preceding. It is true that of these forty-two, a large proportion, more than half, indeed, had never been brought to trial; but this fact was itself especially insisted upon as indicative of the tyrannical spirit which had animated the proceedings of the crown lawyers, and as at any rate constituting an exercise of power in the last degree oppressive to the individuals who were the objects of it; inasmuch as it enabled the attorney general for the time being to subject any persons, with cause or without cause, to a very considerable degree of anxiety and expence; and to prolong that trouble and expence to an indefinite degree without affording them ultimately the means of vindicating themselves from the obloquy which naturally attached to the position in which they were thus placed.

The subject was taken up in both houses of parliament in the course of the present session. On the 4th of March Lord Holland moved for an accout of all informations *ex-officio* in cases of libel during the last ten years. In the commencement of his speech the noble lord adverted to the bill which had passed in 1808, giving the attorney general power to hold to bail persons against whom informations *ex-officio* had been filed. 'That act,' said he, 'passed at the lag end of a session, in a thin house, without any one person to explain the nature of its provisions, or assign the reasons on which they were founded. No papers were moved for, no inquiry instituted, no documents produced, nay no statement whatever made, further than was to be found in the meagre, unsatisfactory, and unsubstantial preamble of the bill; a bill which gave to the spontaneous act of one man all the powers and consequences of a solemn proceeding of a grand jury.—When I recollect this, I feel that my expectation of my motion being acceded to by the supporters of that bill, is rather a proof of my own simplicity than a fair consequence to be drawn from the former conduct of those noble persons. I compliment them for their consistency in refusing all information respecting the consequences of a law for the enactment of which they had assigned no reasons, and for the allegations in which they had adduced no evidence; but surely it is natural for the house to enquire how often and with what effect the provisions of the new law had been resorted to; and how far the presumed object of preventing offences had been attained by its operation. This however, is not the only ground upon which I call upon the house to adopt my motion. I do not conceal that I have further views in making it. It is not indeed my intention to meddle with the law of libel; I do not feel my knowledge of the laws sufficient to justify me in attempting to do all which according to my imperfect and perhaps theoretical view of the subject, I should think desirable to be done. It may even be asked why a person so disqualified should interfere in such a matter at all.' Lord Holland said 'he would fairly own, that if upon a review of our history he had

found that all or even a large portion of the laws which had improved our constitution, which had vindicated the rights of the people, and which had purified the administration of justice, had originated from persons of the learned profession, he should have felt abashed in coming forward on such a subject; but the records of our legislature proved, that our ancestors, though not in the profession of the law, had not hesitated to correct the abuses which had crept into it; and, with few exceptions, that the most eminent magistrates had seldom been forward in supporting, much less in suggesting, those measures, which when adopted, had become the theme of universal praise.'

He repeated, however, that 'he was not about to propose any innovations in the law of libel; that law was not in his view perfect and faultless, but yet it might and had been administered without practical injustice; and though in his Utopia the punishment of libel might form a very short chapter indeed, he did not think himself warranted on this or any other occasion in making the remedy larger and more extensive than the evil. It was at the same time necessary to keep in view those great principles which distinguished the crime of libel from most other offences. In one respect it was like treason; for treason and libel (he meant throughout public state libels) were both crimes directly against the government, in which the public prosecutor and even the magistracy itself were more or less the parties aggrieved. The wise institution of juries especially since the libel act, in some measure provided for this difficulty; and in the cases of treason the law had mercifully invented many fences against the hand of power for the persons accused. Yet after all, the difficulty was more or less inherent in the nature of the thing; it must and it ever would be the bias of men in power to confound successful but lawful opposition with treasonable resistance, and a powerful exposure of the follies or wickedness of ministers or men in power, with seditious libels and calumnies. The ingenuity of man could not devise a system of law where in cases of this nature, he would not say the prejudice but the inclination of those who were to execute the laws, was not generally to convict men of having transgressed them; and in libel it should further be observed that contrary to all other crimes that which approached the confines of guilt was not only innocent but meritorious and useful. Government could never feel an interest in proving a robbery on the man who had not robbed, but it might feel an interest in convicting a political writer of a libel which he had never written. These were principles which should never be lost sight of, either in regulating or in executing the laws regarding that liberty; he had learnt them from the first authorities, and many of those who had supported them in this country drew from them consequences with respect to ex-officio informations much stronger than any which he should urge to the house. Indeed he knew that many of them had doubted the legality of *ex-officio* informations

altogether; however there was not only such a stream of precedent in their favour, but the legislature had so often by inference admitted, and had so recently, and in such good times regulated them, that he did not understand what constituted legality, if they were not legal.

Lord Holland then referred to what Blackstone had described to be the proper object of 'the king's own prosecutions filed *ex-officio* by his own attorney general;' viz. 'such enormous misdemeanours as peculiarly tend to disturb or endanger his government, or to molest him or affront him in the discharge of his royal functions.' 'By this criterion,' said the noble lord, 'let the late exercise of this power be tried. Had it been used only on great and critical occasions? Had it led to immediate punishment? His inquiries gave rise to a very different suspicion. He thought he could perceive in the frequency and nature of their exercise, that as informations had formerly been perverted from their lawful purpose, to those, first, of extortion and then of vexation, they had now been distorted to means of influence. If they were, as Blackstone says, intended 'for offences, in the punishment or prevention of which one moment's delay would be fatal,' how and why did it happen that between the filing of the information and the trial, not moments, not days, not terms, but months and even years elapsed? How did it happen that after trial and even conviction, weeks, months, and indefinite periods were suffered to elapse without bringing the criminals to judgment? Of the forty-two informations filed in the last three years, no less than twenty-six were not even brought to trial? Either these cases then did not, according to Blackstone's opinion, justify a resort to such a measure, or 26 enormous misdemeanours, threatening the state with destruction, had escaped unpunished and untried. It was in fact preposterous to say, that such occasions only had drawn forth the forty-two *ex-officio* informations; it would be childish and blind to notorious facts, to deny that they had been used for the purpose of intimidation and influence. This suspicion was strongly confirmed when they found that in some instances the subordinate agents, the printer, the publisher, the editor were informed against, and the author allowed to escape; in others all were proceeded against, in others the authors only; and compared the cases in which the opposite principles of proceeding had been adopted.

'Looking back to these circumstances, it would not be candour, it would be hypocrisy not to say that the attorney general had employed his powers for purposes other than those for which they were intrusted to him. He wished the house to consider the effect of such information even where no trial was instituted; the bare operation of an attorney general so accusing a man, put him at once to an expence of from 60*l.* to 200*l.* without the possibility of being indemnified. It was to all intents and purposes a fine of that sum at the discretion of the attorney general to inflict as often as

he chose upon every writer, proprietor, editor, or printer of a public newspaper.'

Lord Holland said, that he should on these grounds propose on some future occasion the following regulations:—1st. a limitation of the time at which it should be lawful to issue informations for libel after the first publication; since it was obvious that while the time was unlimited every periodical work might be for an indefinite period entirely dependent on an attorney general:—2ndly, he should propose to fix a period at which the attorney general should after filing an information, be compelled to bring the accused to trial, to drop the prosecution, or to assign reasons and ask leave of the court for further time to collect his witnesses:—3dly, he should wish to limit the period at which the persons convicted for state libels should be liable to be called up for judgment; for a verdict in the present state of the law might be perverted from the general purposes of punishment and example into the means of intimidation and influence.

The noble lord then proceeded to obviate some general objections which he apprehended might be urged against any restraint or regulation on punishments for libel. He maintained that 'complaints of the increased licentiousness of the press had been common at all times; that it was always in the mouth of men in power and public characters, and that he could not fix on the period of our history when, if the testimony of contemporaries was admitted, it would not be found that the licentiousness of the press had reached its summit. He did not mean by this to justify the abuse of the press, God forbid! But he did mean to deprecate all passion and irritation in punishment; he did mean to recommend an uncommon degree of temper, forbearance, or, if they would have it so, connivance in the execution of the laws against state libel, for it was his conscientious conviction that the prosecution and punishment of all that the law could construe into libel would have the effect of degrading the press, of deterring men of talent from becoming authors, and of throwing that powerful engine exclusively in the hands of the servile sycophants of power, or of needy adventurers of desperate fortunes, who having nothing to lose, could only raise themselves to importance by slander, calumny, and falsehood.'

Lord Ellenborough opposed the motion in a tone of impatience and irritation which certainly does not appear to have been justified by any thing either in the matter or the manner of the speech of the noble mover. He began by observing that 'he had expected that Lord Holland would have condescended to specify some instances of abuse or oppression as the foundation for the proceeding he had proposed. But nothing of the sort seemed to be adduced. He did not see why persons in official stations ought to be made the objects of invidious investigation upon the ground of hazardous conjecture. As for the information desired, what could the noble lord learn from the documents he called for which he did not know already? If there were any mat-

ter of special interest to which he was anxious to refer, every facility in his (Lord E.'s) power should not be wanting to the noble lord to enable him to come at the required facts; but he was afraid that this was not the sort of facility that was either wished for or expected; it was not in order to be informed that the noble lord had made the present motion.—Some doubt had been thrown upon the legality of these informations, and much stress had been laid upon an *obiter dictum* of Lord Hale's on the subject. But it was not to be credited that a man so perfect in his knowledge of the laws and the constitution as Lord Hale was, could possibly have expressed such an opinion. The law of informations *ex-officio* not the law of the land! What was law if this was not? for it had been made law by the same authority that had made all the laws that held the government together. It was as much law as that which gave the noble lord the right of speaking in that house—it was as much law, as the law which put the crown of the realm on the brow of the sovereign. If the noble lord questioned the expediency of the law, why not propose that it be repealed? That would be the direct and manly course. Nothing could be more mischievous than by declamatory speeches in that public assembly to impress upon the public mind the false notion that informations *ex-officio* were not perfectly legal. The noble lord may, if he choose, propose to amend the practice of filing *ex-officio* informations, but if that practice was conformable to law, —law undoubted and recognised and indisputable, he should not venture to question its legality. (Here Lord Holland intimated that he had never disputed its legality.) True the noble baron had not in words, indeed, questioned the legality of the practice, but the whole drift and spirit of his reasoning was directly to that effect.'

The noble and learned lord then referred to Lord Holland's remarks upon the indictment bill of 1808. Upon receiving notice of the present motion he had been curious to inquire how often that bill had been acted upon. He found that in the course of four years there was but one solitary instance of its being put in force —and that was the case of a man, one Gorman, who being under prosecution for a libel, after an information had been filed against him, had the hardihood to publish it again. 'And yet,' said Lord E. 'this was the mighty abuse of that act; this forsooth was one of the ruinous stretches of power which threatened the government with subversion, and put the subjects of George III. on a par with those of Bonaparte. He knew nothing more to be deprecated in that house than violent and vague declamations, resting upon no grounds (hear, hear, from Lord Holland). The noble lord might call all that he had said a mere tirade; but in all that he said did he not bottom himself on facts? (Hear. hear, from Lord Holland). The cries of the noble lord could not convince him that he had not. He was used to tumult and alarms—they never yet could put him down. The noble lord, if not towards him, (Lord E.) might in

courtesy towards the house at least, have adopted a different tone of exclamation. He repeated that he knew nothing more mischievous than inoculating the public mind with groundless apprehensions of imaginary evils. For himself, his abhorrence of the licentiousness of the press was founded upon his love of liberty, which burned as strong in his heart as in that of the noble lord. If there was one mode more efficacious than another, to ruin the liberty of the country, it was by generating that groundless distrust in the great officers of justice which such needless and vexatious jealousy was calculated to inspire.'

Earl Stanhope supported the motion, and said 'that there were two species of libels which ought carefully to be distinguished. Libels against individuals it was their duty to discourage. Truth in such cases was no justification, and if such libels were suffered society could not exist: but all public questions ought to be open to the press; every subject connected with religion, philosophy, government, and the administration of justice, any thing that could by possibility be supposed connected with the benefit of the nation ought to be duly and freely discussed.'

Lord Erskine contended, that persons accused by *ex-officio* information by the attorney general ought to have protections analogous to those provided by the constitution in the case of treason. Instead of this they were exposed to greater dangers than cases of ordinary crimes, by the abuse of special juries. He did not mean to complain of the institution but of the want of proper regulation. He thought, therefore, that it would not only be just but wise policy to take the whole subject into immediate consideration. The administration of justice to be useful must be popular, and it never became unpopular but through abuse.

The Lord Chancellor reminded the house that if any alteration was attempted in the present mode of regulating special juries, the same principle would equally apply to some change in the system of summoning common juries, who were all returned at the discretion of the sheriff. He must oppose the motion because the mere adoption of it would in some degree sanction the suspicion that there was something improper in the administration of justice. The substantial interests of the public required that they should give every *primâ facie* presumption that persons who filled offices of trust, particularly those relating to the administration of the laws, discharged them with fidelity and integrity.

Lord Lansdowne, on the other hand, affirmed that 'the effect of the motion could not be mischievous—it might be highly beneficial. It was at all periods beneficial to satisfy the public mind; to dissipate its doubts and to extinguish its suspicions. He fully concurred with the learned lords that the process by information *ex-officio* was sanctioned by the whole practice of the constitution, and bottomed on the earliest precedents of our history. He would go farther and say, that he believed it to be a most necessary and

indispensable instrument of the government. But did any thing that the noble mover had said tend to question this proposition? On the contrary he distinctly made this acknowledgement, and confined his motion to an inquiry whether this, in itself just and necessary power, had not been misapplied in its exercise.'

Lord Liverpool said that 'the motion was for information, and the natural question upon this was whether such information was necessary or not? It appeared to him that it was not necessary, for every information of this kind could be obtained by other means than an application to parliament. The operation of the motion was to bring suspicion on the administration of justice; and the better course for the noble lord would be to select any prosecution which he complained of as oppressive, and then to make his motion for inquiry. To tell them that the prosecutions for the last three years exceeded in number those of former years was telling them nothing; it might proceed from different causes, from the diffusion of learning, or even from the circumstance of too great lenity having been shewn before. The libels of different times, indeed, were much the same, or if they differed, perhaps they were worse formerly; but though in particular instances the evil was not so great, yet by the extent to which it was carried, it might require a more vigorous prosecution. By the progress of civilization, publications of all kinds became more numerous, and libels might be expected to multiply in proportion. With respect to the character of the present attorney general's prosecutions, he would refer to the results of them; of all those brought to trial, only two had failed. The country, indeed, owed him great obligations, and was indebted to him for adding much to the true and genuine liberty of the press.

The discussion was closed by a reply from Lord Holland, who said that he must trespass for a few minutes on the time of the house, not to answer arguments, for none had been adduced which had not been triumphantly refuted by Lord Lansdowne, but to repel accusations and charges which had been thrown out in a style and tone which fortunately for the dignity of their deliberations was rare and unusual in that house. 'I am told,' said Lord Holland, 'not by inference but in direct terms that I am passionate, that I am captious, that I am indirect and unmanly. I profess not the temper of bearing such charges with equanimity, and if I were to disguise my astonishment, and I will say, my indignation, at hearing them brought against me, I should prove myself guilty of that insincerity with which I am charged. With respect to the vehemence or passion with which I may have expressed myself, I should have hoped that the learned lord would have had the charity to recollect that I have never had the advantages of those judicial habits from which he has profited so much, and which, as they require from him, so they have no doubt taught him that calmness and composure of manner for which he is so remarkable. The noble and learned lord has talked in a high strain of

his own heroic contempt for clamour. He has held up to your lordships' admiration his inflexible firmness of character, and his glowing though rational love of liberty. All this may be so, and I give him credit for the sentiments which he professes; but though I may vaunt less loudly my contempt of slander, I will tell the noble lord that unfounded accusation and intemperate virulence of language, come they from a mob or an individual or from what quarter they may, will not deter me from doing my duty in this house. The invective which has nothing to recommend it but authority, is as much clamour as the cries and shouts of a mob, and I hope, that till I hear facts and arguments against the measures I recommend, I shall have the courage and honesty to treat the assailants, be they who they may, with a due portion of that feeling which the noble and learned lord so properly reserves for all clamour unfounded in reason.'

Upon a division the motion was rejected by 24 votes to 12.

A similar motion was brought forward by Lord Folkestone in the house of commons, on the 28th of March. The noble lord began by stating the extraordinary increase in the number of criminal informations for libel, which had taken place of late years. 'In the course of the thirty-one years ending in 1791, there had been seventy such prosecutions instituted. From 1801 to 1806 there were fourteen; in 1807 there was not one: whereas in the years 1808, 1809, and 1810, there were no less than forty-two; the yearly average of informations in the former periods being two; in the latter fourteen. That increase must have arisen either from an increased propensity of the public press to offend against the law; or from an increased eagerness on the part of the attorney general to institute such prosecutions. If the former be the fact, the house will do well to consider what the circumstances are which have given rise to this proneness to offend. The object of the public prints is rather to follow than to lead the public feeling. It was lately proved on the trial of the editor of the Day, that the very libel for which he is now under sentence was inserted for the express purpose of falling in with the popular sentiments, and of thus increasing the sale of the paper. The increase of libels therefore, is a proof of an increased disposition on the part of the people to adopt and fall in with these libellous sentiments; and if such a disposition does exist among the people, it befits parliament to inquire what are the increased grievances under which the people labour, and which have rendered popular publications that awaken afterwards the vengeance of the law. For nothing but real and serious injury can raise at once the cry of a whole country.'

Lord Folkestone then pointed out the many disadvantages under which a defendant labours when attacked by the crown through the means of an *ex-officio* information. He adverted also to the circumstance that the attorney general had a personal interest in these prosecutions in consequence of the fees he received; though disclaiming at the same time any belief

that so sordid a motive could have operated upon the gentleman who at present filled that office. He spoke also of the abuses to which special juries were liable—the full number of special jurors very rarely attended, and as the king alone has in these cases a right to pray *a tales*, the defendant not having this advantage it was evidently in the power of the attorney general to postpone the proceedings as long as ever he pleased. The individuals composing the special jury were generally selected by an officer of the crown, and in point of fact were most of them connected with the government offices, and therefore liable to undue influence. Another hardship in trials for libel was that the attorney general, whether the defendant adduced evidence or not, assumed a right to reply. By this means the prosecutor had a very great advantage. In his opening speech he might only charge one half of the offence, and introduce new matter in his reply, thereby influencing the verdict in a manner the most fatal to the accused.

The attorney general replied to the noble lord, and defended both the law of *ex-officio* information as it at present existed, and his own conduct in inforcing the execution of it. 'He said that he defied any man who had been an observer of his proceedings since his accession to office, to say that in one single case there had been any exercise of the influence of power to the prejudice of those against whom it had been his duty to institute prosecutions for libel. On the contrary he was confident it would be found that every prosecution of that nature had been conducted with the greatest lenity. Indeed he must say, and he was happy to make the declaration, because it included a just character of the constitution and feeling of the country, that no man standing in his situation, however bold his disposition, however strong his nerves, however wicked his inclination, dare so much abuse the power vested in him, as not to give an offender prosecuted by the crown as great or greater advantages than those possessed by any ordinary criminal. Were any prosecutions so closely watched as those commenced by attornies-general? Were there any individuals whose conduct excited such careful and curious inquiry, if they exceeded the just limits of their power? Was zeal or ability wanted to detect their errors? Were they even allowed the ordinary excuse for human infirmity for any wrong which they might commit? It had indeed been thrown out by the noble lord, though he saved him (the attorney general) personally from the necessity of repelling the accusation, that the paltry fees of office might be an inducement to those who held that situation to prefer proceeding in cases of libel by information rather than by indictment. He really forgot at that moment whether the fee to an attorney general was 6*s.* 8*d.* or 13*s.* 4*d.*, but in either case he would not condescend to defend those who might be placed in that situation from the imputation of being influenced by any unworthy consideration of personal emolument, still less by the amount of such a fee.

'But the noble lord had particularly dwelt upon the circumstance that there was no limita-

tion of time in cases of libel, and that it was always open to the attorney general to prosecute at any period, however distant from the commission of the offence. Is this intelligible, unless it is intended to imply that after a lapse of time I have oppressively exercised the power which is intrusted to me? Is there a single member whom this statement would not lead to believe that I have filed criminal informations for state libels in this manner? The house therefore will scarcely credit the statement of the fact, that after a term had elapsed from the publication of a libel, in no single instance has an information been filed by me against an offence of that description. Offenders of other descriptions I may have prosecuted at periods more distant from the commission of the offence; but in the cases of libel I have never allowed a longer time to intervene between the discovery of the offence and the filing of the information, than what was required for the necessary legal preparation. The noble lord has contended that it is a mere mockery to tell a man sentenced for libel that he may have the benefit of a writ of error, because he might wait long before his appeal was decided; and that it would be very little consolation to him to find in nine or ten years after the termination of his imprisonment that the house of lords had reversed his sentence. How has it happened that the noble lord forgot to accompany this assertion with the statement that two of the individuals of whose cases he complained, did bring their writ of errors into the house of lords; that being a criminal case immediate attention was paid to it, that other pending matters were made to give way, in order that the subject might be taken into consideration at the earliest possible opportunity?

'By the same means that the noble lord has ascertained the number of informations filed, he might have ascertained the nature of the libels for which they were filed. On that subject, however, he has not said a word. I yet think that the house will not deal so harshly with an officer compelled to exercise such invidious powers as those which it is my duty to exercise, as to conclude that because the number of informations has increased, the informations were necessarily improper. If the number of libels published increase, an attorney general would neglect his duty unless he increased the number of his prosecutions in proportion. The noble lord knows very well that it was relied on by Hart and White in their defence, it was relied on by the two Hunts, that publications of a nature similar to theirs have been passed over unnoticed on a former occasion. In what a situation therefore is the attorney general placed? If he abstains from prosecution he may be accused of holding out impunity to future offenders; if he prosecutes he is charged with unbecoming and oppressive severity. Though it is true that forty-two persons have been prosecuted for libels during the last three years, it should be observed that the number of libels prosecuted is only eighteen; several persons having been prosecuted for the same libel copied into different papers. Of these eighteen, eleven had either been

proved before a jury, or judgement on them had been suffered to go by default. On one the defendant had been acquitted, and I in consequeuce withdrew the record of the next on the paper, and have not brought it to trial. Three of the defendants have inserted satisfactory apologies in their newspapers, and I have dropped the prosecutions in consequence. I filed an information against the editor of the Independent Whig, for a libel on the Duke of York, long after the investigation of his Royal Highness's conduct had terminated; but certain representations were made to me in behalf of the defendant, and I consented to drop the prosecution, a proper apology being given. One case is now pending, but not ripe for trial. In two cases connected with Major Hogan's pamphlet, I dropped the prosecution for reasons which I am persuaded the house would not condemn.'

'With respect to special juries,' the Attorney General observed, 'that the master of the crown-office, by whom they were appointed, was no more under the controul of the crown than the judges were. He held his office for life. Nor was it correct to say that the special jurors were selected by this officer. They were taken from the freeholders book. The constable of each parish returned the names of the freeholders of that parish, and three several lists were collected in a book. The system pursued by the master was to let no one know where he opened the book and began to take names, lest that knowledge should lead to improper contrivances. Opening the book in different parts he took forty-eight names, which names were given to the parties, who attended on a future day, and had each the privilege of alternately striking out a name, till the number was reduced to twenty-four. This list of twenty-four names was returned to the court, and from it twelve individuals were drawn to try the cause. In fact it was not possible to conceive a more impartial mode of proceeding from first to last.'

Sir Francis Burdett warmly supported the motion, and contended against the legality of *ex-officio* informations in general. Mr. Stephen observed, that in last January alone no fewer than 2,037,000 stamps for newspapers issued from the stamp office; and such an increase was likely to be followed by an increase of libels. There was at present in many political writings a spirit which was peculiarly dangerous. It was not confined to the attack of this nor of that administration, but was hostile to the constitution itself.

Mr. William Elliott did not see any ground for the motion, as no instances had been produced of an improper use of the powers of the attorney general. Sir Samuel Romilly did not enter upon the general question, but conceived that the information which was the object of the motion ought not to be withheld. Lord Folkestone replied, and on a division his motion was rejected by 119 to 36.

On the 7th of March, Mr. M. A. Taylor brought under the consideration of the house of commons the situation of the suitors in the other house of parliament and in the court of chancery. He remarked upon the great increase

of business which of late years had taken place in that court. In the year 1731 the commissions of bankruptcy sued out amounted to 160; in 1809 they were not less than 1100; in the present year their number reached 2400. Beside the accumulation under this head, the cases of wills, settlements, &c. were four or five times greater in amount than in the time of Lord Hardwicke. Was it possible for one judge to get through such an immensity of business. In moving an inquiry on the subject, he meant nothing invidious to Lord Eldon, for he did not believe it was possible that the noble lord, however desirous of doing his duty to the public, could get through it. He asked merely for justice to the country. The progress of justice was equally tardy in the house of lords; there were at that time not less than three hundred cases of appeal waiting for hearing in the order and course in which they were set down. The number of causes heard in one year were not more than thirteen, and unless some provision for disposing of them were made by the legislature, they could not be gone through in twenty years. In some of the cases which had been decided, much hardship and distress had accrued to the parties in consequence of this delay. He would instance the case of Miles, in which a woman claimed under the bequest of her husband, and the question was whether that bequest did not bar her dowry? From twelve to fourteen years had elapsed since the first agitation of that question, during which the widow was reduced to the utmost distress, and the decision was not yet known. Again, take the case of suitors claiming a beneficial interest in leases. It had happened that before the decision of the suit, the leases had expired, and consequently the party interested was deprived of his right. In other cases of tenantry for life, the tenant had died before the decision of the court. Mr. Taylor then moved for the appointment of a committee to ascertain the number of appeals before the house of lords, and stated it to be his intention to move subsequently for the number of motions and questions decided and heard in the court of chancery during the last five years, and the arrears of business in that court.

The chancellor of the exchequer allowed that great grievances did exist; that there was a deficiency in the power of administering justice on various points, and that it consequently became the duty of the legislature to see that deficiency supplied. The question of the appeals, however, had been taken up by the other house, and a committee appointed to inquire into the subject, on the motion of the lord chancellor himself. It would therefore be advisable to wait and see the result of that investigation. With respect to arrears of cases in the court of chancery, when they had once ascertained in what way the cases of appellants might be accelerated, they might then proceed to enquire whether the business of the other court might not be expedidited. Under these circumstances there could be no use in adopting the motion of Mr. Taylor.

Mr. Adam proposed that the debate be adjourned for three

weeks that in the event of the decision of the lords' committee not proving satisfactory, the business might be resumed in that house, and Sir Samuel Romilly declared that if that adjournment should not be carried, he should vote for the original motion. In so doing he disclaimed all intention of conveying either directly or indirectly any mark of censure upon the lord chancellor; 'infact' said he 'nothing could give him greater concern than to be thought to give his consent to any motion which could in any way be construed into a desire to reflect upon that noble and learned lord. No man had experienced more uniform acts of kindness than himself from that noble lord. Indeed his general attention to the bar, his conciliatory demeanour, and his strict love of justice, had endeared him to all the gentlemen who practised in that court. A man more qualified in respect of talents and learning for all parts of his profession he knew not; and he most firmly believed that he never had his equal in point of anxiety to do justice to the suitors of the court. If he had any defect it was an over-anxiety in that respect.' Sir Samuel, however, insisted upon the necessity of applying an immediate remedy to the grievance complained of. He observed that from the great pressure of business within the last two years, causes had stood for that time in the lord chancellor's paper for hearing, without having yet been heard. In the house of lords the delay was yet greater. In one case, which was that of a copyright, the interest had ceased when the decision was known, as the period of the right had expired.

The amendment was rejected by 87 votes to 47; the chancellor of the exchequer then moved the previous question on the original motion, and it was carried without a division.

The lords' committee, alluded to in the course of this debate, had been appointed on the 5th of March. On the 30th of May it made its report upon the subject which had been submitted to its examination. After stating that the number of appeals and writs of error then depending in that house, amounted together to 338, of which 296 were appeals, and 42 writs of error, the committee declared, that in their opinion it was indispensably necessary that a greater proportion of the time of the house of lords should be employed in hearing appeals than had hitherto been allotted to that part of the business of the house; and that it was therefore expedient that the house should determine to sit for that purpose, at least three days in every week, meeting at ten o'clock at latest, till the present arrear of causes should have been considerably reduced, and subsequently two days in the week at least, meeting at the same hour. It was added, that as this regulation would unavoidably take up a large portion of the time of the lord chancellor, which would have been employed in other judicial duties; and as it appeared that the quantity of business in the court of chancery had of late years considerably increased, 'it was expedient, in order to secure at the same time a sufficient attendance upon the house of lords by the lord chancellor, and sufficient means for carrying on the busi-

ness of the court of chancery, that an additional judge in that court should be appointed; the said judge to hold his office during good behaviour, and to be of a rank correspondent with that of master of the rolls.'

The resolutions proposed by the committee were adopted by the house; but the session was too near its close to admit the introduction of any measure founded upon them. Mr. M. A. Taylor revived the discussion in the commons by moving, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the causes that retard the decision of suits in the high court of chancery. Sir Samuel Romilly supported the motion, and took occasion to animadvert upon the measure that had been recommended by the lords' committee, of appointing another judge to assist the lord chancellor in his court. He observed, that 'its effect would be to establish a judge in the court of chancery, who should not have to try original causes, but merely to decide upon appeals. That was an experiment which no man who knew any thing of a court of equity would think ought to be lightly hazarded. The whole system of equity in this country was founded on the decisions of successive chancellors from Lord Nottingham down to the present time; and it was necessary that those who had to administer that branch of our law should be in the constant habit of deciding original cases in the court of chancery. If the duties of lord chancellor were too great for him to perform, it would be better to separate from his office the functions of speaker of the house of lords, or the decision of bankrupt cases, though he saw considerable objection to either, than to take from him that jurisdiction which constituted the very essence of his office. It did not appear from the report that the business of the court of chancery had increased of late; the increase of motions, no doubt, was doubled, but it did not follow that the business had augmented in the same proportion. From all the consideration he could give to the subject he thought that a temporary remedy was best adapted to the occasion, and he believed in his conscience that if a commission to assist the chancellor was appointed, all the arrears in the court would be disposed of in less than a year.'

June 5.

Mr. Perceval objected to the motion. He observed that 'they had now before them an account from the lords of the causes which led to a suspension of justice in their house and in the court of chancery, and of the means which they (the lords) had adopted for expediting the dispatch of appeals. It had naturally occurred to them that if they were to sit for the consideration of appeals and writs of error at ten in the morning, a deficiency must occur in the court of chancery. They had, therefore, in order to remedy this, suggested the creation of an additional judge in equity. He thought it better to wait till the bill from the lords came down.'

Mr. Ponsonby said, that 'it had been argued that the number of motions which had of late been made might account for the delay; but what was the reason of the increase? Why simply that the

attorney or client could not get the opinion of the court directly on the cause itself, they were glad to come at it by a side wind, in the way of a motion. These motions, then, were the effect of the delay and not the cause. The creation of a third judge would rather increase the delay than remedy it; because the chancellor being the supreme judge in the court every suitor had at last a right to claim his final opinion, which would thus be removed a step by the intervention of an intermediate jurisdiction between him and the master of the rolls. If the chancellor was a man of knowledge and talents, and of a proper constitution of mind to decide on the causes, then the delay would not take place.'

Mr. M. A. Taylor asked, 'Why, if they would relieve the chancellor from some of his heavy duties, did they not separate from his office that part which had not originally belonged to it? But the truth, he feared, was that the profits were found to be too great to be readily given up. Was the public to pay for this new master of the rolls? Why then not ascertain first the real emoluments of the chancellor, and how those emoluments arose out of his labours. If of those labours there were some which he could not discharge, for such it was to be presumed he could not reasonably expect to be paid.'

On a division, the numbers for and against the motion were equal, and it was carried by the casting vote of the speaker.

A committee was appointed, and Mr. Taylor moved that it should be instructed to examine into all the fees and emoluments of the lord chancellor. Mr. Perceval thought as this point would be a subject of inquiry with the committee now sitting on public offices, the proposed instruction was both unnecessary and exceptionable. It was supported, however, by Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Banks, and the chancellor of the exchequer finally withdrew his opposition.

Sir Samuel Romilly continued his exertions for the amendment of our criminal law. With this view he, early in the session, introduced five bills; the first repealed the enactment which took away the benefit of the clergy from persons stealing to the value of forty shillings in any dwelling house, or out-house thereunto belonging; the second related to privately stealing in shops and warehouses; the third to thefts in ships and barges in their ports, or on navigable rivers, and to thefts on wharfs and quays; the fourth to stealing linen or cotton cloth or yarn from printing houses or bleaching grounds; the fifth to stealing in like manner from bleaching grounds in Ireland. Of these bills the two last were now brought forward for the first time; the other three had been introduced in one or other of the houses of parliament in the course of last session, and were either rejected or withdrawn.

The discussion on the first, viz. of the dwelling-house robbery bill, took place on the 29th of March. Upon this occasion Mr. Frankland opposed the whole scope and spirit of the proposed reform of our criminal code, in a speech of singular ability and acuteness.

He remarked that great and extensive as were the talents and learning of his honourable friend Sir Samuel Romilly, he was convinced that an acting magistrate had, practically speaking, more knowledge of penal law than that learned gentleman. 'An acting magistrate,' said Mr. F. 'knows how penal laws operate. I do not mean their mere bearings and workings in courts of justice; but how they operate upon the mind; how they interweave themselves with manners; how they school and educate the rising generation; how they form character. And they do form character—national character—no nation upon earth has so little of the petty and thievish propensities. Nothing but manners growing out of laws could have produced this effect in a country where the mass and value of personal property is so immense, and where the eagerness of commercial rivalry surrounds us on all sides with temptations whereever we tread or cast our eyes.

'Are we,' continued Mr. F., 'to repeal laws of long standing, merely because upon ordinary principles of legislation severe laws are to be avoided? The house, I am sure, will deeply feel that to repeal existing laws is very different from enacting new ones. The same arguments which might be sufficient to dissuade the passing of a law are far from sufficient to induce the repeal of a law when once enacted and interwoven with our manners. Such repeals tend to unsettle the opinions of mankind, to disturb received ideas as to guilt. It is notorious that this effect was produced last year when my learned friend's bills were under the consideration of parliament. Owing to a misapprehension, it had been imagined that the bills had actually passed, and the speculators were immediately upon the alert. Not the description of speculators who had urged or promoted the alteration, but the speculators to whom the new system immediately applied. To young, ardent, and inexperienced minds, the disposition of mankind to leave things as they are, seems very dull and very stupid. We all of us remember that period of life when there was scarcely any possible subject which we did not fancy we could improve by cutting and carving it according to our fancies. It is long before we discover that every thing is referable to happiness, and that happiness is better produced by continuing to act even under imperfect systems, than by unsettling the opinions of mankind and the rules and maxims of life. When laws have so operated as to have formed the manners and character of a people (which is their true and most advantageous operation) and the conduct of men habitually and, as it were, unconsciously conforms itself to their enactments; it would seem to the unthinking that such laws are become unnecessary, and might as well be struck out of the code as the sanctions are never enforced. But it has been found that the repeal of such sanctions has a tendency, by disturbing received ideas, to throw men back to that less perfect state, from which the operation of the repealed sanction had so successfully withdrawn them. In this manner sanctions are introduced, sanctions are

enforced, sanctions are effectual; —sanctions are not enforced, sanctions are repealed, crimes are recommitted; sanctions are re-enacted, and sanctions are re-enforced. And thus we labour in vain in alternations of misery.

'My learned friend succeeded last year in repealing the statute which took away the benefit of the clergy from offenders stealing privately from the person; and he states that the beneficial effect of his success is already apparent. As the law before stood, there had been few committals or prosecutions for such offences; but now he had the satisfaction to inform the house that committals and prosecutions had increased, and he doubted not but that abundant convictions and punishments would ensue; and he gave us to understand that he anticipated the same beneficial results from the passing of the present bills. Sir, I will not glance at the fallacious grounds of his exultation; I will not hint that there may have been more committals and prosecutions for picking pockets, because there have been more pockets picked; —a fact, indeed, not merely known to the officers of police, but I believe to every man who hears me. But I will say generally that a system of criminal jurisprudence which should have the effect of busying a large mass of the people in criminal prosecutions, thus misapplying their time, and their thoughts, would be the greatest of curses, and not a blessing. Even if such a system had a tendency to lessen crime, I say it would be buying exemption from crime too dear. Indeed so erroneous is it that wise laws are evidenced by the multitude of prosecutions and punishments, that the very opposite is the truth. The perfection of a penal law would be that it should never be executed.

'Human laws proceed from human necessities, and are not referable to abstract ideas of justice, or to any supposed scale of proportionate retribution of so much suffering for so much guilt. Indeed the legal code and the moral code are not only different but contrary. *In foro conscientiæ* the greater the temptation, the greater the offence; *in foro humano*, the greater the temptation, the greater must be the punishment to deter from the action. In truth the subject matter of the two codes is different. The moral code respects the agent, the legal code the act. The agent is justified by his motives, though the act is injurious; but the act, if materially injurious, must be prevented by punishment, though the doer of the act, as far as his motives are concerned, may, *in foro conscientiæ* be deserving of praise rather than punishment. But whenever the human tribunal, in the application of the legal code, by calling in the aid of the moral code, is able to adapt the degree of punishment to the moral guilt of the agent, it is very soothing and consolatory to our minds.—Human tribunals should be so constituted as to be able to avail themselves abundantly of the aid of the moral code. And yet it is singular that those who have speculated most upon the improvement of the penal laws should endeavour, by excluding discretion, and by antecedent definitions, to

banish the moral code, and to render the penal code all in all.

'But we are called upon to substitute certainty for severity of punishment. Assuredly if every misdeed was sure to be punished, it would not be necessary that punishment should be severe. If when I stretched out my hand to do evil an invisible hand smote me, it might not be necessary that it should strike hard, or strike often. But in human affairs where is this invisible hand? Certainty of punishment implies certainty of detection, certainty of prosecution, certainty of sufficient legal evidence, and of witnesses disposed to give it, certainty of conviction, and of correct views and clearness of understanding of the judge and the juries, and of those to whom it is intrusted to qualify the operation of the laws. How can we secure this certainty? Sir, I sadly fear that human laws proceeding upon human necessities, and not upon abstract ideas of justice, must, to secure the end and object of those laws, compensate by the severity of their sanctions for the uncertainty of their execution. The magnitude of the threat must be proportioned to the uncertainty, and to the distance of the period at which it may be carried into effect, and to the degree of probability of its never being carried into effect at all. Human laws must be so contrived that criminals must feel that they will be losers; they must feel that crime is not a profitable trade; and without severe sanctions it is not easy to conceive a more profitable trade. There are many cases in which a criminal would be a gainer, even though detected and punished. But how enormous are his gains when the uncertainty of detection, prosecution and conviction is taken into account!

'The preamble of the bill states, that the act of the 12th of Anne "had not been found effectual for the prevention of the crimes therein mentioned;" that is, that a certain law had not been found effectual for the prevention of a certain crime. Why! what law ever was? Is it meant that there are more robberies committed in houses now than there were in Queen Anne's time? It would be very strange if there were not, considering the great increase of population, and the still greater increase of houses, and in the amount and value of personal property. The supporters of the bill say, that it is the practical result of a law that gives it real operation, and that in that case in order to make the law practically more severe, we must make it nominally less severe. The criminal, it is urged, looks to practical results; in his meditations he reflects that prosecutors decline prosecuting, juries acquit, judges mitigate, kings pardon, nobody is ever hanged. It may be observed that this is rather a whimsical series of supposed facts; for juries could not acquit unless prosecutors prosecuted; judges could not mitigate unless juries convicted; and kings could not pardon unless judges passed sentence. But admitting that the criminal does so argue himself into a belief that he may safely persist in his course, what are the meditations of the prosecutor on the same series of sup-

posed facts? He also reflects that juries acquit, judges mitigate, and kings pardon—and what? That nobody is ever hanged? No he is seized with a fit of trembling on arriving at the conclusion that every body is hanged; and he of course declines to prosecute. So that from the same premises they arrive at different conclusions; the one that nobody is hanged, the other that every body is hanged. It would not be very easy, according to any theory of our passions, to explain how it happens that from the same premises the prosecutors and criminals arrive at such opposite conclusions. Prosecutors, naturally enough, are unwilling to prosecute. Men do not even enforce their civil rights by legal process. But is the civil code therefore useless because men decline to call it into action? I do not know that it would be an advantage to the community that every crime should be prosecuted, and nothing left to morals and the workings of men's hearts toward one another. So also as to witnesses—witnesses keep out of the way in civil cases as well as in criminal, from delicacy, indolence, pusillanimity. The truth is, that the duty of prosecuting is one of the burthens imposed on individuals by the system of British jurisprudence, and none of us are quite so fond of our duties as we are of our rights.

'The object of the bills is to increase the security of property by lessening the amount of depredation on property. But property itself is but one means of happiness, and it is in vain that we render that mean of happiness more secure, if by so doing we subtract a greater amount of happiness in another place by the operation of other causes. I however distinctly deny that these bills will have the effect of rendering property more secure, for I am persuaded that they would at once render property less secure and men more miserable. As the law now stands, the person who feels the disposition working in his mind to commit the crime, endeavours to calculate the extent of his danger. He finds his views very indistinct. He finds every where confusion, uncertainty and obscurity. A kind of darkness seems to envelope him. The terror of the law swells in his imagination. The haze magnifies it. He cannot measure its size or shape. I well remember the different sensations which I experienced on first hearing that for such an act a person might be transported; but for such an act he might be hanged. To young minds on which the silent and invisible operations of the law are most operative, in the forming of habits, manners, and character, when the spirit of adventure and the love of novelty is ardent, the idea of being sent to new and distant climes, conveys few terrors even to those who are happily tied and connected to their native soil. How little, therefore, can such an idea operate on those who are loose upon the world!

'I appeal, as witnesses, to those who from their judicial situations are almost daily in the habit of observing how the laws operate upon the mind. The law officers of the city of London have been asked what has been the effect of

the act of parliament which took away capital punishments from privately stealing from the person; and they have answered, that the effect has been to increase the number of offenders, and consequently the number of convictions; and that the offence of larceny from the person has very much increased since the repeal of the statute; that offenders have become more numerous, more united in gangs, and that they carry on their depredations more systematically, and with greater boldness. They have been asked what crimes are most prevalent and most difficult to be guarded against, and they have answered, stealing to the amount of forty shillings in a dwelling-house, and stealing to the amount of five shillings in a shop. Offenders for stealing in a dwelling-house are nearly as numerous as all the other offenders subject to capital punishment, particularly those through the agency of menial servants. They have been asked if it is advisable or safe to take off the capital punishments from these offences; and their answer is it would be very unadvisable and very unsafe.

'The system which attempts to affix prospectively an exact punishment to an exact offence, antecedently endeavouring to define every shade of distinction which a case may receive from its circumstances, trusting nothing to the discretion of the wise and good, and thus presumptuously making the human code all in all, hardens men's hearts and destroys all moral sentiments. Criminals become sober calculators, and know how to measure and weigh and appreciate the quantities on each side of their equation. By the law, as it now stands, men feel that the severity of the law is never likely to visit them, unless their actions evince moral depravity, atrocious malignity, or confirmed habits of evil. It is this feeling which forms the character of a people. Laws, customs, manners, habits, character, act and re-act upon each other. They are fearfully and wonderfully blended together, acting at once both as cause and consequence. Our system has formed the character of the people. And what a people! Those best can speak of them who best know them. Let us pause before we introduce changes founded on new maxims, derived from other sources, applicable to other states of society, and supported by doctrines avowedly calling in question the whole frame and policy of our criminal jurisprudence! Do not let us think meanly of ourselves, or suffer others to imagine that we are savage, unfeeling, ignorant barbarians, who know nothing either of the principles of legislation or of those of humanity and justice. Are we to cast about for instructors in such subjects? We are a nation grown grey in the contemplation of moral, legal and political truths. No country on earth has had so many minds, for such a series of years, engaged in such contemplations, and in attempts by every species of arrangement, moral and legal and political, to increase the liberty and happiness of the people. How comes it then that our laws are severe? It is because we love freedom and happiness; because we are jealous of previous re-

straint and controul of our actions; because we wish to avoid the teasing vigilance of the perpetual superintendence of the law; because we would not purchase exemption from crime by the loss of virtue. And we have every way attained our object; we have attained at once the benefit of the terror of human law proceeding from human necessities, and the benefit of the moral law proceeding from justice. As in our political institutions we have succeeded in uniting *res olim dissociabiles, imperium et libertas;* so in our system of jurisprudence we have succeeded in uniting things full as difficult to reconcile, *Lex et honestas.* We have fashioned and taught a people to respect the law of the land, without having, at the same time, weakened their sentiments either of honour or morality.'

The bill, however, was supported by Sir John Anstruther, Lord George Grenville, Mr. Macdonald, and Mr. Morris. Sir Samuel Romilly in reply, observed that the recorder and common serjeant of London objected to the proposed alteration, because the offences to which the bills applied were offences which had greatly increased and were now increasing. But could there, he asked, be any greater objection to a law than that the offence against which it was intended to provide was increasing under it? This was a strange reason for objecting to a change. Of what nature then ought the change to be? They could not resort to a system of greater severity; why not then seek a remedy in a greater degree of lenity? If he had succeeded two years ago, in procuring a change of the law in this respect, would not the increase in the number of culprits which was now regarded as a reason why no change should take place, have been attributed to the very change which had been introduced? He admitted that the number of prosecutions for stealing from the person had increased since the passing of his bill, exempting that crime from capital punishment; but this was a necessary consequence, and only shewed that the measure was likely to operate. It must necessarily, at first, increase prosecutions and convictions, but when its effects were seen and felt it would immediately lead to a decrease of the crime.

The second reading was carried by a majority of 79 to 53; and after a short discussion on the third reading the bill passed the house; as did the four other bills which had been introduced by Sir Samuel Romilly.

On the 10th of May they were brought under the consideration of the house of lords by Lord Holland. Lord Ellenborough expressed his decided disapprobation of the measure in question.—The two bills respecting stealing from bleaching grounds in England and Ireland he said he should not oppose, since they were supported by petitions from the persons who were to receive the protection of the law. The other three he should resist; for they went to alter those laws which a century had proved to be necessary, and which were now to be overturned by speculation and moral philosophy. The bill which altered the law as it regarded

privately stealing from the person, had, he knew beyond all doubt, increased that offence to a serious and alarming degree. He thought prosecutions were in general most sturdily pursued, and instead of their being encouraged there was reason at all times to restrain them. The learned lord moved as an amendment that the bill be read that day six months. The lord chancellor and Lord Redesdale took the same view of the measure; Lord Erskine and the Earl of Lauderdale supported it. On a division there were found for the original motion 10; for the amendment 27. The bill was consequently lost, and the other two shared the same fate.

May 10. Lord Redesdale brought in a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors. When the bill was committed, Lord Ellenborough opposed it, as 'involving absolute destruction to the common retail dealers in trade; for if it passed into a law, a debtor, whatever might be his conduct, (provided it were not an offence coming under the description of obtaining goods by false pretences,) would have the power of claiming the benefit of it, whereby he could remain no longer in prison than six months.' The bill was withdrawn; and Lord Moirá introduced an insolvent act, for the temporary relief of the class of persons in question. Lord Ellenborough expressed his decided disapprobation of this measure also. He complained that the sum was extended from 2000*l.* to 5000*l.*; and he pointed out the inconvenience and danger of a frequent recurrence to bills of this nature, which, he said, not a little encouraged improvident expenditure, and led to fraudulent practices in the highest degree injurious to the honest and unsuspecting creditor. The number of cases which came before him in another place, respecting promissory notes, bills of exchange, and negociable securities, was almost incredible, and many of those had their rise from the frequency of such measures. And he would say from his own experience, that for one unfeeling or vexatious creditor, there were twenty fraudulent debtors.

The house divided on the clause whether the sum should be 3000*l.* or 5000*l.*, and the latter was carried by six contents to four not contents. The other clauses of the bill were then agreed to.

A bill was introduced by Mr. Wynn for the more effectual suppression of bribery at elections.—Mr. W. observed, that the penalties attached to selling votes were sufficiently severe, but that the difficulty of detection was still great. To remedy this he proposed that those persons who had been bribed, and who came forward as evidence against the bribers, should be indemnified against all consequences; that a committee of that house should be enabled to compel an answer to its questions, even from persons who were themselves concerned; and that the petitioner should be liable to be examined; for as the law now stood, a man had only to sign his name to the petition, and he could not be prosecuted. He proposed also, that the petitioner should give security, not only for the due prosecution of the petition, but for the defraying of the expence;

for there were instances in which those who had signed petitions to that house did not pay the expense; and lastly, he recommended that the right of petition should be thrown open to every one.

Mr. Brand said that the effect of a partial measure like the present would be nothing else than to throw the monopoly of the purchase of seats into the hands of the treasury. No good was to be expected except from a real, true, and moderate reform.

Mr. Johnstone said, that 'no evidence had been produced to prove that seats had been sold since the late acts. For many years the practice had been gradually decreasing, and there was more purity now in election cases than in the boasted times of our ancestors. With respect to the clause compelling a witness to criminate himself, he was astonished that a gentleman bred up to the study of the law of the land, could ever think of introducing it. How had it happened that the law in this country was held in greater veneration than the law in any other country? And why was every body in this country anxious to bring prisoners to justice? It was because the law of England never placed criminals or witnesses in a situation to criminate themselves, or directed the sympathies of mankind against the court. This bill no doubt exempted the witnesses from punishment, but it could not exempt them from disgrace.'

Mr. Curwen and Sir John Newport supported the bill; Sir John Anstruther opposed it; on a division it was rejected by 64 votes to seventeen.

A considerable sensation was excited out of doors by a bill introduced by Lord Sidmouth respecting the licensing of dissenting preachers. In the speech with which he prefaced his motion he observed, 'that no man more than himself respected the rights given to dissenters by the acts of toleration; but all classes of dissenters as well as members of the established church were interested in removing those abuses against which this bill was directed; for in the proper exercise of religious duties was involved the dignity, the honour, and the sanctity of religion itself. If the house would look to the terms of the Toleration Acts, they would find that the appointments of ministers and teachers of religion, were made contrary to the spirit and true intention of those statutes, in a mode injurious to society, and such as was condemned by every enlightened dissenter. From the communication he had had with that respectable class of men, he knew that it was contrary to their ideas that a person should thus take upon himself the assumption that he was competent to become the religious instructor of others. Such was the mode generally pursued on this occasion, that any person, however depraved, however ignorant and illiterate, whether descending from a chimney or a pillory, if he appeared at the quarter sessions, and claimed to take the oath of allegiance to his sovereign and that against popery, and made the necessary declaration, he was intitled to and

could demand his certificate, although there was no proof of his fitness to preach, or of his having any congregation requiring his ministerial services. The object of his bill was to provide that a person so applying should not be entitled to his certificate unless he had one signed by six respectable housekeepers of the persuasion to which he belonged. This was the case where the person making the application was appointed to a separate congregation. In case he was not appointed to a separate congregation, a certificate was required from a like number of housekeepers of his own persuasion that he was a person of sober life and conversation, and of sufficient ability and fitness to preach or teach and officiate as a dissenting minister.' It was further required that he should produce a certificate from some qualified minister, of the same sect, that the applicant had been by them 'appointed or admitted' as a probationer for the exercise of the ministerial functions. Lord Sidmouth said that with respect to intellectual qualifications, important as it was, it was a point in which he should not the least interfere. But he did think it incumbent that such persons should not act upon their own assumption of their own competency, without any proof of their being proper to be so appointed by a certain number of their own sect.

The first reading of the bill took place on the 9th of May, and awakened little attention either within or without the house. But in the interval between the first and second readings, the opponents of the measure contrived to excite a most extravagant and unaccountable alarm on the subject among the whole body of dissenters. Committees were appointed for the purpose of procuring and preparing petitions against the measure; one of these alone collected three hundred and sixty petitions from congregations within 120 miles of London.

The second reading of the bill was to have taken place on the 17th of May, but upon the suggestion of Earls Stanhope and Grey it was postponed to the 21st. When the house met that day, the lobby was found to be almost obstructed by the quantity of petitions. When collected, they amounted in number to above five hundred, and were signed by upwards of an hundred thousand individuals. When the first petition had been presented and read, the Earl of Liverpool rose and stated, that he was anxious that, if possible, the time of the house should be saved. He was perfectly convinced that his noble friend had been actuated by the purest and best motives in bringing forward the bill before the house, and that the object of the bill had been much misconceived; it ought, however, to be considered whether the object in view was equivalent to the inconvenience arising from the agitation which it had excited. If there were one subject more than another in which it was impolitic for the legislature to interfere without a real and absolute necessity, it was on any thing connected with religion. The good to be obtained by this measure

was trifling; the alarm which it excited was very great. He therefore suggested to his noble friend the propriety of withdrawing the bill.

Lord Sidmouth said, in reply, that 'he felt very forcibly the importance attached to this advice, knowing, as he did, that it was the opinion of government; still he did not think that a case had been made out sufficient to induce him to withdraw the bill. If it was to go into a committee every thing which had given rise to misinterpretation and misconception might be remedied.'

The petitions were then brought up, under the charge, successively, of Earl Stanhope, Lord Holland, Earls Moira, Lauderdale, Rosslynn, and Grey, Lord Erskine, and the Marquis of Lansdowne. The presenting of them took up nearly three hours. Lord Sidmouth, however, still maintained his ground in the face of them, and contended that the objections made to his measure were almost wholly the result of a misapprehension of the object of it. He had been encouraged to the attempt by the opinions of the most respectable persons, of magistrates and judges. He had not contented himself with these authorities; he had entered into communications with various dissenters; and he could aver that though many wished he should take no share in the business, few objected to the measure; they thought, merely, that however innocent in itself, it might excite in other quarters a disposition to introduce objectionable clauses into it. He confessed he had confidently expected the assent and co-operation of all sects and descriptions who felt what was due to the purity, sanctity and dignity of religion. All he was apprehensive of was, that some friend to the Established Church might think that the bill would be inefficient for what was requisite; but he never thought that any protestant dissenter would consider it inconsistent with the wise and just enactments of the toleration laws. 'In the whole proceeding,' continued the noble lord, 'I have done nothing which I would not have done if I had been a dissenter myself. I plainly perceive that there is a disposition against the bill, and that it will not pass. But having done my duty with respect to it, I shall leave it to be disposed of as may be thought proper.'

The Archbishop of Canterbury approved of the bill, and expressed his surprise that the dissenters should not view it in the same light. He considered it, however, unwise to press it against their inclination, as they were naturally to be supposed the best judges of what conduced to their own interests.

Lord Holland declared, in strong terms, his aversion to the measure. 'His opinion,' he said, 'was that all those who thought it their duty to interpret the Scriptures should have the right to adopt their own mode of doing so, and that this bill was therefore an infringement of their natural rights. He did not say that if they preached any doctrines that were seditious, or injurious to any class of the community, they were not properly liable to punishment. Every man might have a right to

carry arms, but it did not follow that every man was intitled to kill whomsoever he met; nor did it follow because the liberty of the press was encouraged, that every sort of libel was to be published with impunity. Every man had a right to interpret the Scriptures according to his conscience and the best of his judgment, and to declare his sentiments accordingly. This attempt at measuring the morality of the dissenting minister by the noble viscount's private conceptions, was totally opposed to the principles of the toleration act, and was calculated to be eminently offensive and vexatious. What was the mode of qualification? They must find six housekeepers to vouch for their morality. Suppose five hundred paupers chose to hear religion from the mouth of a man of their own choosing and of their own class, was it to be said that the desire was beyond what might be permitted? and where was thi teacher to find his six housekeeping vouchers?'

Earl Stanhope said, that 'he never felt more pleasure in his whole parliamentary life than he had done on this very day; it was at the immense heap of petitions then strewed upon their floor and piled upon their table, and all against this wretched bill. He liked this, because a kind of silly talk had been going abroad, that there was no public. He had always thought otherwise. And he saw to day that there was a public, and a public opinion, and a public spirit. He would not talk of the bill; that was dead and gone; but he must, however, say something on the subject. He hated the name of the toleration act; he hated the word toleration, it was a beggarly, narrow, worthless word; it did not go far enough.'

The bill was negatived without a division.

Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 14th of July. The speech of the Lords Commissioners on this occasion contained nothing particularly worthy of remark. It will be found in the Appendix.

CHAPTER IX.

War in the Peninsula. Prince Regent's Message to the House of Commons respecting Portugal. Mr. Perceval moves a Vote of Money. Speeches of Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Freemantle respecting the Policy of the War. Speech of Lord Grenville on the same Subject in the House of Lords. Respective Positions of the British and French Armies in Portugal at the Opening of the Year. Massena's Army is reinforced. Proceedings to the South of the Tagus. The French threaten the Alentejo Frontier. Olivença is invested. Disgraceful Conduct of the Spanish Goveruor. Investment of Badajoz. Death of Romana. Honours paid to his Memory. Sorties from Badajoz. Mendizabel takes the Command in this Quarter. He is attacked and surprized in his Camp, and completely routed by the French Troops.

Mortier presses the Siege of Badajoz. Precipitate Surrender of that important Place. Massena at length commences his Retreat. Breaks up from Santarem. Skilful Conduct of the Movement. The British Army follows them up closely. Skirmish at Redinha. Lord Wellington's Manœuvre to cut the Enemy off from the Road to Coimbra. He turns their Position at Casal-Nova. Singular Cruelty exercised by the French on the Country through which they pass in their Retreat. Wanton Destruction of the Convents of Alcobaça and Batalha. Comment of Lord Wellington on this Barbarity. The French are dislodged from the Positions which they successively take up. They destroy or abandon great Part of their Baggage. Affair of Sabugal. The French cross the Agueda, and complete the Evacuation of Portugal. Lord Wellington's Letter, suggesting the Propriety of a public Subscription in Aid of the Portuguese. The Prince Regent's Message to Parliament, proposing a public Grant of Money to the same Effect. The Proposal is unanimously agreed to by the House of Commons. Public Subscription. Acknowledgment of this Liberality by the Portuguese Government. Lord Wellington's Proclamation to the Portuguese. French Proceedings in Estremadura. Misconduct of the Spanish Commanders in this Quarter. Loss of Valencia de Alcantara, of Albuquerque, and of Campo Major. Lord Wellington detaches Marshal Beresford in this Direction. Skirmishes of our Cavalry in the Neighbourhood of Badajoz. Beresford crosses the Guadiana. Investment and Surrender of Olivença. Lord Wellington visits Estremadura. Is recalled to the North by Massena's Attempt to relieve Almeida. Massena crosses the Agueda, and attacks our Position on the Duas Casas. Battle of Fuentes d'Onoro. The French are repulsed. They repass the Agueda, leaving Almeida to its Fate. The Garrison of that Place succeeds in making its Way to the French Army. Massena resigns the Command of his Army to Marmont, and returns to France. Investment of Badajoz by the allied Force under Beresford. Soult marches from Seville to raise the Siege. Castanos relinquishes his Claim to the chief Command in Favour of Marshal Beresford. Blake's Corps joins. Beresford takes up a Position at Albuera. Respective Numbers of the two Armies. Position of the allied Army. Battle of Albuera. The French carry the Right of our Position. It is recovered after a desperate Conflict. Dreadful Loss suffered by a Charge of Polish Lancers. The French are completely repulsed. Soult returns to Seville. Singular Gallantry of the Ensigns of the Buffs. Skirmish of Cavalry at Usagre. The Siege of Badajoz is resumed. Lord Wellington arrives in Estremadura. The Investment of the Place completed. An Attempt to storm is repelled. Another Attempt is made without better Success. The Siege is turned into a Blockade. Marmont and Soult combine their Forces, with the View of raising the Siege. The allied Army recrosses the Guadiana, and Badajoz is relieved. The English Army goes into Cantonments in the Lower Beirn.

On the 12th of March, the chancellor of the exchequer brought up, in the house of commons, a message from the Prince Regent, in which his royal highness stated that 'the assistance which the king was enabled to afford last year to the Portuguese government, for the maintenance of a body of troops in his pay, had been productive of the most important advantages to the common cause; and had essentially contributed to the success of the measures which had been adopted for the defence of the kingdom of Portugal.' The Prince therefore expressed his trust that 'the house of commons would enable him to continue the same support to the Portuguese government for the present year, and to afford such further aid and assistance to that government, as the nature of the contest in which they were engaged might appear to require.'

On the 18th the house resolved itself into a committee to take this measure into consideration. Mr. Perceval observed that when a similar proposition had been made last year, the notion of employing Portuguese troops, under British officers, in British pay and trained to British discipline, was entirely new; and there were not wanting those who, on that occasion had given way to contemptuous anticipations of what might be likely to be the result of the exertions of such troops. Those anticipations however, had been completely falsified by the event; the suspicions entertained of the efficiency of the Portuguese troops had been shewn to be wholly unfounded; he trusted therefore that the committee would readily and cheerfully concur in the motion which he was about to make. With respect to the exertions of the Portuguese government, he could state, that instead of 30,000 men, the number taken into British pay, the regular Portuguese force was not less than 44, or 45,000 men; and in addition to this, the Portuguese militia amounted to 40,000 men. With respect to the policy of the war, he would admit that different views had been and might still be entertained as to the manner in which the efforts of this country, in support of the Portuguese, should have been directed; but it would be generally allowed that nothing could be so weak or so unwise as to abandon our present plan for any other, which, though it might have been originally better, could not at this time be resorted to, unless under circumstances of great danger and disadvantage.'

Mr. Perceval also remarked, that 'it was not fair to state that ministers had ever held out the expectation that in a short period the French would be driven from the Peninsula; or even that an ultimate triumph might be confidently anticipated. All he had ever asserted on this head was, that he entertained a confident expectation that we should be able successfully to defend Portugal against any probable amount of force which the French could bring against that kingdom; and this persuasion had been justified by all that had since happened. With respect to the character of the campaign, abstractedly, they could not have a better proof of its superior merit and value than

the alteration of tone so manifest in all the recent publications of France.'

The sum proposed to be voted was two millions. Mr. Perceval recommended that the money should be granted generally to the Prince Regent, to be applied by him in such manner, and for such assistance as might be deemed most advantageous according to the circumstances of the campaign. He proposed that the grant should be made in this general way, in order that in the disposal of it, they might be able to look at the events of the campaign as they might occur; so that if any reverses should take place, whatever portion might be unsupplied at the time, should not be wasted in a hopeless cause.

Mr. Ponsonby remarked upon the encouragements to the continuance of our efforts which the chancellor of the exchequer had professed to derive from the success which had crowned them during the last campaign. 'Now,' said Mr. P. 'I have no disposition to under-rate our success, nor to cast any imputation upon the Portuguese or upon the Spaniards, and much less upon our own troops—but what is the success to which he alludes? Did we not begin the campaign out of Portugal? Did we not commence it at Ciudad Rodrigo—and after losing that town and Almeida, did we not retreat? The fact is, that our success consists in having lost almost the whole of Portugal, and that our army is now confined or hemmed in between Lisbon and Cartaxo. Does the right honourable gentleman reflect upon the nature of the contest? How long can this country support this expence? Does he know the expence of sending troops to Portugal? Does he know that there is a loss of 30*l.* upon every 100*l.* sent to that country?—that of the remaining 70*l.* when it gets to Portugal, one half is paid in coin and the other in depreciated paper? He tells us that the tone of the enemy is altered. But does he know for certain that it is not their intention to send a greater force to finish the campaign? If such be the intention of the French emperor, he may accomplish it, for there is in his dominions no deficiency of force. France alone can furnish 400,000 men, beside those already in the Peninsula. For what purpose is the emperor collecting in the north of Europe an army greater than that which he had formerly occasion to collect to subdue Austria and Prussia? Is it supposed that if we can maintain a single town in Portugal, such as Lisbon, no expence will be too great for such an object? Our army estimates this year amount to between 15 and 16 millions; the transport estimates to between three and four millions, and the whole, including extraordinaries, make up a sum between 23 and 24 millions, and all this without making any serious impression upon the enemy. I beg the house to reflect how long we shall be able to go on thus.'

In a similar strain, Mr. Freemantle recapitulated the results of the campaign which had been vaunted as so glorious. 'No sooner,' said he 'had we commenced it, than we found ourselves under the necessity of retreating before superior numbers.

Day after day beheld the loss of positions, of fortresses, of territories; and we are now left, I will not say within our entrenchments, but incapable of quitting those entrenchments, and only waiting the result of such movements as the enemy might be disposed to make. This, then, is the result of all your victories, of all your expenditure in men and money, of all your exertions and all your waste of the military resources of this country. Your own army shut up at Lisbon—your allies in every other part of the Peninsula overwhelmed, and only manifesting partial and unavailing hostility—your own resources exhausted, and your hopes of ultimate success, to every mind which is not blinded by enthusiasm, completely annihilated. We have been reproached on this side of the house with hazarding false predictions; we have been taunted with having held out to the country the ultimate failure of our objects in Spain. I am prepared at this moment to defend such predictions; I still maintain that you will not and cannot, by such a system, either relieve your allies or benefit yourselves.—I admire as much as any man, the skill, the courage, the indefatigable exertions of my gallant and noble friend, the commander of our army in Portugal. To his spirit, to his talents the country and the army owe every thing that has been achieved; what man could do, he has done; but I must ever lament that what is done, can never, from the nature of its policy, be beneficial either to our allies or to this country. I deprecate the system which has led us to act as principals instead of auxiliaries in this war; a system which every day furnishes to my mind stronger and more convincing proofs that it must eventually lead to our destruction; you may protract the period, it is not perhaps the interest of Buonaparte to bring the contest to an immediate issue: but be it sooner or later, the result, in my judgment, is inevitable.'

March 21. Language of the same tenor was held by the opposition in the house of peers. 'It was not,' said Lord Grenville, 'because he entertained an opinion that the country should abstain from generous, if only useful and possible efforts; it was not because he entertained the doctrine that they were not interested in the fate of Europe; it was because he saw no hope of salvation to the country so long as Europe remained under subjection to France, that he wished her to husband her resources. They had been told that night, that it was proper still to continue their efforts; and they were told this as if up to that moment their efforts had been successful. Look back,' said Lord G, 'to Spain—look to the sacrifices, to the losses which have been there sustained—look to the immediate object of this motion, Portugal. What return has been made to this country, what benefit has she reaped from the immense exertions, the enormous sums that have already been expended in aid of that cause? The British army, indeed, is still in Portugal, but does it possess more of the country than the ground which it actually occupies? We are not even told that all this

enormous expence will tend ultimately to secure that country. The only reason and justification in favour of it is, that it is hoped that we may long continue to maintain that narrow spot of ground which our army now occupies. Thus in hazarding our best means, we do not essentially contribute to help or save Portugal, while we vainly drain our own resources and risk our own safety —those resources, which if prudently managed and providently laid up for a more propitious moment, would not only secure our own country, but might also be effectually employed in the support and defence of others.'

The vote in question, however, was carried in both houses without a division; and we have given these extracts from the speeches of opposition members on this occasion, merely with a view of recording what were the opinions of that party respecting the policy of the Peninsular war, up to this point in its progress. It was unfortunate for the credit of these vaticinations, that nearly at the moment at which they were uttered, the first news arrived that Massena had began his retreat from Santarem. We shall now proceed with our narrative of the campaign, the events of which had been made the subject of so much ominous speculation.

Our readers will recollect that after breaking up from their encampments before the lines of Torres Vedras, the army which Buonaparte had commissioned to subjugate Portugal, and drive the English into the sea, fell back about the middle of November in the year preceding, and took up a strong position on the heights of Santarem. The object of this movement on the part of the French general was apparently to avail himself of the resources of a more abundant country than that which he had previously occupied, while waiting the arrival of the reinforcements which were necessary to enable him to take any further measures against Lisbon. The British and Portuguese army advanced as the French fell back, and took up cantonments in Alcoentre, Alzambuja, and the surrounding villages; the head quarters were fixed at Cartaxo, and in order to cut off the enemy's communication with the Alentejo, General Hill's division was ordered to cross the Tagus and canton itself at Barcos, Chamusca, and Mergem.

For some time the two armies remained in the positions we have here described. In the course of the winter that of the French general received considerable accessions of force; the ninth corps of the army was placed under his orders, and two divisions of it, consisting of about 12,000 men joined towards the end of December. General Drouet established his head-quarters at Leyria, and placed himself in communication with the general in chief by a series of posts. General Clapparede with another division entered the province of Beira, and after driving the Portuguese General Silveira across the Douro, took up a position at Guarda, having his advanced guard at Belmonte; by this means the rear of the French army was secured, and its communications with Spain kept open.

To the south of the Tagus, the enemy was making every exertion to bring a strong force to bear upon the Alentejo frontiers. It was about the close of the last year that Marshal Soult had began to make a demonstration in that quarter; a French division was marched from Seville; and the Spaniards who under Mendizabel had advanced as far as Llerena were compelled to fall back upon the Guadiana. A body of three thousand men were thrown into Olivença, but they contributed but little to delay the progress of the enemy. The place was invested on the 12th of January, by the French advanced guard under Girard. Herk, the Spanish commander, sent on the 21st to Mendizabel assurances that he was both able and resolved to hold out; but the enemy's batteries were opened on the following morning, and the fire had scarcely commenced when Herk surrendered at discretion.

By this act of treachery or cowardice on the part of the Spanish governor the French were enabled to proceed at once to the investment of Badajoz. This is the frontier fortress of Spain in Estremadura; it stands upon the left bank of the Guadiana, about a league from the line which marks the limits of the two kingdoms. The fortifications are strong, and in good condition, and it is defended towards the east and west by the two forts, St. Christoval and Las Pardaleras.

The advance of the French in this direction had been expected by the allies, and Romana's army had in consequence been separated from the main force, and passed to the south of the Tagus. Unhappily that general, who from the beginning of the contest had uniformly distinguished himself by his zeal and ability, died shortly after, and the subsequent conduct of the war sufficiently demonstrated the extent of the loss to which the cause of Spain was subjected by his death. The importance of his services had indeed been all along properly appreciated by the British commander, and every honour was paid to his memory which the circumstances of the times admitted. In this feeling both the Spanish and Portuguese governments strongly participated. His bowels were buried near the high altar at Belem, formerly the burial place of the kings of Portugal; his body was sent for interment at Majorca, his native place; and the erection of a monument to his memory was decreed by the Cortes.

Upon the death of Romana, the command of his army was transferred to Mendizabel. On the 6th of February, the Spanish force, together with the Portuguese cavalry under General Madden assembled at Elvas; a communication was opened with Badajoz, and after some skirmishing, Mendizabel succeeded in throwing himself into the town. On the following day a sortie was made, which was at first successful; a battery was carried, but the enemy rallied, and after an obstinate conflict the Spaniards were repulsed with a loss of nearly six hundred men in killed and wounded. On the 9th, Mendizabel again led out his force; after driving back the French cavalry he took up a position with-

out the walls, between the Guadiana and the Gebora, the strength of which he conceived secured him from all danger by attack, and from which he hoped to be enabled to keep open his communication with Elvas and the country on the right bank of the Guadiana.

The French commander, Marshal Mortier took a very different view of the nature of his adversary's position, and he states in his account of the subsequent affair, that he was only prevented from immediately attacking the Spanish force by the overflowing of the Gebora and the Guadiana. While taking measures, however, for passing the river, he assaulted and carried (Feb. 11th) the fort of Pardaleras, and his preparations being completed he made a general attack on the Spanish camp on the night of the 19th following. Strange as it may appear, the Spanish general would seem to have been completely surprised on this occasion. Notwithstanding the difficulties presented by the ground which the enemy had to pass over, not the slightest effort was made to take advantage of them with the view of impeding his approach. The whole camp, baggage, artillery, with above five thousand persons fell almost without resistance into the hands of the French. Nearly a thousand were killed, and the rest of the army either dispersed or deserted, with the exception of the Portuguese cavalry, which succeeded in cutting its way through the enemy, and threw itself into Elvas. The French make their own loss amount to no more than 30 killed, and 140 wounded. This is probably something below the truth. There can be no doubt, however, that their success in this instance was as easy of achievement as it was complete in its nature and important by its results.

The French commander now pressed the siege of Badajoz without interruption. Lord Wellington attached the greatest importance to the possession of the place, but his expected reinforcements had not yet arrived, and while Massena remained in his present position it was impossible to detach from the army a force adequate for its relief. At length, however, Massena began his retreat from Santarem; Lord Wellington instantly, (March 6th.) dispatched advices of this event to Don Jose de Imaz, the governor of Badajoz, and urged him to defend the place to the last extremity, as a British force would immediately be marched to raise the siege. The intelligence reached Imaz on the ninth. On the following day the French completed the breach, and sent to the governor a summons to surrender; Imaz called together a council of war, and desired their opinion respecting the means which the garrison possessed of resisting the threatened attack. The troops in the place amounted to 7,500 men, and they were abundantly furnished with ammunition and provision. The director of engineers, however, expressed his persuasion that all further resistance was useless. He stated that five thousand men at least, would be necessary to resist an assault; that even by that means, the surrender could be deferred only

two or three days; and that unless they had a probable ground of hope of being succoured within that space, it would be useless to risk any further sacrifice. A majority of the council coincided with the view here taken of their situation; and the governor appears to have willingly availed himself of their pusillanimity as a cloak for his own. On the 11th the gates of the place were opened to the French; the garrison became prisoners of war. We cannot better sum up the result of operations in this quarter than in the words employed by Lord Wellington himself in commenting on the fall of Badajoz. 'Thus,' says he, 'Olivença and Badajoz were given up without any sufficient cause; while Marshal Soult with a corps of troops which was never supposed to exceed 20,000 men, beside capturing these two places, made prisoners and destroyed above 22,000 Spanish troops!'

Massena had retained his position as long as the country afforded him any means of subsistence, and as long as the slightest hope remained that he would be enabled to effect any of the objects which he had proposed to himself on entering Portugal. He felt that by a retreat he was publishing to the world his complete discomfiture, and the failure of all those lofty projects which both himself and his master had so confidently announced as the certain results of the campaign. Under the influence of these feelings, there can be little doubt but that his stay was prolonged to the last moment; his situation, however, became daily more embarrassing. The country in their neighbourhood was exhausted, and every difficulty was interposed both by the armed militia and the peasantry of the province to the arrival of supplies from other quarters.

The first indication which the enemy gave of their intended retreat was the setting fire to a convent in Santarem on the 4th of March. The heavy artillery and baggage together with the sick had already been sent to the rear; and on the night of the 5th their whole army broke up from their position. Lord Wellington immediately put his troops in action to follow them. The enemy's first movement led us to infer an intention of taking up a position at Thomar, and accordingly a considerable body of troops was marched in that direction. Massena, however, directed his march towards the Mondego. One of his corps took the road of Espinhel; another proceeded by Anciao, and the remainder moved in a body upon Pombal. They were closely followed by a British cavalry force, consisting of the light division, the royal dragoons, and the first hussars, and about two hundred prisoners fell into our hands. The enemy conducted his retreat with the greatest possible skill. His columns are described as moving by angular lines converging to a point, which being reached the whole collected in masses and thus continued their march. Ney with the light troops covered the rear.

On the 9th the French formed in considerable force in front of Pombal. Lord Wellington could not collect troops sufficient to

venture a general attack. Our cavalry, however, distinguished themselves in a charge upon the enemy, and some prisoners were made. The enemy continued his retreat on the night of the 10th; some skirmishing took place on the following morning, in which the Portuguese Caçadores bore a distinguished part. On the 12th the English came up with the sixth division of the enemy, which together with a force of cavalry was strongly posted in a defile, between Redinha and Pombal, having their right secured by a wood and the Soure river, and their left extending to the high ground above the Redinha. Lord Wellington immediately ordered an attack. Sir William Erskine with the light division advanced upon the enemy's right, and drove them from the wood in the most gallant style. Our troops then formed beyond the defile, and Sir Brent Spencer led on an attack upon the enemy's position on the heights. It was immediately successful, and the French were compelled to fall back with some loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. They now crossed the Redinha, and again formed on the heights beyond it. Our light troops followed, but as the passage consisted of but one narrow bridge and a fort close by it, it was not until after a lapse of some time, that a force was collected on the other side sufficient to enable them to renew the attack. After another skirmish the enemy were driven upon their main body at Condeixa. On this pont their whole army was collected, with the exception of the second corps which was still at Espinhel. On the 13th, Lord Wellington came up with them; as he observed that the French were sending off their baggage by the road of Ponte Murcella, he inferred that Coimbra was still maintained by Colonel Trant; their only means of retreat therefore was by the road on the left, and the third division under General Picton was immediately ordered to move through the mountains in this direction. Massena, aware of this movement, hastily broke up from his position at Condeixa and took up another, about a league distant at Casal-Nova. Communications were immediately opened with Coimbra; a detachment of the French cavalry was fallen in with on the road, and made prisoners.

The position at Casal-Nova was sufficiently strong; on the morning of the 14th, however it was turned by the third division under General Picton on the left, while the light division and General Pack's brigade moved round the right of it, and the sixth division supported by the light troops attacked in front. In consequence of these movements the enemy was obliged to abandon all the positions which he successively took in the mountains, and the rear guard was driven upon the main body at Miranda de Corvo, after a considerable loss of men. Massena was thus cut off from Coimbra and Upper Beira; and compelled to move by the Ponte de Murcella; a line of march in which he was liable to incessant attack from the militia, which would be enabled to act with advantage on his flank, while Wellington with the regular force followed close upon his rear.

The enemy sufficiently betrayed the mortification which they felt, by the ravages which they inflicted on the country through which they moved in the course of their retreat. They set fire to every town upon quitting it. Lord Wellington in his despatch justly states that their conduct in this respect was marked by a barbarity seldom equalled and never surpassed. Even the towns of Torres Novas and Thomar, in which the head-quarters of some of the corps had been for four months, and in which the inhabitants had been induced by promises of good treatment to remain, were plundered and many of the houses destroyed in the night on which the enemy withdrew from their position. These towns, however, suffered the least, because they were within sight of our lines, and the French were anxious not to give any notice of their intention of retreating until the moment of their departure. When that moment approached, however they made the best of what time remained to them for the work of pillage and destruction, and they subsequently, as we have stated, burnt every town or village that had the misfortune to be situated upon the line of their march.

In some instances their proceedings exhibited a refinement of barbarism, if we may so express ourselves, scarcely to be paralleled by the most savage excesses recorded in the history of the middle ages. The convent of Alcobaça, which from the historical and religious associations connected with it, is the most illustrious edifice in Portugal, was burnt by express orders from the head quarters of the French army. The tombs of the ancient kings and queens of the country, among which we may mention those of Pedro and Inez de Castro, scarcely less interesting by the exquisite workmanship of the sculptures by which they were decorated, than by romantic stories of the individuals themselves; were wantonly defaced and violated by the French soldiery, and the mouldering remains which they inclosed, torn from their sanctuary and exposed to the brutal insults of a military rabble. The building itself was set fire on all sides at once; and guards were posted to preclude any effort on the part of the people to save from destruction an edifice so peculiarly the object of their veneration. The celebrated convent of Batalha shared the same fate. The town of Leyria, in which General Drouet had had his head-quarters, was burnt to the ground. We cannot resist transcribing the comments which Lord Wellington made upon these proceedings, in the despatch in which he announced the retreat of the French. 'This,' said he, 'is the mode in which the promises have been performed, and the assurances fulfilled, which were held out in the proclamation of the French commander-in-chief; in which he told the inhabitants of Portugal that he was not come to make war upon them, but with a powerful army of 110,000 men, to drive the English into the sea. It is to be hoped that what has occurred in this country, will teach the people of this and of other nations, what value they ought to place on such promises and assurances, and that there is no security for life or for

any thing which renders life valuable, excepting in decided resistance to the enemy.'

At Miranda de Corvo, the corps under General Regnier which had marched by Thomar and Espinhel, effected its junction with the main army. On the same day, (March 14), Major-general Cole joined General Nightingale at Espinhel. By this movement the British were enabled to turn the enemy's position at Miranda de Corvo; and Massena, perceiving his danger, abandoned it in the course of the night. In breaking up from their camp at Santarem, they had already destroyed a part of their cannon and ammunition; in order still further to expedite their march, they were constrained to make additional sacrifices in this respect; such of their baggage as their horses were unable to carry away was blown up, and Lord Wellington describes the road throughout the march from Miranda as strewed with the carcases of men and animals, and encumbered with destroyed carriages and half-burnt stores.

On the 15th, our army again came up with the enemy, who was discovered strongly posted on the farther bank of the river Ceira; with one corps, by way of advanced guard, on the hither side of the river in front of Foy d' Aronce. Measures were immediately taken to drive this corps across the river. The light division, under Sir W. Erskine, was ordered to occupy the heights above Foy d'Aronce, while General Picton, with the third division, menaced the enemy's left. These dispositions were perfectly effectual for their object. The French were driven across the river with some loss, leaving much baggage and several ammunition carriages in our hands.

In the course of the night the enemy destroyed the bridge, and continued their retreat, leaving a small rear guard on the river. Lord Wellington was compelled to halt during the next day (16th) for want of supplies, the arrival of which was delayed by the badness of the weather and of the roads. The French retired on the same night; on the 17th the British passed the Ceira by the ford, and on the 18th reached the Ponte de Murcella; this bridge also had been blown up by the French, who had now taken up a strong position on the right of the Alva. A movement by the Sierra de Santa Quiteria, however, which threatened to turn their left, obliged them to retire upon Mouta; our troops, after fording the Alva with some difficulty on account of the depth of the stream, followed them rapidly upon this point, which was immediately abandoned. But here again the necessity of waiting for supplies compelled our main force to halt, and the pursuit was, for the present, continued by the cavalry and light division, supported by two divisions of infantry.

On the 26th Lord Wellington resumed his march; during the 27th he halted at Gouvea, and on the 28th arrived at Celorico. Here he found the French in occupation of Guarda, a position of peculiar streugth upon the Sierra de Estrella. Lord Wellington took immediate measures to dislodge them; they did not, however, await the approach of our

columns, but fell back upon Sabugal, where again they took up a position, with some shew of an intention to delay at least the further advance of our army. The river Coa was in their front; their right being posted at Ruivina, their left at Sabugal and another corps at Alfayates. It was resolved to turn their left by forcing the passage of the bridge of Sabugal. The operation was completely successful; some resistance was made by the French columns, but they were ultimately compelled to retreat in considerable disorder, leaving two hundred dead on the field and above three hundred prisoners in our hands. Our own loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to one hundred and sixty. The enemy continued to fall back; and on the 8th of April the last of their divisions crossed the Agueda; and thus, with the exception of the French garrison left in Almeida, was Portugal completely delivered from the presence of that army, which it had been so loudly and confidently announced was to decide the subjugation of that devoted kingdom, and to drive its allies into the sea.

Complete and glorious as was the triumph of the allies, it had been purchased by severe sacrifices on the part of the Portuguese population: and the attention of the British government was early awakened to the duty of alleviating, as far as possible, those sufferings and privations which the invasion had entailed upon the provinces subjected to his invasion. Lord Wellington had himself reminded his government and country of this obligation as far back as the October preceding, soon after his retreat to the lines of Torres Vedras. In a letter, dated October 27, after detailing the hardships to which the inhabitants of Portugal were exposed, in consequence of the calamity of the French invasion, his lordship remarked that 'upon former occasions the wealthy inhabitants of Great Britain, and of London in particular, had stept forward to relieve foreign nations whether suffering under the calamities inflicted by Providence, or by a cruel and a powerful enemy. Portugal had, on a former occasion, experienced this proof of friendship from her oldest and most faithful ally; but never was there a case in which this assistance was required in a greater degree than at present, whether the sufferings of the people or their loyalty and patriotism, and attachment to England are considered.' Lord Wellington further declared that he had hardly known an instance in which any individual, even of the lowest order, had held a communication with the enemy injurious to his country or his prince, or of any town or village having failed to abandon their houses and remove whatever might be useful to the enemy, when they had sufficiently early intimation of the wishes of government on the subject. The letter concluded with the expression of an expectation that the enemy would be obliged to evacuate the country, in which case the British nation would have an opportunity of exercising its benevolence towards the inhabitants.

On the 8th of April, the chan-

cellor of the exchequer presented to the house of commons a message on this subject from the prince regent. His royal highness stated that 'having taken into his serious consideration the accounts which he had received of the severe distresses to which the inhabitants of a part of the kingdom of Portugal had been exposed in consequence of the invasion of that country, and especially from the wanton and savage barbarity exercised by the French armies in their recent retreats, he desired to be enabled to afford to the suffering subjects of his majesty's good and faithful ally, such speedy and effectual relief as might be suitable to this afflicting occasion.'

April 11. In consequence of this communication, Mr. Perceval moved that a sum of 100,000*l.* be granted to the prince regent for the purpose pointed out in his message. Mr. Perceval remarked, that the motives to this act of liberality on their part were so many and so powerful, that he was persuaded the difficulty would be rather to resist a too enthusiastic compliance than to procure a reasonable one; that the house would find it a harder task to do enough, than to do too much. Mr. Ponsonby warmly supported the measure, as not less due to the claims of Portugal than to the magnanimity and generosity of Great Britain; and he said that the only regret with which his vote was accompanied arose from the reflection that the vast expenditure of the country should render it necessary to limit the grant to so small a sum.

In addition to the sum voted by parliament, above 80,000*l.* was voluntarily subscribed by the public, to be applied to the same purpose. The Portuguese government evinced the most appropriate sense of the liberality which had been manifested by the English nation on this occasion; the prince regent decreed that the list of subscribers should be printed, and copies sent to the several districts for the relief of which the monies so collected had been expended; the lists to be publicly read in the churches, and afterwards preserved in the registraries; and the original list was ordered to be laid up in the royal archives at Lisbon, 'in order that the humanity of one nation and the gratitude of the other might be attested to future generations.'

Before he entered upon ulterior operations, Lord Wellington issued a proclamation to the Portuguese people, in which he congratulated them upon their deliverance from their ferocious enemy. At the same time, however, he reminded them that their dangers were not wholly past. 'Your nation,' said he, 'has still riches left which the tyrant will endeavour to plunder; you are happy under a beneficent sovereign, and that alone will make the tyrant exert himself to destroy your happiness: you have successfully resisted him, and therefore he will leave no possible means unemployed for bringing you under his iron yoke. You ought therefore not to relax your preparations for decided resistance. Every man capable of bearing arms, ought to learn the use of them; those who by their age or sex are not capable of

taking the field, should, beforehand, look out for places of safety where they may retire in time of of need: they should bury their most valuable effects, every one in secret, not trusting the knowledge of the place to those who have no interest in concealing it; and they should take means for effectually concealing or destroying the food, which in case of necessity, could not be removed. If these measures are adopted, however superior in number the force may be which the desire of plunder and of vengeance may induce the tyrant to send again for the invasion of this country, the issue will be certain, and the independence of Portugal and the happiness of the inhabitants will be finally established, to the eternal honour of the present generation.'

The French in the mean while had not been inactive in Estremadura; and the misconduct of the Spanish commanders in this quarter, gave them every facility in their progress. Mortier successively made himself master of Valencia de Alcantara, Albuquerque, and Campo Mayor. Of these places, Campo Mayor alone made any shew of resistance; it held out eleven days; the other two, though certainly not destitute of the means of making a better defence, surrendered at the first discharge of the French artillery. The pusillanimity was the more to be regretted, as Lord Wellington had already detached a considerable force, under Marshal Beresford, with the view of arresting the progress of the French in this direction. Beresford having effected a junction with General Cole's division at Portalegre, advanced upon Campo Mayor. Mortier having completed his object, had, before this, withdrawn his troops to the Caya, leaving General Latour Maubourg with four regiments of cavalry, three battalions of infantry, and some horse artillery at Campo-Mayor. Some skirmishing took place in front of the town between this force and the British; after which the French fell back upon Badajoz, closely followed by our cavalry, with a loss of between five and six hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Our own loss on this occasion amounted to 24 killed, 70 wounded, and 77 prisoners; this was occasioned chiefly by the unbridled impetuosity of some of our squadrons, which had pushed on, out of the protection of the infantry, and thus enabled the enemy to turn back upon them with superior numbers. Such was the ardour with which the pursuit was followed up, that many of our men advanced to the walls of Badajoz, and were actually taken prisoners on the bridge. March 25.

Beresford did not cross the Guadiana until the 6th of April; some time having been unavoidably consumed in constructing the bridges necessary for that operation. Mortier had by this time fallen back upon Llerena; but he left a strong garrison in Badajoz, and about five hundred men in Olivença. General Cole was charged with the immediate investment of this place, while the marshal, with the rest of his force, proceeded to clear the province of the enemy, preparatory to the seige of Badajoz. Lord Welling-

ton, himself, had, in the mean while, taken a journey to the south, for the purpose of inspecting in person the state of affairs in Estremadura; leaving his army on the Coa, under the command of Sir Brent Spencer. He had an interview with Marshal Beresford at Elvas, and as Olivença surrendered about this time, measures were concerted for straightway investing the important fortress of Badajoz. The commander-in-chief, however, was precluded from superintending these operations in person; he was compelled to return almost immediately to the north, by the unexpected intelligence that Massena was again making demonstrations of attack upon the Portuguese frontier. The French general had actively exerted himself to procure reinforcements for his army from every quarter within his reach; and having succeeded in collecting a formidable force at Ciudad Rodrigo, he proceeded to resume the offensive. His immediate object was the relief of Almeida, which had been closely blockaded by our forces ever since the retreat of the enemy. Lord Wellington had contented himself with taking means for cutting off all ingress of supply into the place, having reason to believe, from what he understood of the paucity of provision in it, that this measure would be perfectly adequate to insure its early surrender.

On the 2d of May Massena crossed the Agueda, at Ciudad Rodrigo, with his whole army, which consisted of the 2d, 6th, and 8th, and the greater part of the 9th corps, together with a very strong force of cavalry. They passed the Azava the same evening, near Carpio, and on the following day they continued their march, in three columns, towards the Duas Casas. The allied army was encamped upon the line of that river, and in the neighbourhood of the sources of the Azava. The light division being posted in advance at Gallegos and Espeja. No interruption was given to the enemy's advance; our cavalry was very inferior in number and still more in condition, the horses having suffered greatly from the want of fodder. As the French approached therefore, our horse, together with the light division, fell back upon Fuentes d'Onoro, a little village on the Duas Casas, and the first, third, and seventh divisions were collected at that point, while the sixth division observed the bridge at Alameda, and the fifth guarded the passages of the Duas Casas at Fort Concepcion and Aldea d'Obispo. The blockade of Almeida was, in the mean while committed to General Pack's brigade, assisted by the queen's regiment from the sixth division, and Don Julian Sanchez, with a Spanish corps, occupied Nave d'Aver.

On the afternoon of the 3d, Massena attacked, with a large force, the village of Fuentes d'Onoro, on the right of our position; a conflict of considerable obstinacy took place, and at one time the enemy appeared to be on the point of gaining possession of the place. The English general, however, aware of its importance to the security of our whole po-

sition, reinforced it in time, and the French were ultimately driven back.

By the reconnoissance which he had taken of the enemy's disposition, Lord Wellington was induced to expect that, in renewing his attack, Massena would endeavour to gain the village of Fuentes d'Onoro by crossing the Duas Casas at Poya Velho. Under this apprehension, the seventh division, under General Houston, was ordered to move to the right, in the course of the evening of the fourth, with the view of guarding the passage in question. Lord Wellington's conjecture as to the enemy's purpose, proved to be perfectly correct. On the following morning (May 5th) the eighth corps of the French army were observed drawn up in two columns in the valley of the Duas Casas, opposite to Poya Velho, together with the whole of their cavalry, collected under General Montbrun. At the same time, their sixth and ninth corps made a movement towards their left. To meet these dispositions, Lord Wellington ordered the light division, and the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, to reinforce General Houston; and at the same time the first and third divisions made a movement on the right, along the ridge which runs between the Turon and Duas Casas rivers, corresponding to the demonstration which had been made in the same direction by the enemy's left.

The French began their attack with their 8th corps; and General Houston's advanced guard was compelled to fall back; which they did in perfectly good order, but with some loss. The enemy's corps now took possession of Poya Velho, and their cavalry succeeded in turning the right of the seventh division, between that place and Nave d'Acer, which last place the Spanish force under Don Julian Sanchez had been obliged to abandon. The French cavalry now charged.—They were met, however, by some squadrons of British dragoons, and repulsed, leaving a colonel and several prisoners in our hands, at the same time that their main body was kept in check by the fire of Gene- Houston's division.

In occupying Poya Velho, the English general had hoped that he might be enabled to keep up the communication across the Coa, by Sabugal; at the same time that he maintained the blockade of Almeida. These objects were now become incompatible; he therefore determined to relinquish the former, as the least important: with this view, he proceeded to concentrate his force towards the left, and ordered the seventh and light divisions, together with the cavalry, to move from Poya Velho towards Fuentres d'Onoro. The light division was now placed in reserve, in the rear of the left of the first division, while the seventh took up a commanding position beyond the Turon, which enabled it to cover our right flank, and secure our communication with the Coa, as well as to cut off the enemy's approach to Almeida by the roads between that river and the Turon. Our position thus extended on the high ground from the Turon to

the Duas Casas. Don Julian's Spanish infantry was combined with our seventh division in Frenada; Don Julian himself, with his cavalry, was despatched in the direction of Ciudad Rodrigo, with the view of interrupting the enemy's communication with that town.

After this change of position on the part of the British army, the enemy restricted his efforts against our right to a cannonade. Some charges of cavalry were made upon our advanced posts in this quarter, which were uniformly repulsed; but, in one instance, the picquets of the first division, under Lieutenant Colonel Hill, while in the act of falling back after having repelled an attack of this kind, were suddenly assailed by another in a different direction, and so unexpectedly, that they had not time to form to resist it. In consequence they sustained some loss in wounded and prisoners, among which last was Colonel Hill himself, before our cavalry could come up to their assistance.

In the mean while, however, Massena was directing all his efforts to gain possession of Fuentes d'Onoro; the whole of his sixth corps was, in the course of the day, engaged in the attack of this village, and though they sometimes succeeded in obtaining a footing in it, they were invariably again driven out by the valour of our troops. Night at length closed the struggle, when the post was still in our possession, and the enemy satisfied by this experiment, of the fruitlessness of their efforts, forbore any farther attempt to carry it. The French remained in their positions for two days, but, as we have said, without venturing any farther demonstration of attack. Lord Wellington on his part did not think proper to bring on a general action, by assuming the offensive; with his actual inferiority in numbers, and particularly in cavalry; the result of such an attempt might have been doubtful; and the enemy, whether he avoided or met the attack, might have taken advantage of the collection and concentration of our troops, to throw in succours to Almeida. Our loss, in the course of these actions, was more severe than from the partial nature of them might have been expected. It amounted to 1378 killed and wounded, and 317 prisoners. From the nature of the engagement, that of the French must necessarily have been much greater; though Massena, in his account, states it at no more than 400 in all—which is precisely the number of their dead found in the village of Fuentes d'Onoro alone.

The French, as usual, claimed a victory upon this occasion; but the circumstances of the case are sufficiently decisive as to this point. The object of the French general was professedly to relieve Almeida; our army took up a position with the view of covering the blockade of that town. After two days attack upon our position, the enemy were at length compelled to desist; on the night of the 7th, they began to retire from the line on the Duas Casas to the woods between Espeja Gallegos and Fuentes d'Onoro; and on the 9th their whole army broke up and crossed the Azava,

and on the 10th they repassed the Agueda.

All hope of saving Almeida was now abandoned, and Massena sent orders to the governor, General Brenier to blow up the works, evacuate the place, and if possible, make his way with his garrison to the French head-quarters. This operation was executed on the night of the 10th with singular skill and courage. Our blockading force indeed seems to have been taken by surprize, and Brenier succeeded in making his way to the bridge of San Felices where he was joined by a corps under General Regnier, there placed to receive him. Although by the secresy and celerity of their movement, the garrison had thus got the start of our troops, they were warmly pursued by General Pack, the whole way to the Agueda, and 490 prisoners fell into our hands. The whole of their baggage was abandoned in the course of their flight.

Very shortly subsequent to this affair Marshal Massena resigned the command of the army to the Duke of Ragusa, Marshal Marmont, and set out on his return to France, accompanied by Marshals Ney and Junot, and General Loison. The French army then went into cantonments in the neighbourhood of the Tormes.

In the meanwhile important events were preparing in Estremadura. It was not until the 4th of May, that Marshal Beresford had been enabled to begin the investment of Badajoz; the floods having hitherto prevented the establishment of his bridges across the Guadiana. The communications across the river were, however, now completed, and the battering artillery having arrived from Elvas, operations against the place were commenced and pushed with vigour. But the enemy were not disposed patiently to witness the fall of a fortress so important, and accordingly Marshal Soult, who commanded in Andalusia made every effort to collect together a force which might be sufficient to effect its relief. With this view having drawn reinforcements from the corps of Victor and Sebastiani, and also from the army of the centre he marched from Seville on the 10th, with a force estimated at about 15,000 men, and in the course of his advance upon Badajoz, he was joined by five thousand more under Latour Maubourg. Intelligence of this movement reached Beresford on the 12th. It was deemed in consequence necessary to break up the siege immediately; the works which had been raised were demolished; the guns dismounted from the batteries and the stores blown up. The army then moved to Valverde, where a junction was effected (on the 14th) with the Spanish generals, Blake and Castanos, and after a consultation it was determined to give the enemy battle.

It had been apprehended that some difficulty would arise respecting the adjustment of the claims which might be preferred to the chief command in cases were British and Spanish troops should be called upon to act together. To preclude any difficulty of this nature Lord Wellington had proposed that whenever such cases should arise the supreme command

should be given to the general, of which ever nation, possessed of the highest military rank and of the longest standing. According to this regulation, Castanos would in the instance of the intended operations in Estremadura, have taken the direction of the whole; he, however, in that spirit of disinterestedness which invariably characterized his public conduct, suggested that it would be better that the general who had the greater number of troops under his orders would be invested with that responsibility, and that the others should merely act as auxiliaries. Lord Wellington easily acceded to this alteration of his proposed arrangement, and expressed himself on the subject of it to Castanos in terms which did no more than justice to the public spirit which had dictated the conduct of the Spanish general.

The position at Valverde was sufficiently advantageous in itself, but as it left Badajoz altogether open to the enemy, Beresford determined to move to Albuera, by which means he placed himself directly in line of the enemy's march upon that fortress. At Albuera therefore the allied army collected on the 15th. The British and Spanish cavalry which had been assembled at Santa Martha joined in the morning of that day. General Blake's corps succeeded by means of forced marches in effecting a junction in the course of the night, and on the following morning (16th) arrived General Cole's division, together with the Spanish brigade under Don Carlos de Espagne. These last reached the army only a short time before the commencement of the attack; a heavy rain had continued to fall during the whole of the preceding day, and the roads were in consequence deep and difficult of passage.

The French general came up on the afternoon of the 15th, and made dispositions for an attack next morning. It is believed that he was not aware of the junction of Blake, and he was anxious to prevent it by an attack on our right, by which means he expected to throw himself between the two allied corps. Our force was composed of 8000 British, 7000 Portuguese, and 10,000 Spaniards; that of Soult was calculated at 21 or 22,000 men; this slight inequality of number was much more than made up for, by the composition of the French army, and by their great superiority in cavalry; of these last they had above four thousand; more than double the number possessed by the allied army; an important advantage when we recollect the nature of the country which is described by General Beresford as every where passable both for horse and foot.

Early on the 16th dispositions were made for receiving the enemy's attack. The allied army was drawn up in the ridge of a gradual ascent of ground which rises from the river Albuera, and was formed in two lines nearly parallel to the course of that stream. This position covered the roads leading to Badajoz and Valverde. On the right was placed General Blake's corps the left of which on the Valverde road connected with the right of Major-general Stewart's division; this last ex-

tended by its left to the road to Badajoz, and here commenced General Hamilton's division which closed the left of the line. The second line was formed by General Cole's division, together with one brigade of that of General Hamilton.

On the morning of the 16th, Soult commenced his attack. About eight o'clock the French line appeared to be in movement, and their cavalry was observed to be passing the Albuera considerably above the right of our line. Opposite to our position was a wood of evergreen oaks; out of this marched a strong body of horse and two heavy columns of infantry, which moved directly upon the front of the allies as if with the purpose of carrying the village and bridge of Albuera. While endeavouring to engage our attention by this movement the enemy was perceived to be filing the principal force of his infantry over the river beyond our right; an operation which his great superiority in cavalry disabled us from attempting to interrupt. Soult's purpose was now evidently to turn the allies by the right flank, and thus cut them off from the road to Valverde. In order to meet this manoeuvre General Cole was ordered to place his division so as to form an oblique line to the rear of our right with his own right thrown back; and at the same time General Blake was desired to form part of his first line, and all his second fronting the direction in which the attack was expected.

At nine o'clock the French began their attack; they ascended the heights on the right unopposed, and having thus attained to nearly equal ground, they directed an impetuous charge upon the Spaniards, who, however, received them with firmness and an obstinate conflict ensued. But superior numbers at length compelled the Spanish corps to give way; they were forced from the heights and the French were left in possession of a point, the importance of which does not appear to have been sufficiently appreciated until it was lost. In fact, to use General Beresford's own expression it raked and entirely commanded our whole position. The French marked their triumph by a shout of exultation which was heard throughout our line. At the same time the French cavalry which had made a wide movement round the right, began to menace our rear, and the enemy continued his demonstrations against our left.

Beresford easily perceived that the fate of the day altogether depended upon the recovery of the position which the French had gained. General Stewart was ordered to move forward with his division, and a heavy fire was opened upon the enemy's column. Finding this to be ineffectual, it was determined to charge with the bayonet. A heavy fall of rain had continued from the commencement of the action, and the mist which accompanied the rain, together with the smoke arising from the firing, rendered it impossible to see any thing with distinctness. This circumstance had been of the greatest advantage to the French, both in forming their columns and in their subsequent movements of attack; and in the instance we

are about to describe, it had almost involved the total loss of the allied army. At the moment when the leading brigade of General Stewart's division, under Colonel Colburne, was in the act of charging, it was suddenly attacked in the rear by a body of Polish lancers which had come up unobserved, being concealed by the state of the atmosphere and the nature of the ground, and which moreover, when discovered, was mistaken for a corps of Spanish cavalry. The brigade was immediately broken by this unexpected assault; and the greater part of it, together with the guns which supported the movement were taken. The left battalion consisting of the 31st regiment, under the command of Major L'Estrange alone escaped; and maintained its ground till the rest of the division could come up. The 3d brigade under Maj. General Houghton came first, supported by the second under Colonel Abercrombie, and the division of General Cole. The French were charged, and after a desperate conflict were forced from the heights they had won, and driven down towards the river. The battle which might before have been considered as irreparably lost, was thus recovered, but at dreadful expence of life to the victors. Two thousand men and sixty officers, including General Houghton and Sir William Myers, who both fell while leading on their brigades to the charge; every lieutenant-colonel and field officer engaged in the attack, were either killed or wounded. The French necessarily suffered greatly, both in the conflict and by our musquetry, particularly after they had been driven from the heights. But covered by their great superiority of cavalry they effected their retreat across the Albuera without further molestation from us. Soult still continued his demonstration against the village, but after a short time he desisted on this point also, and his whole line resumed the position he had occupied before the action. On the following night he commenced his retreat on Seville.

Few battles recorded in history have been more obstinately sustained on both sides, or marked by a greater slaughter in proportion to the numbers engaged than that of Albuera. The loss of the English amounted to about 900 killed, 2732 wounded, and 544 missing; the Portuguese lost about 400 men; the Spaniards nearly 2000 in killed and wounded. In the attack of the Polish lancers two of the three regiments composing Colonel Colburne's brigade lost their colours; those of the buffs were saved under circumstances which deserve to be recorded. Ensign Thomas, who carried one of the colours was called to give them up; he replied, 'not but with my life,' and was instantly cut down; his flag of course was taken, but was afterwards recovered. The other Ensign Walsh had the staff of his colours broken in his hand by a cannon ball which at the same time severely wounded him; when on the ground, however, he collected sufficient strength to tear off the flag and to secure it in his bosom, until after the battle. The principal loss fell upon this regiment and upon the 57th. The buffs on going into action counted

24 officers, and 750 rank and file. On the following day they mustered only five officers, and 34 rank and file. Whole ranks of our men were observed to be stretched dead on the ground precisely in the position and order in which they had fought.

Soult in his despatch stated his loss at no more 2800 men. It is known, however, that he left 2000 men dead on the field, and about one thousand prisoners fell into our hands. The number of his wounded may be pretty accurately ascertained from an intercepted letter from General Gazan to Soult in which the former stated that he had more than 4000 wounded in his care. He remarked that the heat was very injurious to them, and the medical attendance was very insufficient, and that many had in consequence died upon the road. This letter was dated three days after the battle, and it is inferred from all these circumstances that Soult's total loss could not have fallen short of eight thousand men. Of the prisoners which he took from us, the greater number subsequently contrived to effect their escape. Among the enemy's killed were two generals, Pepin and Merle.

On the morning of the 18th, the enemy's retreat was known, and our cavalry was immediately detached in pursuit. A skirmish took place at Usagre, in which we made several prisoners. On the same day the infantry was marched back to Badajoz, and resumed its ground before that place. Soult had been unable to open any communication whatever with the garrison; the object therefore which he proposed to himself in advancing from Andalusia and giving battle at Albuera had totally failed.

The tidings of Soult's advance had reached Lord Wellington on the night of the 15th, he set out on the following morning for the army in the south, but arrived too late for the battle which, as we have seen was fought on the 16th. However he now assumed the command in this quarter, and reinforcements having arrived from the army in the north, measures were immediately taken for prosecuting with vigour the investment of Badajoz. It was necessary that all possible celerity should be employed in pushing these operations, as there was every reason to apprehend that the enemy would endeavour to collect a larger force and again advance to the relief of the town. On the 27th it was invested by General Houston's division on the right of the river, and by those of Generals Hamilton and Picton on the left of the river, and on the 29th ground was broken against Fort St. Christoval. Much difficulty however was experienced in obtaining cover at the advanced batteries; the garrison had taken the precaution to pare away the earth, leaving the rock bare. The working parties moreover were directly exposed to a heavy fire of cannon and musquetry, which opened upon them the moment they commenced their labours, and never ceased throughout the night. By means of woolpacks and other contrivances, the batteries were all finished on the 2d of June, and at day-break on the 3d a fire was opened on both

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sides of the river. On the 5th it was found that the breach in Fort St. Christoval was practicable; and it was resolved to assault it. At midnight, the storming party entered the ditch; but they found that in the interval since nightfall the enemy had cleared away the earth and rubbish from the bottom of the scarp, leaving seven feet of clear wall to be surmounted in their progress. Under these circumstances it would have been prudent to retire, which might have been effected without loss or difficulty; our party, however, persisted in endeavouring to force their way, and after an ineffectual perseverance for above an hour, carried on under a heavy shower of shot and shells and granades, they were at length compelled to desist and retreat with a loss of about one hundred and fifty men. In the course of the two following days the breach was widened, and immediately after dusk on the 9th, the attempt to storm was renewed, but with no better success. The French were on this occasion even better prepared than on the former, and our column was obliged to retreat with a loss nearly double that which it had experienced on the first attempt.

After this second repulse it was resolved to turn the siege into a blockade. In fact we were without the means of resorting to more active measures. Our battering train was Portuguese and made of brass, and had from the late constant use made of them become nearly unserviceable, and our ammunition was almost exhausted. By the 12th all our guns and stores had been removed. In the meanwhile, however, Marmont and Soult were concerting measures for effecting a junction and then marching to the relief of the town. Lord Wellington took up a position at Albuera with the hope of covering the blockade; finding, however, that the force collected against him was such as to make it imprudent to venture a second pitched battle, he broke up the blockade, recrossed the Guadiana, and on the 19th Badajoz was relieved. On the 20th Sir Brent Spencer's corps which had been left in the north, joined; and Lord Wellington took up a position at Campo Major, where he resolved to give the enemy battle if they should attempt to cross the Portuguese frontier. The French force now consisted of the armies of Marmont and Soult, and whatever could be drawn from the Castilles. They did not venture however any thing offensive against the allies; and the country becoming exhausted, they broke up about the middle of July; Soult returned to Andalusia, and Marmont moved back to the north of the Tagus. The English army then went into cantonments in the Lower Beira.

CHAPTER X.

Expedition from Cadiz to attack the French Lines. Circumstances under which it was undertaken. French Posts at Veger and Casas Viejas. Taken and occupied. La Pena takes up a Position at Bermega. Movements previous to the Battle of Barrosa. Circumstances under which General Graham resolves to attack the French Force. Complete Victory of the British. Conduct of the Spanish Army during the Action. General Graham returns with the British Troops to the Isle of Leon. He declines any further Co-operation with the Spanish General, who also abandons the ulterior Objects of the Expedition and retires within the Lines. Discontent excited by the Conduct of the Spanish General. The Cortes call upon the Regency to institute an Inquiry. Mr. J. W. Ward takes up the Subject in the House of Commons. Speech of Mr. Whitbread on the same Occasion. Mr. Perceval's Reply. La Pena's own Defence in a Memorial to the Cortes. General Dorsenne invades Gallicia. Good Conduct of the Spanish General. Abadia. Lord Wellington undertakes the Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. Returns to the North of Portugal on the Separation of the French Armies. The British Army is cantoned round Ciudad Rodrigo. Marmont recals Dorsenne's Force from Gallicia, and relieves the Place. Subsequent Skirmishing between the Two Armies. Lord Wellington falls back from his Position, at Fuente de Guinaldo. He offers Battle to Marmont. The French retire to Salamanca. Expedition under General Hill against the French Force in Estramadura. The French Troops under Gerard are surprised at Arroyo del Molino. Disposition of the English Force. Complete Success of the Attack by the English. General Hill returns to Portugal. Attempt to surprise the French Corps posted in Merida. Attack of the Corps in Almendralego. Affairs in Andalusia. Ballasteros adopts the Guerilla System against the French. Constant Failure of their Efforts to destroy him. Expedition against him under General Godinot. Detachment from Cadiz sent to assist Ballasteros. Failure of the French Attempts upon Tarifa. Suicide of General Godinot. Second Expedition against Tarifa. Gallant Defence of the Town by the British and Spaniards. The French abandon the Attempt.

In the early part of the present year the garrison of Cadiz made an attempt to raise the blockade of their town by an attack upon the works, which the French haddrawn up in front of the isle of Leon. The occasion was one peculiarly favourable to the success of the enterprise, as Marshal Soult had drafted off a considerable portion of the army before Cadiz to reinforce that with which he was about to undertake the siege of Badajoz; and the force in the French lines was in consequence reduced to 10 or 12000 men,

being not much more than half the number of the garrison of the island. It was settled that the expedition should be embarked in transports and landed at Tarifa; and having effected a junction with the Spanish troops at St. Roques, they would then move on the enemy's flank. At the same time the troops left in the isle of Leon would endeavour to open a communication with them by throwing a bridge across the river St. Petri, near its mouth. The troops collected to be embarked consisted of between four and five thousand British and Portuguese and about seven thousand Spaniards. The command of the expedition was confided to Don Manuel La Pena, the officer who had directed the latter part of the retreat of the central army, after its rout at Ocana. The British troops were commanded by General Graham, who consented to act under the orders of La Pena.

For some time the embarkation was delayed by the apprehension that the heavy rains which continued to fall during the first three weeks of February would render the roads impracticable. On the 20th of that month the troops were got on board, and on the following day the expedition set sail. The transports were forced by stress of weather into the bay of Algesiras, where the British disembarked and proceeded by land to Tarifa; the road between these two places, however, is impracticable for artillery, and it was found necessary to tranship the guns into boats and thus tow them along the shore; which by the extraordinary exertions of our seamen was effected in spite of every disadvantage of wind and current. The Spanish transports could not arrive at Tarifa before the 27th.

On the 28th the allied troops began their operations. Their first object was to attack Veger, a village about midway between Tarifa and the isle of Leon, and in which the enemy had posted three companies of infantry, and about an hundred and eighty horse. It was attempted to surprise this handful of men, but they got intelligence in time and fell back, leaving three pieces of cannon in the hands of the Spaniards. La Pena at the same time attacked the little fort at Casas Viejas on the road to Medina, and here also the French had a small garrison; they were compelled to abandon it with a loss of about sixty men in killed and wounded. The division from St. Roques now joined, and the force consisted of about 12,000 men, of which 800 were cavalry. On the 4th of March the whole collected at Veger. La Pena's immediate object was to open a communication with the troops in the island. It was accordingly arranged between him and Graham that the Spanish force should proceed to Conil, and that the British, bringing up the rear, should join them in that town the same night, and that on the following morning they should attack the entrenchments forming the left of the enemy's lines, by which means the pass of the St. Petri would be gained, and communications opened with the island. This last object was important on more accounts than one; for the expedition already experienced some difficulty with

respect to its provisions; a want which without some mismanagement could scarcely have made itself felt thus early.

The troops in the island were commanded by General Zayas, who had already succeeded in throwing a bridge across the St. Petri, and provided for its defence by a *tête-de-pont*. On the night of the 2nd he was attacked in this post by three French Regiments commanded by General Villatte, and the enemy at first succeeded in making their way into the works; the Spaniards however were re-inforced, and finally drove out the assailants at the point of the bayonet.

La Pena now ordered General Lardizabal to move forward with the advanced division and attack the left of the French lines. The enemy under Villatte made some resistance; but he was finally routed, and compelled to retire to the right. The communication with the island was by this means secured. La Pena proceeded to take up a position on the heights of Bermeja; by which he would be enabled to cover the junction of the force under Zayas. As he expected however that the enemy would make every effort to recover so important a post, he sent to desire the British troops to support him by moving down from Barrosa to the Torre de Bermeja. The face of the country in this quarter is roughened by ridges which intersect it, running at right angles from the sea. Of these heights that of Bermeja is one, situated little more than a mile from the pass of the St. Petri; the ridge of Barrosa forms another about three miles distant from the former. The plain which lies between these two heights is thickly wooded, but there is an easy communication along the sea-beach upon which they both abut on the right.

General Graham's division was halted on the eastern slope of the Barrosa height when he received La Pena's directions to move forward. Cavalry patroles had been sent out towards Chiclana, and having on their return reported that they had seen nothing of the enemy, the British, about noon, began their march towards Bermeja. A rear guard of two Spanish battalions was left in occupation of the ridge of Barrosa. Our troops had already entered the wood when it was discovered that an enemy's corps was moving in two divisions upon their right flank, and advancing towards the height of Barrosa. This position is the key of that of Santi Petri, and General Graham immediately countermarched, in order to support the troops which had been left for its defence. This part of the affair cannot be better described than in General Graham's own words. After alluding to the alacrity with which the countermovement was made, he observes, that 'it was nevertheless impossible in such intricate and difficult ground to preserve order in the columns, and there never was time to restore it entirely. But before we could get ourselves quite disentangled from the wood, the troops on the Barrosa hill were seen returning from it, while the enemy's left wing was rapidly ascending. At the same time his right wing stood on the plain, on the edge of the wood within can-

non shot. A retreat in the face of such an enemy already within reach of the easy communication by the sea beach, must have involved the whole allied army in all the danger of being attacked during the unavoidable confusion of the different corps arriving on the narrow ridge of Bermeja nearly at the same time.

'Trusting therefore' continues the gallant general 'to the known heroism of British troops, regardless of the numbers and position of the enemy, an immediate attack was determined on.' The measure thus wisely and fearlessly adopted was instantly carried into execution. We have already mentioned the disorder into which the columns had been in some degree thrown by the nature of the ground they had been moving over; this was felt to be a considerable disadvantage, but there was now no time to rectify it. Brigadier-general Dilkes, together with the brigade of guards, Lieutenant Colonel Browne's flank battalion, two companies of the 2nd rifle-corps, and a part of the 67th which had separated from the rest of the regiment in the wood, formed on the right. Colonel Wheatly's brigade with three companies of the Coldstream guards, which had likewise been separated from their battalion, and Lieutenant Colonel Barnard's flank battalion composed the left. As soon as our force had been thus hastily formed, Major Duncan advanced his battery in the centre, consisting of ten guns, and kept up a warm fire upon the enemy.

The French were commanded by Marshal Victor, who had under him the two divisions Ruffin and Laval; the former was posted on the hill on the left, the latter on the right. As the two armies approached each other some skirmishing of the light troops immediately took place. Under the cover of this, Major Duncan advanced his guns upon the enemy's right at the same time that Colonel Barnard's battalion with Colonel Busche's detachment of the 20th Portuguese were warmly engaged with the French tirailleurs in the same direction. Notwithstanding the havoc produced by the fire of our guns, the enemy's right continued to advance steadily, and opened a fire of musquetry. Our left now advanced, and in its turn commenced a fire which checked that of the French; a charge was then made by the three companies of the guards, and the 87th regiment, supported by all the remainder of the wing; and our troops rushed forward with such determined impetuosity that in a short time the whole of the enemy's division was compelled to give way. We pursued them across the narrow valley beyond which the French had formed a reserve; this body however scarcely awaited our charge, but fled in disorder with the rest. The eagle of the French 8th regiment of light infantry was taken by our 87th; a howitzer also fell into our hands.

At the same time a similar success awaited the exertions of our right. General Dilkes advanced with that portion of our force upon General Ruffin's division which had now gained the summit of the height of Barrosa. The French awaited our charge with firmness

and a bloody contest ensued; the valour of our troops, however, finally prevailed; and the enemy was driven from his position with great slaughter, leaving two pieces of cannon in our possession.

In about an hour and a half after the beginning of the action the whole of the French force was in full retreat. At some distance from the scene of action they halted and appeared disposed to form, but an advance movement on the part of our artillery compelled them to break up. After the extreme fatigue which our troops had undergone it was impossible to attempt a pursuit; General Graham therefore contented himself with taking up a position on the eastern side of the hill.

The victory was of the most decisive character; an eagle, six pieces of cannon, and nearly five hundred prisoners were left in our hands. The Generals Ruffin and Rousseau were both wounded, and the latter soon after died of his wounds. The total loss of the French in killed, wounded and prisoners was estimated at three thousand, out of about eight thousand, which had been brought into action. Among their killed was the chief of the staff General Bellegarde. Our own loss was necessarily severe: it amounted to 1243 in killed and wounded. The Spanish force which had been attached to General Graham's division behaved perfectly well. The two battalions of Walloon Guards and Ciudad Real had been left on the hill; but they made every effort to rejoin the English when it was known they were engaged. The victory had been decided however before they were able to come up. A squadron of the German legion which had been attached to the Spanish cavalry reached the scene of action in time to distinguish itself by a brilliant charge against a body of French dragoons which it completely broke and routed. Three squadrons of Spanish cavalry under General Whittingham in the mean while succeeded in resisting a force of the enemy's infantry and cavalry which endeavoured to turn the height by the sea. The detachment of the 20th Portuguese regiment are described by General Graham as behaving admirably throughout the whole affair.

During the action, the Spanish force under La Pena had remained on the height of Bermeja, which is about three miles distant from that of Barrosa. A thick wood is interposed between, which altogether interrupts the view from the one point to the other. No effort was made on its part to assist the British during their struggle with the superior numbers of the enemy; a fact which may perhaps be partly accounted for by the sudden and unexpected manner in which the action commenced, and the rapidity with which the victory was atchieved. La Pena had moreover to resist an attack which was simultaneously directed against his position by a body of the enemy under General Villatte. General Graham, however, did not appear satisfied with the conduct of his allies on this occasion. After remaining some hours on the height of Barrosa, he withdrew his troops from all further co-operation with the Spaniards, and early next morning re-crossed the

Santi Petri river, leaving a detachment of the third battalion of the 95th regiment. The only reason assigned for this measure in his published despatch is the difficulty he found of procuring any supplies for the exhausted troops, the commissariat mules having dispersed on the enemy's first attack.

La Pena himself professed to be anxious that the combined force should push on to the accomplishment of the ulterior operations which they had contemplated, and he seems to have expected that such would have been the result of Graham's victory. In the despatch which he transmitted to Cadiz on the same night, he observes, that the allied army had obtained a victory so much the more satisfactory as circumstances rendered it more difficult; and that he remained master of the enemy's position which was so important to him for his subsequent operations. He continued to occupy the same height for several days, endeavouring to prevail on General Graham to resume the completion of their intended plan. The British General, however, uniformly declined his overtures, conceiving probably that he would not be justified in again risking the safety of his troops by subjecting them to the command of an officer who appeared to have so ill supported their exertions in the instance of the engagement which had taken place. La Pena failing in his negociation for this purpose, and not being disposed to attempt any thing against the enemy's works with his own troops though they were 12 or 15,000 in number, likewise withdrew after a few days within the island. This return was hastened by an offensive movement on the part of the enemy, who had become at length emboldened by the inertness of the allies and by the arrival of a small reinforcement from Seville. Some successful attacks which were made by the marines of the British squadron upon the enemy's sea defences between Rota and Santa Maria, sufficiently betrayed the unguarded state of the works against which the expedition had been directed.

The conduct of La Pena on this occasion excited the strongest discontent both in England and Spain. The cortes called upon the regency to furnish them with a detailed and circumstantial account of an expedition which had terminated so much to the public disappointment. This was accordingly laid before them, and the cortes after declaring that the conduct of the general, with respect to the advantages which might have been obtained on the day of the battle was not sufficiently clear, desired that the council of regency would immediately institute a scrupulous investigation with all the rigor of the military law.

In England also the subject was warmly taken up in the house of commons. Shortly after the vote of thanks to General Graham and his army had been unanimously passed, Mr. J. W. Ward, upon the ordnance estimates being laid before the house (April 1) took occasion to animadvert in very severe terms upon what he called the deplorable misconduct of our allies in the late affair. He asked 'whether it was to be

endured that while the British troops were performing prodigies of valour in an unequal contest, those very allies for whose independence they were fighting, should remain cold blooded spectators of deeds, the bare recital of which should have been sufficient to warm every man of them into a hero. If indeed they had been so many mercenaries, and hired to fight for a foreign power and in behalf of a foreign cause; if they had been so many Swiss; in that case their breach of duty, however culpable, would have been less unaccountable and perhaps more excusable; but here, where they were allies bound to this country in obligations greater than ever before one nation owed to another—our brave men lavishing those lives which their country had so much better right to claim, and in defence of that cause in which those allies were principals—in such a case tamely to look on while the contest between numbers and bravery hung in doubtful issue—this did appear to him to betray an indifference, an apathy, which if he could suppose it to prevail among the Spaniards in general, must render in his mind the cause of Spanish independence altogether hopeless!'

Mr. Whitbread followed in a similar strain. He said 'he did not mean to complain of the Spanish people but of their officers. He should ever think of Barrosa as of a day memorable for the glory of Britons, and as not less memorable for the infamy of Spaniards. Why were the two battalions withdrawn from the height of Barrosa? Why was their position abandoned precipitately to the French? Who gave this order but a Spanish officer? Was this the first time a Spanish army had been cold-blooded spectators of British heroism? Did they want this to remind them of the stately indifference shewn by Cuesta at the battle of Talavera? Was all sound at Cadiz, or was there no French party there? Was it true that General Graham had been foiled and obstructed in all his plans? That in the midst of the fight while British troops were doing feats which perhaps British troops alone could do, their allies were doing what he hoped such men alone were capable of—plundering the British baggage? If all this was so, or nearly so, were the British armies to be risked so worthlessly? Were they to be abandoned to treachery or cowardice? For in either or both must have originated the unnatural, ungrateful, and infamous treatment they had met with.'

Mr. Perceval observed, that 'no evidence had yet appeared to justify the severe censure which had been passed upon the Spaniards; and it was neither just nor generous thus upon insufficient grounds to prejudice men who were to undergo a legal investigation. General Graham's despatches furnished no ground for such sweeping accusations; the Spanish troops which had been attached to his division made every effort to come back and join in the action, and when the situation of the rest of the army posted at four miles distance was taken into consideration, it required more information than they possessed at present to justify the passing a censure upon the whole

Spanish army or even upon any part of it.'

In fact, there does not, we think, upon the mere face of the affair appear any sufficient reason for charging the Spanish commander either with cowardice or treachery upon this occasion. La Pena could not be prepared for the approach of the French, for Graham himself did not expect it; and the action commenced so suddenly, and was terminated so rapidly, that we think La Pena's conduct, occupied as his attention was by an attack directed against himself, may be accounted for without ascribing to him a much greater degree of tardiness of motion and indecision than has been commonly betrayed by most of the Spanish regular generals in the course of this war. La Pena declared himself most anxious for immediate investigation. He addressed a memorial to that effect, to the cortes; and took occasion in this document to explain some part of his conduct which had been the most strongly censured. He stated that on the evening after the battle he had assured General Graham that the troops in the isle should come out, and that provisions should be sent to the English, and that it was with extreme surprise that he afterwards learnt that they had retreated without his knowledge. It appears, however, that some delay occurred in the supply of their provisions, and our force already out of humour with their allies for what must naturally have seemed their extreme misconduct during the battle returned in consequence to the island. La Pena then wrote to his own government for instructions as to what he should do; the answer of the Regency was, that they had applied to the British Ambassador on the subject and were waiting his reply. He wrote also to General Graham respecting their future operations; the English General stated that his force was not in a condition to come out of the isle again, but he engaged to cover all the points of defence. Under these circumstances, La Pena said 'he would, had he acted for himself, have pursued the enemy with the Spanish troops alone, but he was under the necessity of consulting the government which was so close at hand,' and by the delays which were occasioned, in consequence, the opportunity of following up the victory was lost. The investigation took place and General Pena was honourably acquitted.

We have already stated the circumstances under which the French armies, after combining to compel Lord Wellington to raise the siege of Badajoz, again separated, Marmont returning to the north and Soult resuming his station in Andalusia. The next operation of the enemy was directed against Gallicia. General Dorsenne was ordered to enter that province with a strong force and make himself master of Corunna; his efforts however were baffled by the constancy of the Spaniards and the conduct of their General, Don Xavier Abadia, an officer of reputation, who had just taken the command in this quarter; and before he had been able to effect any of his objects he was recalled by Marmont to assist in raising the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.

The recovery of this fortress

had been long in the contemplation of Lord Wellington, and measures were taken for effecting it before the separation of the two French armies in Estremadura. The ground upon which our General principally relied in his hopes of success, was the position of the town, and the poverty of the country around it. It is situated sixty miles from the cantonment of the French army; the neighbouring country is poor, and the people strongly hostile to the enemy; in order to provision the place, therefore, it would be necessary that convoys should be sent from the distance we have mentioned; and in case the British army should be cantoned in the neighbouring villages, these convoys would not be able to approach, unless escorted by a force capable of contending with that army. Marmont would thus be compelled either to abandon the town, or to continue to keep his troops in constant motion by marches from the distant points over which they were scattered, in order to throw provisions into it. As the decided numerical inferiority of our force precluded any offensive operation on our part, no other plan could have been adopted likely to tend so effectually to the annoyance of the enemy, and the relief of the northern provinces of the Peninsula. Though our intended operations against the town were merely of the nature of blockade, it was provided that the battering train and siege stores should be brought up the Douro, and received at Ville de Ponte, which is about sixteen leagues in the rear, in order that in the case of the enemy's weakening his army by detaching any portion of it elsewhere, we might take immediate advantage of the occasion by laying siege to the town.

Accordingly when Marmont returned to the north, Lord Wellington by parallel marches removed his head quarters first to Portelegre, and afterwards (Aug. 10th.) to Fuente Guinaldo. A small corps was left to watch the Alentejo frontier; the rest of the army was cantoned on the Agueda, forming a kind of cordon round Ciudad Rodrigo. After the lapse of about a month the want of provisions began to be seriously felt in the place, and the French General perceived the necessity of taking immediate steps for its relief. Dorsenne was hastily recalled from Gallicia, and Souham's division was ordered to join from Navarre; thus reinforced, he advanced about the middle of September from Salamanca, and on the 24th a large convoy of provisions entered Ciudad Rodrigo.

As soon as Lord Wellington learnt the approach of Marmont, he ordered a position in front of Fuente de Guinaldo to be entrenched; not so much, it appears, with any view of maintaining it against the enemy in case he advanced against it in force, as to give him the means of keeping out his advance corps to the last moment, that he might thereby ascertain whether the troops collected for the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo were in fact as numerous as they were represented to be. General Craufurd's division was posted on the right of the Agueda to watch the passes over the Sierra de Gata; that under General Picton was in advance on the

heights of El Bodom; and both were instructed to fall back to Fuente de Guinaldo in case the enemy menaced them with superior force.

On the 24th as we have stated, the convoy entered Ciudad Rodrigo. On the following day Marmont pushed thirty squadrons of cavalry and a corps of infantry with some artillery across the Agueda, by way of reconnoissance. The infantry made a demonstration against the right of the position of El Bodom, at the same time that the cavalry threatened to turn it on the left, and by advancing on Guinaldo, menaced to cut off the retreat of the troops which occupied it. This movement, however, was baffled, the troops in question avoiding the enemy by passing to the other bank of the Agueda; and then recrossing by a ford higher up the river. On the left, where was the principal force of the French cavalry, the 77th and the 2nd battalion of the 5th were formed into one square, and the 21st Portuguese regiment, together with a small body of cavalry under General Alten into another; this last was supported by the Portuguese artillery. These two bodies maintained their ground with the utmost steadiness against the enemy, and succeeded in effecting their retreat in perfectly good order; though repeatedly charged by the French horse. On the same evening the divisions of Generals Picton and Cole were posted on the position of Fuente de Guinaldo, and they were joined on the following day by that commanded by General Craufurd.

The position which had thus been taken up is situated on a high ridge about a league in breadth; the right of it rests upon the Agueda; but the left falls abruptly into an extensive plain which reaches to the frontiers of Portugal. On this point, therefore, it was exposed to the danger of the enemy's manœuvring in our rear; and it became necessary to preclude any such movement by posting a strong body of troops on the plain. Moreover another division was employed in watching any attempt which they might make to pass the Agueda higher up, and to check the force posted on the pass of Perales; there were, therefore, only three divisions left to defend the position in front. On the 26th Marmont brought up a body of 35,000 infantry, and a large force of cavalry, to a short distance from the ridge; and towards the dusk of evening another column was seen to be approaching which it was calculated would have increased the numbers of the enemy to 60,000 infantry, and 5000 cavalry; their artillery amounted to 125 pieces. Lord Wellington who had no adequate object to induce him to offer battle to a force so far superior, and in a position so insecure, fell back in the night to Aldea de Ponte, a village about twelve miles in the rear. On the 27th the French followed and attacked the village which was defended by General Pakenham, and in the course of the day was twice lost and as often regained. It the night our army again retreated about three miles to a position on the heights behind Soito, with the Sierra das Mesas on their right and their left at Rendo on the Coa. Here on the 28th Lord Wellington offered battle to the

enemy, who however did not accept the offer, but content with having succeeded in his purpose of provisioning Ciudad Rodrigo, returned to Salamanca. Our loss on the 25th, amounted to 28 killed, 108 wounded, and 28 missing; on the 27th, to 14 killed, 77 wounded, and 9 missing. Upon the retreat of the French our army was put into cantonment, and head quarters were established at Lenada. Lord Wellington having now lost all expectation of being able early to reduce Ciudad Rodrigo by blockade, proceeded to take measures for effecting his object, on the first favourable opportunity, by regular siege.

An expedition was shortly after undertaken by a portion of the force under General Hill, which for the skill displayed in the conduct of it, and the decisiveness of its success, may be considered as among the most memorable of the war. Marshal Soult had despatched into Estremadura a force of 4000 foot and a thousand horse, under General Girard, principally with a view of confining the operations of Castanos who was endeavouring to recruit his army in this quarter. The French General took up a position at Caceres, from which it was enabled, in great measure, to effect its purpose of annoying Castanos, by diminishing the means of subsistence to the Spanish army, and restricting its recruiting operations. Partly with the view of relieving the province from these inconveniences, and partly to divert the enemy's attention from the preparations which were silently making for the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, it was resolved, in concert with Castanos, to strike a blow against this force.

On the 23rd of October General Hill marched from Portalegre with a portion of his troops, and at Aliseda he formed a junction with the Spaniards. On the 26th they reached Malpartida; here he received information that the enemy had marched on to Torre Mocha. Next morning therefore the allied army advanced by the road leading to Merida, through Aldea del Cano, which was selected as a shorter route than that taken by the enemy, and it was hoped would enable us to intercept him. By further information received during the march it was ascertained that Girard had only left Torre Mocha that morning, and that his main body had again halted at Arrogo del Molino, a rear-guard being left at Albala. It was plain from this that he was as yet unaware of the movements of the English force. Encouraged by this conviction, Hill made on the same evening a forced march to Alcuesca. With a view of concealing them from the enemy the troops were bivouaqued under a hill, and no fires were permitted to be lighted; though the soldiers were already drenched by a heavy rain which continued to fall all night. Alcuesca is within a league of Arrogo del Molino; but there was still every indication that the enemy was not only totally ignorant of the approach of the allies, but extremely off his guard, and it was determined to attempt to surprise him, before he obtained any further information.

The town of Arrogo del Molino is described by General Hill as situated at the foot of one ex-

tremity of the Sierra of Montrauches, which forms behind it a kind of crescent, the two points of which are about two miles asunder. The mountain itself is almost every where inaccessible. The road to Trusillo runs round the eastern point; that leading from the town to Merida forms a right angle with the road from Alcuesca; the road to Medellin passes between the other two. The ground between Alcuesca and Arrogo del Molino is a plain thinly scattered with oak and cork trees. The object of the English General was to place a body of troops so as to cut off the retreat of the enemy by any of these roads. With this purpose the troops broke up from their bivouac about two o'clock in the morning of the 28th and moved in one column direct upon Arrogo del Molino. On arriving within half a mile of the place the column closed under the cover of a low ridge, and divided into three. Day now began to dawn, and it was accompanied by a violent storm of rain, and a thick mist, circumstances peculiarly favourable for the further concealment of the approach of our troops. The left column, under Lieut. Col. Stewart, moved direct upon the town, the right commanded by Major General Howard broke off to the right so as to turn the enemy's left, and having gained about the distance of a cannon shot from their flank, it marched in a circular direction upon the further point of the crescent formed by the mountains. The cavalry under Sir W. Erskine was placed between the two columns in readiness to act in front or to move round either of them as occasion might require.

There is something extraordinary in the degree in which the enemy was kept ignorant of the approach of our troops almost up to the moment of attack. It shews how imperfect were their means of information, arising from the general ill-will of the people towards them; and no doubt but it must be reckoned among the most considerable of the disadvantages to which that circumstance subjected them in the course of the war. At the moment at which our columns came up with the enemy, he was filing out of the town upon the Merida road; the rear of his columns, together with some of his cavalry and baggage being still in it; one brigade of his infantry had marched for Medellin an hour before daylight. Our troops instantly attacked; the 71st and 92d regigiments gave three cheers and charged into the town, scattering the enemy every where at the point of the bayonet; with the loss of only a few men, who were cut down by the French cavalry.

By the time these regiments had got into the extremity of the town, such of the enemy's infantry which had filed out of it, had formed into two squares, between the Merida and Medellin roads, fronting Alcuesca, having their cavalry on their left. As the right square was formed at the distance of a cannon shot from the town, the 71st regiment immediately lined the garden walls in their neighbourhood, while the 92d regiment filed out and formed on the right of the enemy, in a

line perpendicular to his flank. At the same time one wing of the 50th regiment occupied the town and secured the prisoners, while the other wing skirted the outside of it, and as soon as they got within range, brought their artillery to bear with great effect upon the enemy. Our horse now charged that of the enemy, and separated it from their infantry; this last was next attacked, and the French were in full retreat when General Howard's column that had been moving round their left, appeared in sight and cut off the road. At this time the left column was gaining fast upon them, and the French beset on all sides found they had no other chance of escaping than by dispersing and making for the mountains. Accordingly their cavalry broke up in the utmost disorder, their infantry threw away their arms, and they made for the eastern extremity of the Sierra, although the ascent in this part was almost inaccessible. The troops under Major General Howard pursued them warmly, over the rocks, making prisoners at every step, until his men became so few and so exhausted that he was compelled to halt and secure his captives; the further pursuit of the enemy was then left to the Spanish infantry under General Morillo. These had ascended the mountain in a more favourable direction, and were in consequence more in advance upon the fugitives; they continued the pursuit for many leagues, as far as the village of Santa Ana, when becoming likewise exhausted they returned, having counted upwards of six hundred dead in the woods and mountains, besides those who had fallen on the plain. The enemy's loss in prisoners amounted to about 1400 men; among them were a General of cavalry, Brune, and the Prince of Aremberg. The whole of their artillery, baggage, and commissariat, fell into our hands. General Girard escaped in the direction of Serrena with two or three hundred men, for the most part without arms. He had with him, previous to our attack, 2500 infantry and 600 cavalry. He is stated to have been wounded in the course of the affair. Our own loss amounted to seven killed and sixty-four wounded.

Having thus completely effected his object, General Hill returned to the Alentejo where he again put his men into cantonment. He continued however in readiness to take advantage of the first favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy, and towards the end of December, he attempted by a rapid movement upon Merida to surprise the corps which was posted there. Unluckily, however, our troops, before they reached the place, fell in with a detachment of the enemy which had been sent out for the purpose of pillage, and this little body displayed so much skill and courage in effecting its retreat, that by the delay thus occasioned, time was given to alarm the French in the town. They evacuated the place during the night, abandoning some very considerable magazines of flour, which they had there collected. General Hill next marched upon Almendralejo, where he heard that Drouet was collecting

his troops. The French, however, evacuated the place upon our approach, and here also some large magazines fell into our hands. The British were precluded by the state of the roads from pursuing the enemy; and General Hill, content with having thus for the most part cleared the province and compelled the enemy to fall back to the south, returned to the neighbourhood of Merida, where he placed his troops in cantonments.

In Andalusia, Ballasteros had during the autumn kept the French in constant anxiety and alarm by following the Guerilla system, and thus harassing them by that mode of warfare to which the nature of the country and the genius of the people was most peculiarly fitted. Soult had in vain detached against him force after force; the Spanish General either defeated them, or baffled their utmost efforts to overpower him; and notwithstanding the constant story of victories achieved over his bands, which the French officers sent home, he invariably succeeded in re-assembling within a few days his scattered troops, and again made his appearance upon some other point where he was least expected. The strong country of the Ronda was peculiarly favourable for this kind of operation; and the inhabitants were of a character and disposition to turn it to the best account in making the utmost resistance to the enemy. Considerable support and assistance was also derived from the garrison of Gibraltar. Soult had determined to make an effort to overpower this chief, and a division of from eight to ten thousand men was ordered to march against him, under the command of General Godinot, Ballasteros had no means of resisting this force in the open field; and he succeeded by rapid marches in avoiding an action, gradually falling back till at length he was compelled to take refuge (Oct. 14.) under the rock of Gibraltar. Here he rested his bands, waiting in expectation that want of subsistence would soon compel the enemy to retrace his steps.

On the same day that Ballasteros reached Gibraltar, a detachment of British and Spanish troops landed at Tarifa, having been dispatched from Cadiz with the view of supporting his operations. The British troops consisted of a thousand infantry, with a detachment of artillery and were under the command of Col. Skerritt. The French General immediately felt the importance of making himself master of this point. The only road, however, by which he could bring his artillery against the town skirted the sea; and when on the 18th he attempted to move a detachment along it, our vessels were found drawn up close to the pass of La Pena, which they raked with their fire in such a manner that the enemy were compelled to desist from any farther advance. Baffled upon this point, and finding it impossible to attempt any thing further against Ballasteros, Godinot fell back upon Ubrique. He was followed close by the Spanish chief, who twice attacked his rear-guard and both times obtained considerable advantage over it. General Godinot was soon after recalled to Seville, and the morning after his arrival there he blew out his

brains with the musket of the sentry of his quarters. The French attributed this catastrophe to a nervous melancholy which had long preyed upon him; there was nothing so marked or so singular in the ill success of his expedition against the Guerillas of Ronda, as to justify the notion that the fear of reproach or disgrace should have driven him to the act.

Soult seems to have become suddenly aware of the importance of Tarifa, and before the end of the year he projected an expedition against it. A body of 10,000 men with 18 pieces of cannon was marched with that purpose under the orders of General Leval. The place itself was ill-calculated to resist such a force; its fortifications, if such they may be called, consisted only of an uncovered wall, imperfectly flanked by small projections; there was however an island connected with the town by a bridge, which afforded a place of refuge for the inhabitants, and from which the garrison, if driven from the town, might safely embark; and it was this circumstance which principally determined the British and Spanish commanders, Colonel Skerritt, and D. Francis Copons, to stand the siege.

The French took possession of the surrounding hills on the 19th of December; on the 20th the investment was formed. They broke ground on the 25th and opened their batteries four days after. In the morning of the 30th a considerable breach was formed, and about noon on that day a flag of truce was sent into the town inviting the Governor to surrender. A refusal was sent back, and both parties then prepared for the assault. At eight o'clock of the following morning a column consisting of two thousand picked men moved to the breach from a distance of two hundred and fifty yards. Ample preparations had been made to receive them. The 87th regiment flanked the breach to the north and south, the 47th lined the wall which flanked the enemy's approach, and the narrow street into which the breach opened had been strongly barricadoed and secured by Chevaux de Frize. The distance from which the assailants approached enabled our troops to open their fire with peculiar effect, and before it reached the breach their column was evidently disordered. After halting for a moment, they ran to the edge of the breach and conceiving it to be impracticable, turned from the town and got out of the reach of our fire as swiftly as they could. Their loss in this affair is stated at about five hundred men. The enemy did not renew his attempt. Shortly after he broke up from his encampment and returned from before the place, after an investment of seventeen days, leaving behind a considerable part of their artillery and stores, which the state of the weather and of the roads did not permit them to remove. What he did attempt to take with him, it is said, that the same circumstances compelled him to abandon by the way.

CHAPTER XI.

Spanish Affairs continued. War in Catalonia. Good Spirit of the People of that Province. Rovira projects the Recovery of the Fortress of Figueras. He succeeds in the Attempt. Exultation of the Spaniards. Singular Reward conferred on Rovira. Figueras is blockaded by the French. Suchet advances upon Tarragona. Campoveide falls back on that Place. The French storm the Fort Oliva. Attack on the lower Town. Arrival of a British Reinforcement, which, however, does not land. The French storm the Town. A horrible Scene of Outrage and Slaughter ensues. Fall of Berga, and of Monserrat. Figueras surrenders. The Garrison are repulsed in an Attempt to get away. Lacy assumes the military Command in Catalonia. His Proclamation to the Inhabitants. Capture by the Patriots of the Isles of Las Medas. The French are compelled to abandon Igualada, Monserrat, &c. Cervera surrenders to the Patriots. Capture of a French Force at Bellpuig. Erolles makes an Incursion on Languedoc. Suchet threatens Valencia. Preparations of the Spaniards for the Defence of the Town. Blake takes the military Command in that Quarter. He is routed by Soult at Lorca. Suchet marches upon Valencia. He fails in an Attack upon the Castle of Murviedro. He repeats the Attack, and is again repulsed with Loss. Blake approaches for the Relief of the Place. Battle of Murviedro. Defeat of the Spaniards. Surrender of the Castle of Murviedro. Suchet summons Valencia. He occupies the Suburbs of Serrano and Grao, and pushes across the Guadalaviar. Misconduct of a Part of the Spanish Army. Blake withdraws within the Lines. The French push their Approaches. The Spaniards abandon the Lines, and withdraw within the City. Blake attempts in vain to evacuate the Place with the Garrison. The French open a Bombardment. Suchet again summons the Place. Blake's Answer. He capitulates with all his Army. His Letter to the Regency. Guerilla System. Death of the Duke del Albuquerque. State of Affairs in the Spanish Colonies. Venezuela. New Constitution for the Confederate States. Troubles. Earthquake at Caraccas. Counter-Revolution. Buenos Ayres. Dissensions in the new Government. Armistice with the Viceroy. Mexico.

No province of the Peninsula had distinguished itself throughout the war by so unconquerable a spirit of resistance to the French as Catalonia, and its inhabitants maintained the same character in the course of the campaign of 1811. A gallant leader of the name of Rovira, who from a doctor in theology, had made himself a colonel of Guerillas, conceived the design of recovering some of the fortresses which had fallen into the hands of the French, and though his plans to this effect had long been ridiculed

as extravagant and impracticable, he persevered till he prevailed on the Marquess Campo-verde, who had lately taken the command in the province, to allow the experiment to be made. The fortress selected for attack was that of Figueras, and General Martinez, who commanded the division of Ampurdam, was ordered to assist in the attempt. Figueras is situated not quite twenty miles from the French frontier; the town itself is small, but the fortifications have rendered it one of the strongest in Europe; and the rocky nature of the spot on which it is placed, makes it almost impossible to approach it on any side by trenches. Our readers will recollect that it was one of the four which had, previously to the war, been delivered up to the French by the treason or infatuation of the Spanish government.

Of course, no open attempt could be made against a place of this nature; and it could only be assailed by surprise. On the 6th of April, being Palm Sunday, Rovira drew up his division at the village of Esquirol, and after a suitable harangue, he called upon such as were disposed to devote themselves to an expedition which he stated to be of great peril, but no less honourable and useful, to come forward; five hundred men immediately volunteered their services, and an equal number answered to a similar appeal, which was made to the troops at St. Privat. The whole having joined, marched on the following day to Ora, and thence on the 8th by Sadernes and Cofi to Llorena; a route which was taken up with the purpose of confirming both the troops and the enemy in the persuasion that the object in view was an inroad on the French frontier.

On the 9th Rovira left Llorena in the direction of Figueras. Having reached the wood of Villarity they concealed themselves till night-fall, and thence marched to a village in the neighbourhood of the fortress. The force was divided into six companies, the command of each being given to officers who were well acquainted with the nature of the works; a gate which led into the ditch was opened to the assailants by three soldiers who had served for a twelvemonth in the garrison for the purpose of rendering this service; the sentinels were bayonetted before they could give alarm, and the garrison were hardly out of their beds, when the Spaniards had gained possession of the place. The garrison, composed of French and Italians, were made prisoners to the amount of a thousand men.

This extraordinary success excited the utmost exultation throughout the Peninsula. A singular reward was conferred on Rovira; he was made Maestre-Escuela, or canon of the cathedral of Vich. A law had been passed declaring that the proceeds of the ecclesiastical benefices which might fall vacant, should be temporarily assigned to the support of the expences of the state; but the Regency called upon the Cortes to enable it to dispense with this enactment in favour of Rovira, in order that when the war was ended the *doctor-brigadier* 'might have a retirement suitable to his profession.' On the other hand,

the French took immediate measures for the recovery of the important fortress which they had thus unexpectedly been deprived of, and before it was sufficiently provisioned Figueras was subjected to a strict blockade.

At the same time Suchet advanced upon Tarragona, which was now almost the last place of strength that remained to the patriots in Catalonia. Ample preparations had been made to meet an attack which for some time past had been expected; its works which were not originally strong, had been repaired and strengthened on every point; a strong garrison was collected to defend them, and a British squadron was at hand to take advantage of the communication which the town possessed with the sea. Under these circumstances, a vigorous defence was expected. Campoverde, after failing with great loss, (May 3) in an attempt to relieve Figueras, also fell back with the remains of his force upon Tarragona, and took a position at Vandrels, about twenty miles east of the city.

The approaches of the French were pushed with the utmost skill and vigour. On the night of the 29th of May, Fort Oliva, the most important of the detached outworks was stormed and taken, and above a thousand of the garrison were put to the sword. The works of the lower town were next attacked. Two breaches were rendered practicable, and on the 21st of June the assault was made. A desperate contest took place; the French gave no quarter; Suchet himself states, in his despatch, that 'in this action only 160 prisoners were made, saved by a kind of miracle from the fury of the soldiers, and 1553 bodies were collected and burnt;' adding, that he 'much feared, that if the garrison should stand the assault behind their last defences, he should be forced to set a terrible example, and intimidate Catalonia and Spain for ever by the destruction of an entire city.'

A body of four thousand men which had been detached from the Valencian army to reinforce the garrison, was safely conveyed and landed by the British squadron. Campoverde, however, ordered them to be re-embarked, and landed at Villa Nueva de Sitzes, in order that they might join him at Igualada, and threaten the flank of the besieging army. In the mean while Suchet did not relax in his exertions. The upper town now alone remained to the Spaniards, and the French batteries were nearly brought to bear upon the works, when a British force of two thousand men detached from Cadiz, under the command of Colonel Skerrett, arrived in the bay. The British engineers were immediately ordered to examine the state of the defences of the town, and they reported that the fronts attacked would not be capable of resisting the enemy's fire for any length of time after their batteries were opened. Under these circumstances, the governor of the town, Don Juan Semen de Contreras, felt that to increase the garrison was only to afford more victims to the enemy; he therefore recommended Colonel Skerrett rather to co-operate with the Catalonian army under Campo-

verde; stating, that the garrison was sufficient, and that as soon as the enemy should have opened their trenches and begun to batter in breach he had determined to abandon the place, thinking it of more importance to preserve his soldiers than to defend the ruins of Tarragona.

Colonel Skerrett agreed perfectly in the view of the case taken by the governor, and accordingly sailed in a man of war to arrange with Campoverde the mode of their co-operation. The Spanish General sent the Baron d'Erolles to meet him, and a conference was held between them, in conjunction with General Doyle and Captain Coddrington. A plan of combined movement was accordingly agreed upon, but the French did not give them time to put it into execution. At day-break, on the 28th of June, the French opened their batteries, and by ten o'clock the same morning a practicable breach was effected in the walls. The firing then ceased with the exception of an occasional round or two, and the besiegers continued quiet for a few hours, forbearing all demonstration of attack; when the heat of the day, however, was a little past, the signal was given, and they suddenly rushed to the assault. Little or no effective resistance was made either by the garrison, or the inhabitants; their courage had probably been in some degree damped by the knowledge that the governor had already despaired of defending the place, and had made preparations to abandon it. The French columns reached the streets without difficulty, and meeting no opposition, abandoned themselves to every kind of cruelty and licentiousness. Suchet is understood to have expressly enjoined them so to do. It is affirmed that they bayonetted every individual they met; and that men, women, and children, were indiscriminately involved in a common massacre, with the exception of such of the females as were reserved for a worse fate. Both the garrison and the citizens seem to have suffered themselves to be butchered without an effort of resistance. Six thousand persons are said to have perished thus miserably; crowds of these wretches rushed to the sea with the hope of escaping to the shipping, but they were mowed down as they fled by the fire from the batteries; and notwithstanding the gallant efforts of the boats of the British squadron, the greater part were either killed or taken prisoners. The following is Suchet's statement of the affair in his despatch to Marshal Berthier: 'The rage of the soldiers,' he says, 'was increased by the obstinacy of the garrison who expected to be relieved, and who were prepared to sally out. The fifth assault made yesterday to the inner works was followed by a frightful massacre with little loss on our side. The terrible example which I foresaw with regret in my last report to your highness, has taken place, and will be long remembered in Spain. Four thousand men were killed in the streets. Ten or twelve thousand attempted to save themselves by getting over the walls, a thousand of whom were sabred or drowned; we made ten thou-

sand prisoners, including five hundred officers, and in the hospitals remain fifteen hundred wounded, whose lives have been spared.'

From Tarragona, Suchet immediately marched upon the fort of Berga, which he took and destroyed, and thence proceeded to the attack of Monserrat. This place, which was naturally strong, had been fortified by the governor, Baron d'Erolles, and in a former instance the French had been baffled in their attempts to take it; but whether from defect of numbers or courage in the garrison, they did not appear to have met with an equally vigorous resistance in the present instance. They made several attacks on each side of the mountain, and at length succeeded in making themselves masters of the place. The loss was severely felt by the patriot cause in this quarter, as, confiding in the natural strength of the place, the Catalans had made it their principal depôt of ammunition and stores. D'Erolles himself succeeded in effecting his escape.

A yet heavier blow, however, soon followed. Figueras fell after a blockade of four months. The French had expended every resource of skill and labour in drawing their lines of circumvallation and countervallation, so as at length effectually to cut off all possible hope of communication or relief from the country. The governor Martinez held out to the last; and every means of subsistence, down even to the dogs and horses, being exhausted, he resolved to endeavour to cut his way, with the garrison, through the enemy's lines. The attempt failed notwithstanding the most desperate efforts on the part of the garrison; the French had made all egress impossible by cutting ditches, blocking up the roads, and forming a thick *abattis* of the trunks of trees. It is said, too, that an aide-de-camp of the governor betrayed the governor's intention to the enemy, who was therefore on his guard, and prepared to frustrate it. After an obstinate conflict, the Spaniards were forced back, with great loss; and on the following day, (August 19) an honourable capitulation was agreed upon. The whole provision found in the place amounted to three sacks of flour.

This was the last of the Catalonian fortresses which remained in the hands of the Spaniards: and the French naturally boasted that its fall had completed the conquest of the province. They soon found their mistake in this respect. The spirit of the people was as unsubdued as ever, and the mountainous region which forms the west of the Principality, afforded them the means of protracting the war in spite of every effort on the part of their invaders. In July Don Luis Lacy superseded General Campoverde in the command of the province, and the proclamation which he issued to the Catalonians on this occasion betrays no symptom of despair for the ultimate triumph of the cause in which they were engaged. 'Catalans,' said he, 'the country is in danger, and now more than ever stands in need of your exertions. The junta and your general-in-chief, are bound to explain to you your situation,

because true courage consists, not in being ignorant of danger, but in overcoming it. The fall of Tarragona has made that situation critical in the extreme, not desperate. There yet remains to us inextinguishable hatred of oppression, and ardent love of independence—there yet remain to us strong holds and mountains—there yet remain to us the arms of our numerous and valiant youth to recover what is lost, and make the enemy know that the attempt to conquer us is vain. With fewer resources did Pelayo, from the mountains of Covadonga, begin the deliverance of Spain; and there are not wanting to us chiefs who are determined to follow his glorious example. Great efforts are necessary to save the country; let all our efforts then be united; and for those who have not spirit to follow this resolution let them abandon us and join themselves to the enemy, that we may know whom we are to treat as enemies and whom as friends. Every one has wrongs to avenge, every one has much to lose, and our country calls upon all.'

In fact, notwithstanding all their successes, the situation of the French was one almost of as much difficulty as ever. One great road runs through the province, from north to south, and for the most part at no great distance from the coast; the mountainous aspect of the interior, precluding the formation of any such communication in that quarter. All the chief fortresses of Catalonia are situate upon this line, and as they were now in the hands of the enemy, he was of course master of the communication. But the patriot forces which had taken refuge in the mountains lying west of this road, were incessantly on the alert to rush down from their fastnesses, and cut off the detachments and convoys passing along it: in some instances where the enemy's main force was drawn away to a distant quarter, they occupied one of the smaller towns lying between the fortresses, and thus cut off all communication between the several garrisons; and it frequently became impossible to despatch a messenger from one to the other except under the escort of a military division.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the successes which in this manner and under these circumstances the Catalans obtained over their invaders; we must content ourselves with the mention of a few of the more important. On the 1st of September d'Erolles, assisted by the crew of the Undaunted, frigate, commanded by Captain Thomas, gained possession of the isles of Las Medas; a maritime position of importance, as it commanded the enemy's coastwise communication with Barcelona. The French immediately took measures for recovering the rocks, and having collected a considerable force on the shore opposite, opened upon them such a fire of shells as compelled the little garrison to abandon the works which they had began to construct. They were, however, shortly after re-occupied by General Lacy, who completed the fortifications, and established bomb proofs for the security of the men and stores.

Towards the end of September the French concentrated their force

in the neighbourhood of Tortosa, with the view of proceeding to the conquest of Valencia, leaving a series of posts dispersed over the province to maintain it in subjection; a chain of fortified positions of this nature guarded the communications from Barcelona and Arragon by the road of Lerida; and Lacy determined to take advantage of the absence of the main force of the French to attack some of the principal points. The first attempt was made, (Oct. 4,) against Igualada, where the enemy had fortified a convent, and garrisoned it with four hundred men. The town was surprised, and nearly two hundred of the enemy either killed or taken; the want of artillery, however, precluded any attempt on the fort, and on the approach of succours from the neighbouring garrisons, the Spanish General thought it prudent to retreat. A few days after, however, he received intelligence that a convoy which had for some time been detained at Cervera, was moving upon Igualada. Lacy immediately interposed a force under Erolles between the town and the convoy, while he himself cut off its retreat. The whole convoy was taken, together with upwards of two hundred of the escort; the garrison of Igualada made an attempt to succour their countrymen, but they were repulsed with considerable loss. After this check the enemy despairing of maintaining their posts, abandoned Igualada, Monserrat, and Casa Masana, and withdrew the garrisons to Barcelona. Erolles then marched upon Cervera. On his approach the French garrison retired from the city into the college, which had been formed into a fort; but on the 10th they capitulated, and 630 men were made prisoners of war. A body of 500 men and 30 horse, detached from the garrison of Lerida, had attempted to make its way into the train; it came too late however, and was obliged to retreat, closely pursued by a Spanish force, under Don Louis de Creeft. They fell back to Bellpuig, and took up a position in an old castle, the fortifications of which had previously been repaired and strengthened. Erolles soon after came up with the rest of the Spanish force; and as he had but one ten-pounder with him, he was compelled to proceed against the fort by mining. In a short time they constructed three mines, the explosion of which, (Oct. 14,) reduced the castle to ruins; nearly two hundred of the garrison perished on this occasion. About an equal number were made prisoners. The enemy collected a considerable force with the view of intercepting Erolles on his return. That officer, however, effectually evaded their efforts by a sudden march into Languedoc, where he levied contributions on the inhabitants, at the same time, however, carefully restricting his troops from any act of violence or reprisal. After collecting some thousands of cattle, and about fifty thousand dollars in money, he returned in safety to the mountain-fastnesses, from which he prepared a new expedition against the enemy.

In the mean while Suchet was pushing his success in the South. His late achievements had gained him the baton of marshal, and Bonaparte farther evinced the confidence he reposed in his ta-

lents, by removing M'Donald from the command in Catalonia, and extending his military jurisdiction over that province. Suchet's present object was the reduction of Valencia. The Spanish government was perfectly aware of this, and measures had been taken to oppose his further progress in that direction. A considerable force was collected in front of the city under the command of the Regent Blake. That general had returned to Cadiz, after his unsuccessful attempt upon the Castle of Niebla in the June preceding; in the following month he embarked from that place with as many troops as he could collect, and landed at Almeria. A junction was soon effected with the Murcian army, and his whole force did not now much fall short of 20,000 men. This movement attracted the attention of Soult, who immediately marched with all his disposable force upon the position of the Spanish general. On the 9th a general action took place near Lorca; the Spaniards were completely dispersed, and when Blake subsequently fixed his headquarters at Lebrilla, he could, in the first instance, scarcely collect together the moiety of his former numbers.

Early in September, Suchet, with a force of 25,000 men, began his march upon Valencia. The great road is commanded by the castle of Oropesa, but Suchet was anxious to anticipate the preparations of the Spaniards, and he hoped to avoid the delay necessary for the reduction of this place, by taking a circuitous route on the right. It was, however, found impossible to bring up his battering artillery by the same road; and he in consequence came before Murviedro without a gun proper for effecting the capture of the citadel. Murviedro is a small town built on the site of the ancient Saguntum, and situate about twelve miles east of Valencia. It had lately been fortified, and a garrison of 3,500 men placed in it under the command of Colonel Andrioni. Blake had previously been posted here; upon the approach of the enemy, however, he fell back upon the capital with 13,000 men, leaving two divisions in the field under Don Carlos O'Donnel, and a body of about 6000 men in the fortresses of Segorbe, Liria, and Utrile.

Suchet arrived before Murviedro on the 27th of September. The town fell into his hands without resistance; the citadel, however, held out, and finding he should have to wait some time for his artillery, he resolved to attempt to carry the fort by escalade. This resolution he put into execution at two o'clock on the morning following his arrival; the fort was assaulted on three points at once; but the assailants were repulsed on all sides, and compelled to desist after suffering a loss of 400 men. The French marshal now saw the necessity of awaiting the arrival of his battering train, to facilitate which he took measures for reducing the castle of Oropesa, which surrendered on the 11th of October. On the 18th the artillery reached the French camp before Murviedro, and Suchet, learning that the Spaniards had in the mean while collected a strong force to relieve the place, constructed in haste some distant batteries, and having formed a breach, gave orders for

immediate assault. The assailants, however, were repulsed with loss; a second attempt met with no better success; and they now felt that it would be necessary to resort to a more regular plan for effecting the reduction of the place. The operations necessary for this object had been nearly completed when Suchet found himself compelled to suspend the further prosecution of them, by the approach of the Spanish army under Blake. That officer had collected together a force amounting from thirty to thirty-five thousand men, comprehending nearly all the veteran troops which yet remained to Spain, together with the corps which had so highly distinguished itself at Albuera.

On the 24th Blake advanced and took post on the heights of El Puig, and demonstrations were made, indicating the resolution to attack the enemy on the following morning. Suchet immediately broke up with his main force from before Murviedro, leaving six battalions to watch the town. Early on the 25th the Spanish army appeared in motion; the right wing was commanded by Zayas, the left by Carlos O'Donnel, and the centre by Lardizabal. Blake, with a corps of reserve remained in occupation of El Puig. Both armies were put in motion about the same time. The action was begun by the left wing of the Spaniards; and the contest for some time turned upon the possession of a ridge of ground which lay about half way between the two positions; this was in the first instance gained by the Spaniards; the French, however, brought up some artillery, and after an obstinate contest remained masters of the post. In falling back from this point, the Spanish left wing fell into some disorder; this the enemy perceived and following up his advantage with vigour, finally succeeded in driving it from the field. In the mean while Suchet had been directing his chief strength against the Spanish centre; this also, after an obstinate conflict was broken and put to rout; and the right wing alone kept the field. In this body was included the division of Albuera, and it nobly supported the reputation which it had acquired by its conduct on that memorable day. Every attack against them was uniformly repulsed, and they maintained their ground until the whole of their ammunition was expended, when they sent for more; but the commander-in-chief, Blake, returned orders that they should retreat. This of course was a movement of considerable difficulty under the circumstances in which they were placed; but it was executed with perfect skill and courage. The triumph of the French, however, was complete. By their account 4639 prisoners were taken, together with four stand of colours and sixteen pieces of cannon, and the Spanish loss in killed and wounded was estimated at 2000 men; their own loss they stated to be 128 men killed, and 596 wounded; several generals and superior officers are enumerated among these last.

Suchet did not lose a moment in profiting of the effect produced by his success upon the garrison of Murviedro. He returned the same evening to the camp before that place, and sent an instant

summons to the governor, calling upon him to surrender. Andrioni did not venture to stand another assault; he capitulated, and more than 2,500 men became prisoners of war. Blake's conduct in giving battle on this occasion has been made the subject of much criticism; in his general orders issued on the day following he seems to attribute his ill-success to the misbehaviour of some part of his troops and of certain individuals whom he menaced with judicial inquiry, though he acknowledged in warm terms that the general conduct of the army had been excellent. 'For himself,' he added, 'he was sufficiently accustomed to the vicissitudes of war not to be surprised at the ill-success of the action, and he was not the less confident of being able to repel the invasion of the enemy.'

This last assertion of confidence was soon to be put to the test. On the day after the battle Suchet summoned the city of Valencia to surrender; representing how hopeless was all resistance after their late disaster, and promising to the inhabitants perfect amnesty for the past, and special protection on the part of the French authorities, for the future. Blake returned no answer to this requisition, but proceeded to complete the means prepared for the defence of the place. Lines had been drawn all round the town and suburbs, forming an entrenched camp for the army, fortified with bastions and mounted with an hundred pieces of cannon. Suchet soon succeeded in effecting by mines a lodgment in the suburb of Serrano, situate on the left bank of the river; they next took possession of the Grao, which forms the port of the city, but it required something more of preparation before he could attempt to force the lines which had been taken up by the Spanish army on the other side of the Guidalaviar. Nothing further of moment was attempted during the three first weeks of December; during this interval however his army was considerably reinforced, and no less than an hundred twenty-four pounders, and thirty howitzers were brought up to bear against the town. These preliminary operations being at length completed, Suchet proceeded to take active measures. On the night of the 25th of December, he threw two bridges across the river a league from Manisses; at day break on the 26th three divisions of infantry and the whole of the horse were passed over; and at the same time a passage was effected between Quarte and Mislata, with the view of occupying the Spaniards in front. A vigorous opposition was made on this point by the Spanish corps under Zayas; but unfortunately their efforts were rendered useless by the misbehaviour of the left under Mahy. The same division which had lost the battle of Murviedro equally misconducted itself on this occasion; they abandoned the entrenchment at St. Onofre, one of the most important points of the line; and dispersed at the first fire of the enemy. About five thousand of this division made their way to Alcira; the rest dispersed, and all the artillery fell into the hands of the French.

Blake with the remainder of his force now shut himself up within the lines round the city, the in-

vestment of which was completed before the close of the day. On the night of the 28th he made an effort to save his army, by evacuating the place. They accordingly issued out by the gate of San Jose, but had not got far when they were discovered by the French advanced guard. About 300 men succeeded in effecting their escape; the rest after some loss in killed and drowned were compelled to retire again within their intrenchments. Blake was disposed to repeat the attempt, but the project got wind and the people compelled him to abandon it.

Suchet broke ground before the advanced line on the first of January 1812; on the fourth his approaches were pushed to within about fifty toises of the ditch. It was now resolved to abandon the lines which had cost so much labour and upon which so much reliance had been placed, and the whole army was withdrawn into the city taking with it their field artillery, but leaving eighty pieces behind. The grounds of this measure are not very intelligible; Suchet, in his despatch attributes it to the vast desertion which had of late taken place in the Spanish army. The French then took possession of the suburb of Quarte, and opened a bombardment upon the city which was continued during the whole of the fifth. On the following morning, Suchet sent to offer terms of capitulation, 'thinking,' as he says 'in his account that an army which had just abandoned works of such strength, mounted with 81 pieces of cannon, would loudly call for a surrender now that they saw the effects of a bombardment upon a city which at that time contained no fewer than 200,000 souls.' Blake answered the summons thus; 'yesterday perhaps before noon I might have consented to change the position of the army and evacuate the city, to save its inhabitants from the horrors of a bombardment; but the first four-and-twenty hours which your excellency has employed in setting it on fire, have taught me how much I may depend upon the constancy of the people, and their resignation to every sacrifice that may be necessary, in order that the army may maintain the honour of the Spanish name. Your excellency may consequently continue your operations, and as to the responsibility before God and man for all the misfortunes which the defence of the place occasions, and all those which war brings with it, it cannot attach to me.'

Suchet renewed his bombardment which was continued during three days and three nights. In the mean while the trenches were regularly pushed forward till at length the besiegers had made a lodgment in the last houses of the suburbs, and mines were formed under two of the gates. Blake now offered to surrender the city on condition that he might be permitted to evacuate it with his army. This was of course refused, and nothing remained but to spare the place the infliction of an assault by surrendering with his whole force as prisoners of war. The capitulation was signed on the 9th of January. By this transaction 16,131 effective troops of the line, together with about 2000 in the hospital, 1,800 ca-

valry and artillery horses, twenty-two generals, 893 officers and 374 pieces of cannon were delivered up to the French. The Spaniards lost the flower of their army; and was in fact deprived of any thing in the shape of a regular force.

Among the articles of the capitulation was one which stipulated that the French prisoners in Majorca, Alicant, and Carthagena, should be exchanged. Blake would seem to have conceived himself authorised to make this agreement in his capacity as regent. However it clearly exceeded his powers, and was never sanctioned by the other members of the executive. In his despatch he adverted to this part of the capitulation in a somewhat affecting manner. 'I hope,' he says, 'your highness will be pleased to ratify the exchange which has been agreed upon and to transmit orders in consequence to Majorca. As to what concerns myself, the exchange of officers of my rank is so distant, that I consider the lot of my whole life as determined; and therefore in the moment of my expatriation which is equivalent to death, I earnestly intreat your highness that if my services have been acceptable to my country, and that I have never yet done any thing to forfeit the claim, it will be pleased to take under its protection my numerous family.'

Spain had throughout this contest effected so little by regular warfare that the loss of the last of her regular armies affected comparatively but little the hopes of those whose confidence as to the result of the contest was grounded in the unconquerable spirit of the people. This spirit shewed itself to be as buoyant and active as ever, and the dominion of France was still limited to the ground on which her troops were cantoned. The Guerilla system of hostility was waged if possible with more ardour and success than at any former period, and in spite of the most persevering and best connected efforts on the part of the French, Mina still maintained himself amid the mountains of Navarre, although every fortress of that and the surrounding provinces had now fallen into the hands of the enemy.

We cannot close our account of Spanish affairs for the year without the mention of the unhappy death of a man who perhaps of all others that distinguished themselves during this war, had given the fairest promise of proving effectually useful to his country. The gallant Duke del Albuquerque died at London, after passing nearly a year at that court in the capacity of ambassador. The exercise of these functions, however honourable, he felt to be nothing more than a pretext to the malice of his enemies for relegating him from a scene so much better fitted for the employment of his talents. After he had been eight months in England he drew up and printed an account of his conduct in the retreat from Seville; and sent a copy of it to the Cortes. That body shewed itself sufficiently to appreciate the services of their noble countryman; all parties joined in his praise; they declared by a vote that he and his army had deserved well of their

country, and they communicated to the regency their desire that he might be recalled and placed in a situation in which his talents might be appropriately employed. The government in consequence appointed him to the command in Gallicia: the junta of Cadiz, however, was still mindful of its old quarrel with the Duke, and felt that their own proceedings were indirectly stigmatized by the justice thus done to the man whom they had so injured. Conscious of their power, and little disposed to respect either the opinions or the mandates of the supreme government they drew up a paper in contradiction of that of Albuquerque, of which it is difficult to say whether the falsehood of its statements or the insolence with which they are expressed is the more remarkable. It was addressed to the Duke, signed by all the members of the junta and circulated as a hand-bill throughout Cadiz. A copy of it was sent to London, and reached Albuquerque by the two-penny post. It was unquestionably a weakness in that nobleman that he did not treat this insult with the contempt which it deserved. In the first instance he so far restrained his feelings as to content himself with drawing up a short representation to the Cortes. But the wound which his enemies inflicted, continued to rankle in a bosom singularly susceptible of slight or insult; and after a little time he proceeded to employ himself in the composition of an answer to the libel which had been issued by the junta of Cadiz. His friends endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from the attempt. For three days he devoted himself to this duty, as he conceived it, with an ardour that allowed him no respite, either for food or rest; and the consequence of this passionate exertion of his faculties was a delirious fever which seized him on the fourth day. In the letter which the junta had addressed to him, they had reproached him with being 'a calumniator, and an enemy to his country.' These words had stung him deeply; and when he perceived the approach of his delirium, he gave a friend, for whom he had sent, a slip of paper on which he had written, 'como calumniador y enemigo della patria,' and said, 'when they ask why I have lost my senses this paper will answer for me.' The disorder lasted three days. At the end of which he expired, (February 18th.) In the latter stage of it his mind seems to have reverted to the wrongs of his country; and his imprecations upon the name of Napoleon Bonaparte were loud enough to be distinctly heard by people passing by in the street. The English government which had always appreciated the worth and the services of this distinguished Spaniard, paid every public honour to his memory. His body was interred in Henry the Seventh's chapel. He was in the 37th year of his age.

It will be necessary to advert shortly to the state of affairs in Spanish America during the course of the present year. We described in our last volume the circumstances under which the several provinces of Terra Firma had formed themselves into a confederation of states, and declared themselves independent of the Spanish

monarchy. A constitution for this new republic was soon after published, which consisted for the most part of a repetition of the provisions contained in almost all the charters of revolutionary regimen which have been drawn up of late years. The legislative power, however, was divided between a senate and a house of representatives, and some restrictions were imposed on the election of the members of this last mentioned body. The election took place by two stages; the right of suffrage in the first was confined to freemen possessing property of the value of 400 dollars in the case of an unmarried man, or 200 in that of one married; and the qualification for what was called an electoral voter was fixed at four thousand dollars for a single man, and three thousand for the married. The authors of this constitution appear in other parts of their work to lay peculiar stress upon the duty of marriage. By another article it was provided that married men not cohabiting with their wives, and not being able to assign a legal ground for their separation, should be disfranchised. No public functionary could be a member of either of the legislative bodies. The executive power was lodged in the hands of three persons, who were to be chosen to that office every three years by the electoral colleges. Nobility was abolished; the slave trade prohibited, and trial by jury to be introduced as soon as possible.

The new state soon began to feel the disorders usually incident to governments formed under such auspices. Discontent was manifested on all sides, and the ruling powers resorted to all the remorseless violence of revolutionary faction in order to preserve their authority. This spirit was peculiarly prevalent in the city of Caraccas; a kind of jacobin club had been formed here by an assembly of all the more extravagant partisans of the new order of things, and they by their language continually stimulated the government to the adoption of the most rigorous measures against all who should venture to oppose them. In some places the friends of the old system took up arms and a kind of civil war ensued between the two parties. In this contest the revolutionists were not always successful. They were defeated by the inhabitants of Coro; and in the first instance Miranda met with a complete repulse before the city of Valencia. Having received considerable reinforcements however he invested the place a second time, and (August 13th) at length compelled it to surrender from want of provision. It is the less necessary, however, to dwell upon the details of this period of anarchy, as the new government was destined to endure but a very short time, and its end was accelerated in a manner as singular as it was awful and impressive. An earthquake took place in the afternoon of the 26th of March, 1812, which was felt throughout the whole captaincy; most of the principal towns including Caraccas and La Guayra, were destroyed by the shock, burying great numbers of the inhabitants under their ruins. By a striking coincidence this frightful calamity occurred on

Holy Thursday;—the anniversary of the same day on which the revolutionary party had thrown off their allegiance to the mother country: the populace immediately recollected this circumstance and a revulsion of political feeling as instantly took place. The re-establishment of the former government was now almost universally called for, the existing authorities in vain endeavoured to repress this feeling by issuing a decree which declared that any person styling the earthquake a judicial infliction should be punished capitally. The disaffection spread on every side, and the royalist General Don Domingo Monteverde advanced towards Caraccas at the head of a force which each day received accessions of strength by desertions from the revolutionary army. Miranda was declared dictator by the Congress, and martial law was proclaimed; but his army rapidly melted away and shut up in Caraccas, he was after an ineffectual struggle compelled to surrender. The authority of the regency at Cadiz, was now universally acknowledged; and Miranda himself with a few of the leading insurgents were embarked, as prisoners for Europe.

In the viceroyalty of La Plata the independent party continued triumphant though torn within itself by the factious dissentions which almost invariably follow all revolutionary movements. About the commencement of the present year, Elio returned to Monte Video in the character of viceroy, having been appointed to this station by the regency of Cadiz. Soon after his arrival he opened a communication with the junta at Buenos Ayres. He informed them that the Cortes were met, and were devoting themselves to the reform of the many evils and abuses under which the monarchy had so long laboured; and he besought them to acknowledge the authority of that assembly, to send representatives to it, and to await in quietness the arrangement of their claims from its wisdom and justice. The junta in reply stated that the very title under which he presented himself precluded their entering upon any negotiation with him. Elio rejoined to this by issuing a proclamation, declaring Buenos Ayres to be in a state of blockade.

The independent government, however, betrayed some symptoms of that activity and energy which not uncommonly characterises revolutionary administration. A force had already been sent into Paraguay, under the command of Belgrano, a lawyer of Italian extraction, who had taken a leading part in all the late political movements. Belgrano received some severe checks from the royalist troops; the people, however, were in favour of his cause; the governor of Assumption was compelled by a rising of the inhabitants to accede to the independents, and Belgrano was enabled to pass the Uraguay and invest Monte Video. The Brazilian government either was or feigned to be alarmed by the approach of civil war to its own frontiers and a Portuguese force was sent to the relief of the place.

Towards the end of September

a change took place in the insurgent government; Saavedra and his friends were ousted and a new executive formed, at the head of which were Dr. Feliciano Chiclana, Don Manuel de Sarratea and Dr. Don Juan Jose de Papo. An armistice was now concluded, (October 20) with the viceroy, by the first article of which it was declared that the contracting parties acknowledged Ferdinand to be their lawful sovereign, and would never acknowledge any but him and his legitimate successors. The recognition of the authority of the Cortes was not equally explicit. The junta, in the second article observed that they did not consider themselves as possessing the necessary power, to decide on this important point which they reserved for the deliberation of the general Congress about to be holden. They engaged, however, to assist the mother country in the holy war which she was carrying on against the usurper of Europe, with all the pecuniary succour which the state of the revenue would permit and all that might be supplied by the liberality of individuals. It was also stated that a memorial should be sent to the Cortes, explaining why they were obliged to delay to send representatives until the Congress had assembled, and stating they would appoint persons possessing their confidence who should proceed to Spain and explain their intentions and desires to the Cortes.

The junta, however, had no such intention of returning to their allegiance, as seemed to be expressed in the provisions of this armistice. On the 22d of November, they promulgated a new constitution under the title of a provisional statute, and soon after all the public bodies and functionaries were sworn to the observance of it. In the wording of the oath taken by the members of the junta, they were styled the supreme provisional government in the name of Senor Don Ferdinand VII.; the name of king, however was studiously avoided; and in the form administered to the other bodies all mention of Ferdinand was omitted and by an additional oath they were called upon to swear to be faithful and obedient to the junta.

Of the state of things in Peru and Chili, we know little, except that the Spanish government, still maintained their authority in those countries, though continually menaced by the outbreaking of that spirit of disquiet which pervaded the whole of the colonial dominions of Spain. In Mexico, Venegas had in some degree succeeded in repressing the insurrection; and all the principal leaders of it had been taken and put to death; in the distant provinces, however, order was far from having been restored, and indeed the whole viceroyalty bore deep and almost indelible traces of the ravages of the late conflict.

CHAPTER XII.

Affairs of the Continent. Birth of the King of Rome. Rejoicings in France on this Occasion. Singular Deputation from the Legislative Body to the Imperial Infant. Annual Exposition of the State of the Empire. Statement of the Naval Means to be derived from the Reunion of Holland and the Hanse Towns. Statement of the Matters in Dispute between the Pope and the Emperor. State of Education in France. New Organization of the Public Seminaries. Barbarizing Tendency of the New System. Extract from the Catechism taught to Children in the Public Schools. Council of Clergy assembled at Paris. Buonaparte's Letter to the Prelates. An unexpected Opposition to his Views is manifested by the Clergy. The Council is Dissolved. Measures taken for the further Suppression of the Press. Extraordinary Regulation respecting the Disposal of the unemployed Printing Types. Advertisements confined to one Paper. Restriction of the Number of Journals allowed to treat of Political Subjects. Continuance of the Anti-Commercial System. Singular Speech of Buonaparte to a Council of Commerce. Discourse of Count Semonville to the Senate on the same Subject. Address of the Senate in Reply. Buonaparte makes a Tour into Holland. Witnesses an Action with our Naval Force at Boulogne. Address to him from the City of Amsterdam, and from the Hanse Towns. His Reply to these last. Imperial Decrees, issued at Amsterdam, for the Organization of the Dutch Provinces upon the French System. Austria—Germany—Russia. Growing Coolness between that Power and France. Sweden. Danish upon Anholt Defeated by the Garrison. Wreck of two Men of War in the Baltic. State of our Relations with America. Affair of the Little Belt, and the President Frigate. Contradictory Accounts given by the respective Crews. The American Government accepts the Reparation offered for the Affair of the Chesapeake. Disturbances in Martinique. Coronation of Christophe, as King of Hayti. Reduction of the Dutch Settlements in the Island of Java.

With the exception of the Spanish Peninsula, the history of the Continent, for the present year, presents little of importance or interest. The dominion of Napoleon was submitted to without murmur or remonstrance, by almost every state in Europe; or, if an expression of discontent was occasionally ventured, the press was so completely subjected to the control of his agents, that the sound could scarcely, in any instance, reach this country. A military adventurer had, by his fortune and genius made himself, in a few years, the master of an extent of territory and population, such as had never been combined into one Empire since the age of Charlemagne; and to which, if we consider it in the point of view of wealth and civilization, the history of mankind presents nothing

nearly comparable. He had allied himself by marriage, to the first and most haughty of the reigning families of Europe; and to complete his felicity, this union was now blessed by the birth of a son, through whom he might hope to transmit his Empire to a long race of Princes. On the 20th of March, the Empress Maria Louisa, was safely delivered of a male infant, who immediately received the designation of King of Rome. The labour was difficult, and it was for some time feared, that it would not be possible to save both the mother and the child. All France is stated to have expressed the utmost joy on the occasion of this event. It had been previously signified, that in case the child were a female, its birth should be announced to the city by the firing of one and twenty cannon; but that one hundred and one should be discharged to mark the birth of a boy. When the sound of the first cannon had announced the delivery of the Empress, all Paris is described as counting the successive discharges with the utmost impatience and anxiety; and when the twenty-second shot informed them that a son was born to the Empire, they broke forth into the liveliest expressions of joy and exultation.

The infant was baptized on the 10th of July, and received the names of Napoleon Francis Joseph Charles. The baptism was performed with the utmost magnificence; and two days after, at a sitting of the Legislative body, the President, Count Montesquieu, stated, that (as several members had expressed a desire, that a deputation should be admitted to the honour of presenting to his Majesty, the King of Rome, the homage of the respect, the love and fidelity of the Legislative body,) he had taken the orders of the Emperor on this subject, who, with his usual paternal goodness, had condescended to accede to their unanimous wish. Accordingly, a deputation consisting of the President, the two Vice-Presidents, the two Quæstors, and twenty Members, was charged with this duty; and, on their return, the President gave an account of their mission to the Legislative body in the following terms:—'Gentlemen,' said he, 'the deputation which you commissioned to carry to the King of Rome, the homage of the Legislative body, repaired this morning to St. Cloud; none of us could behold, without a lively interest, this august infant, upon whom so many destinies repose, and whose age inspires the most tender sentiments. We have borne to him all your sentiments, Gentlemen, mixing with them those wishes which the love of our own children is calculated to inspire. Madame, the Governess, received them, and thanked us in the name of the young Prince; doubtless, at the same time, regretting that he was unable to join his personal sentiments to those which she expressed to the Legislative body.' Buonaparte himself did not, it seems, condescend to bear a part in this scene. We are rather surprised that he suffered it to be represented at all; as of the ridicule and contempt with which his Le-

gislative body thus voluntarily covered themselves, a portion necessarily came upon him.

We mentioned in our last volume, the usurpation of Holland, of the Ecclesiastical States, and of the Valais. The advantages to be derived from these acts of spoliation and tyranny were strongly dwelt upon in the annual exposition of the state of the Empire; 'since the last session of the Legislative body,' it was said, 'the Empire has received an addition of sixteen departments, a territory yielding a revenue of one hundred millions, three hundred leagues of coast, and all their maritime means. The mouths of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt were not then French; the circulation of the interior of the Empire was circumscribed; the productions of its central departments could not reach the sea, unless they were submitted to the inspection of foreign Custom Houses. The mouths of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, place in our hands all the wood which Germany furnishes. The frontiers of the Empire are supported on the Baltic; and thus, having a direct communication with the north, it will be easy for us to draw masts, hemp, iron, or such other naval stores as we may want. We at this moment unite all that France, Germany, and Italy produce, as materials for the construction of ships. The Simplon, become a part of France, secures us a new communication with Italy. The union of Rome has removed that troublesome intermediacy which subsisted between our armies in the north and in the south of Italy, and has given us new coasts on the Mediterranean, as useful and necessary to Toulon, as those of the Adriatic are to Venice.' 'What,' it was continued, 'are a few years in order to consolidate the Great Empire, and secure the tranquillity of our children? It is not that the Government does not wish for peace; but it cannot take place while the affairs of England are directed by men who, all their lives, have professed perpetual war; and without a guarantee, what would that peace be to France? at the close of two years, English fleets would seize our ships, and would ruin our ports of Bourdeaux, Nantes, Amsterdam, Marseilles, Genoa, Leghorn, Venice, Naples, Trieste, and Hamburgh, as they have done heretofore. Such a peace would be only a trap laid for our commerce. It would be useful to England alone, who would regain an opening for her commerce, and would change the continental system. The pledge of peace is the existence of our fleet and of our maritime power. We shall be able to make peace with safety when we shall have 150 sail of the line; and, in spite of the obstacles of war, such is the state of the Empire, that we shall have that number of vessels! Thus the guarantee of our fleet and that of an English administration, founded on principles different from those of the existing Cabinet, can alone give peace to the universe. It would be useful to us no doubt; it would also be desirable in every point of view—we shall say more, the Continent—the whole world demands it; but we have one consolation, which is, that it is

still more desirable for our enemies than ourselves; and whatever efforts the English ministry may make to stultify the nation by a multitude of pamphlets, and by every thing that can keep in agitation a population greedy of news, they cannot conceal from the world how much peace becomes every day more indispensable to England.'

The exposition then, alluded to the *re-union* of the Roman States. 'If it be advantageous to Religion that the Pope should not continue to be a Sovereign Prince, it is equally desirable that the Bishop of Rome, the head of our Church, should not be a stranger to us; but that he should unite in his heart with the love of religion, that love of his country which chararacterizes elevated minds. Besides, it is the only means whereby that proper influence which the Pope ought to possess over spiritual concerns can be rendered compatible with the principles of the Empire, which cannot suffer any foreign Bishop to exercise any authority therein.'

Alluding to the quarrel with the Pope, it was said, that 'the Emperor is satisfied with the spirit that animates all his Clergy. The establishment of secondary Ecclesiastical Schools, commonly called small schools; the founding of many large seminaries for the higher studies; the re-establishment of Churches wherever they had been destroyed; and the purchase of several grand Cathedrals, of which the revolution had intercepted the construction, are manifest proofs of the interest which the Government takes in the splendour of religious worship and the prosperity of religion. Religious dissentions, the effects of our political troubles, have entirely disappeared; there are no longer in France any Priests but those in communion with their Bishops, and as united in their religious principles as in their attachment to Government. Twenty-seven bishoprics having been for a long time vacant, and the Pope having refused at two different periods, from 1805 to 1807, and from 1808 up to the present moment, to execute the clauses of the concordat which bind him to institute the Bishops nominated by the Emperor; this refusal has nullified the concordat—it no longer exists. The Emperor has been therefore obliged to convoke all the Bishops of the Empire, in order that they may deliberate about the means of supplying the vacant sees, and of nominating to those which may become vacant in future, conformably to what was done under Charlemagne, under St. Louis, and in all ages which preceded the concordat of Francis I. and Leo X.; for it is of the essence of the Catholic Religion, not to be able to dispense with the ministry of Bishops. Thus has ceased to exist that famous transaction between Francis I. and Leo X., against which the Church, the University, and the Supreme Courts so long protested; and which made the publicists and magistrates of that period say, that the King and the Pope had mutually ceded that which belonged to neither one nor the other. Henceforward it is to the deliberations of the Council of Paris that the fate of episcopacy is attached, which will have so

much influence upon that of Religon itself. The Council will decide, whether France, like Germany, shall be without episcopacy. As for the rest, if there have existed other causes of disunion between the Emperor and the temporal Sovereign of Rome, there exists none between the Emperor and the Pope as the head of Religion; and there is none which can cause the least inquietude to the most timorous souls.'

Speaking of the state of Education in France, the report said, 'The University has made some progress: several Lyceums were ill constituted; the principles of Religion, the basis of every institution, as of all morality, were either discarded or feebly inculcated. The Grand Master, and the Council of the University, have remedied the greatest part of these abuses. Much, however, still remains to be done, to realize the hopes and the views of the Emperor in this grand creation. Domestic education is that which merits the greatest encouragement: but since parents are so often obliged to intrust their children to Colleges or places of Education, it is the intention of the Emperor, that the organization of the University should be extended to all Colleges and places of Education of all degrees, in order that Education may no longer resemble a manufacture or a branch of commerce, followed from views of pecuniary interest. To direct Education is one of the noblest functions of a father of a family, or one of the principal ends of national institutions. The number of Lyceums and of Commercial Colleges shall be augmented, and the number of private seminaries shall be gradually diminished, till the moment when they shall be all shut up. All public Education ought to be regulated on the principles of military discipline, and not on those of civil or ecclesiastical police. The habitude of military discipline is the most useful, since, at all periods in life, it is requisite for the citizen to be able to defend his property against internal or external enemies. Ten years more are still requisite for realizing all the benefit which his Majesty expects from the University, and for accomplishing his views; but already, great advantages are obtained, and what exists, is preferable to that which has ever existed.'

We have been thus copious in our extracts from this paper, because in the dearth of information respecting the real state of France at this period, we are compelled to resort to the statements of the Government itself, for almost all our knowledge of the course of its administration. These indeed afford a better insight into the actual situation of affairs in that country, than might at first be expected. Nothing, for instance, can shed a stronger light upon the character of Buonaparte's government, and the nature of his views, than the system of military education which he here avows it to be his policy and purpose to enforce upon the whole youth of the Empire. Such a system, if carried into effect, could not fail to accomplish the designs of its author, by degrading the rising generation into a herd of brutish

barbarians, the coarse and passive instruments of a military despotism. A decree was issued in the year 1808, by which all the schools, academies, and colleges of the Empire were formed into one body or corporation, under the name of the Imperial University. It was intended that all the education of the Empire should be wholly subjected to this body; insomuch that no man, without the permission of the Grand Master of it, should be allowed to open a public seminary of any sort. The schools were arranged in five classes, and the same scheme of instruction was to be employed in all; no book being admitted to be read in any of them, without the previous permission and sanction of the Emperor.

To illustrate the spirit which prevails in the tuition which is thus afforded to the French people, we shall extract a few of the questions and answers in the primary catechism which is taught to the French children in the earliest stage of their instruction. The children are asked, 'What are your duties toward Napoleon the First? Answer: Christians owe to the Princes who govern them, and we owe in particular to our Emperor Napoleon the First, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, the contributions required for the preservation and defence of the Empire and the throne.' Ques.: 'Why are we bound to fulfil all these duties towards our Emperor? Answer: In the first place, because God, who creates Empires and dispenses them according to his will, has, by endowing our Emperor with a profusion of gifts, as well in peace as in war, appointed him our sovereign, and made him the minister of his power and his image upon earth: to honour and serve our Emperor is, therefore, the same thing as to honour and serve God himself.' It is then asked, 'What are we to think respecting those who violate their duty towards our Emperor?' The answer is, 'according to the Apostle Paul, they would resist the order established by God himself, and render themselves worthy of eternal damnation.'

The council of Clergy alluded to in the exposition, was assembled by a mandate to all the Bishops in France and Italy. 'The most illustrious and populous Churches of the Empire,' said Buonaparte, in his circular letter, 'are vacant.' 'The conduct adopted in Germany for these ten years has almost destroyed episcopacy in that part of the Christian world. A great number of dioceses are governed by Vicars Apostolic. The Chapters have been disturbed in their right to provide, during the vacancy of the see, for the administration of the dioceses; they have plotted dark manœuvres to excite discord and sedition among our subjects. The Chapters have rejected the briefs contrary to their rights and the holy canons. Yet time is passing on; new bishoprics are vacant every day. If no speedy provision is made, episcopacy will be extinct in France and Italy, as well as in Germany.' Accordingly, an assemblage of prelates took place at Paris; and Buonaparte endeavoured to procure from them a kind of provisional

authority which would enable him to fill up the vacant sees, and supply the other deficiencies of Pontifical sanction during the life of the present Pope. His Clergy however were not prepared to go this length with him, and the eloquence of his tool, the Cardinal Maury, was in vain exerted to induce them to countenance a scheme which involved a violation of the fundamental principles of the Papal Church. Out of one hundred and twenty prelates, Buonaparte could prevail upon no more than fourteen to support his views; and when he discovered that, not content with negativing his propositions, they seemed inclined to avail themselves of their meeting, to pass resolutions disapproving of his conduct towards the Pontiff, he hastily cut short their discussions by dissolving the council.

Buonaparte has always had an instinctive feeling that the Press, as the great instrument of civilization, was his natural and necessary enemy; and accordingly he has never for a moment relaxed from the most watchful hostility to its freedom. Though the measures he had adopted last year in this respect might seem to have exhausted the resources of his hatred, he followed them up by others of a nature, if possible, yet more outrageous. He had already restricted the number of printers to sixty; and by a decree, issued February 2d, 1811, it was further ordained, that the presses which had thus been thrown out of employment should be purchased by the other printers who were yet allowed to exercise their trade; the suppressed printers were strictly prohibited from selling their types to others than the licensed printers and type-founders; and were to receive an indemnification of four thousand francs; the indemnification being to be paid by a contribution levied in equal shares upon the sixty remaining printers. By another decree, August 26th, it was announced, that for the future, advertisements would not be allowed to appear except in one particular journal; and this provision, it was said, was intended by the Emperor's paternal solicitude for the benefit of his subjects, who would now have the expence of advertising in one paper only. The obvious object, however, of the measure was to diminish the utility and consequently the circulation of public journals at all. By another act of Imperial police, five of the existing journals were put down, under the pretext of uniting them to the Journal de Paris, and the number of Parisian journals which were allowed to treat of matters connected with politics were limited to four. The oppressive nature of these measures is hardly so extraordinary as the shamelessness which they indicate in the tyranny from which they originated; and Buonaparte must have reckoned largely upon the degree of abjectness to which he had reduced the public spirit of his vassals before he could have ventured to put them forth.

Against commerce, as another great means, not merely of the wealth but of the civilization of nations, Buonaparte, in perfect consistency, continued to wage a war not less uniform and unrelenting than that which he carried on

against the intellectual intercourse of Europe; and he avowed his purposes on this point with the same impudence which marked every other part of his administration. A speech which he addressed to some merchants, convened in a Council of Commerce, has found its way to light, and bears marks too characteristic both of the language and sentiment of the tyrant to leave any doubt as to its substantial authenticity. 'The struggle with England,' said he, 'is distressing. I know it; but the issue cannot be doubtful. My resources are real: they are from territorial revenues; and those of my enemy rest only on credit, and are of course as illusory as the feeble basis of commercial operations on which they are founded. I have now in my coffers two hundred millions;—two hundred millions,' he repeated, stamping with his foot, 'which shall be better employed than in purchasing sugar and coffee and cocoa; they shall serve to sap the power of those who have those only for the representatives of power. I am not ignorant that in pursuing my system with vigor many fortunes will be ruined; but they will be those only who have been imprudent enough to make speculations beyond their means, or who have chosen to become the the agents of England. If I were King of Bordeaux or Marseilles, or indeed of Holland, I should act probably as others have done; but I am at the head of a great Empire, and of a numerous population; and it is not for me to sacrifice the general good to serve a few towns. All Europe has been too long tributary to England; her monopoly ought to be destroyed, and it shall be by me. If I were only Louis XIV. she might yet for a long while contemn the force of France; but I have far greater means than the greatest of the French Kings, and all shall be employed to effect her fall.'

The same language was employed by his minister, the Count de Semonville, in the report to the Conservative Senate, upon the subject of the late annexations of Holland and the Hanse Towns. 'The times are past,' said he, 'when the conceptions of some statesmen gave authority in the public opinion to the system of balances, of guarantees, of counterpoise, of political equilibrium: pompous illusions of Cabinets of the second order, visions of imbecility which all disappear before necessity, that power which regulates the duration and the mutual relations of Empires. During three centuries, England, from jealousy and hatred of France, has continually excited war in France itself, in Germany, in Italy, and Spain, a total subversion was necessary for her projects; she wished for a bloody revolution, because her own had been bloody, and because it struck with the same sword both the institutions and the industry of France, the people, and the dynasty. At length, after ten years of a glorious struggle, the most extraordinary genius which nature ever formed in her magnificence, collects in his triumphant hands the scattered fragments of the sceptre of Charlemagne. The injuries of France are avenged; frontiers compacted by moderation, and

traced out by nature, are the trophies raised to the happiness of her people, to the tranquillity of Europe. Does the conqueror perceive from the height of his car, nations united by ancient habits? He seeks out faithful princes, he creates for them common interests, he intrusts to them the destinies of those regenerated states of which he has declared himself the protector. But where all forms of government have been tried in vain; where the aggregations are too small, or destitute of sufficient principles of adhesion to form masses; where localities would infallibly subject men and things to the direct action of avarice, of the attacks and intrigues of the eternal enemies of France; then the interest of the Empire commands the union to the victorious nation of those portions of its conquests, to prevent their inevitable dissolution. Holland and the Hanse Towns being incapable of existing by themselves, ought they to belong to England or to France? This is the question; there is no third alternative. Our generation has succeeded to an inheritance of rivalry, always increasing by the importance of the interests and the augmented strength of the rival powers. It is no longer two armies who combat on the plains of Fontenoy; it is the Empire of the Seas which still resists that of the Continent; a memorable, a terrible struggle, the catastrophe of which, now perhaps not far distant, will long occupy the attention of future generations. If England had not rejected the councils and the offers of moderation, what dreadful consequences might she not have avoided! she would not have forced France to enrich herself by the ports and the arsenals of Holland; the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, would not have flowed under our dominion; and we should not have seen the first country of the Gauls washed by rivers, united by an internal navigation to seas, which were unknown to them. Where still are the boundaries of possibility? Let England answer it. Let her meditate on the past! Let her learn the future! France and Napoleon will never change.'

The Senate in reply, drew up an address in which they echoed the praises which Buonaparte had given to the frankness and benevolence, as well as the depth, which characterized his policy. 'The British Orders in Council,' said they, 'have not only rent in pieces the public law of Europe, but have also violated those natural laws, which are as old and as eternal as the globe. Nature herself has placed the seas beyond the dominion of man. He may pass over, but he cannot maintain possession of them; and to affect to rule an element which surrounds the habitable globe on every side, is nothing less than a daring attempt to hold the old and the new world in captivity, and to fix a disgraceful mark of slavery on all mankind. Such is the sacrilegeous attempt against which your majesty unites all the efforts of your power. Justly indignant, Europe applauds and seconds you. Already does this restless and turbulent Government see all the nations of the Continent leagued against her, and her vessels repelled from every port.

The only allies which it has on earth, are fanaticism and sedition. Persevere, Sire, in this sacred war, undertaken for the honour of the French name, and the independence of nations. The day on which this war ends will be the era of the peace of the world. These measures will accelerate that era. Since your only enemies are found on the ocean, it is necessary for you to render yourself master of all the ports by which the ocean has communication with the interior provinces of your Empire.'

Buonaparte soon after made a tour to Amsterdam, for the purpose of inspecting the provinces which, upon such principles, he had chosen to declare part of his Empire. On passing by Boulogne, he witnessed an action between a squadron of the flotilla which lay in that harbour, and the Naiad frigate which was cruizing off the port; and our seamen had an opportunity of exhibiting their superiority of skill and courage under the eye of the tyrant himself. In all the principal towns through which he passed, the inhabitants were previously instructed to greet their ruler with every demonstration of respectful affection; every house was illuminated, and the municipal authorities were prepared with addresses, in which they exhausted the whole vocabulary of adulation in their homage to the Emperor. The deputation from the City of Amsterdam was made to say, 'Frenchmen in hearts more than in consequence of the union, the inhabitants of this great city feel all the honour of forming part of the Empire of Charlemagne, restored by a monarch who is superior to him in all respects;—of being governed by a hero and a legislator whose victories insure the tranquillity of his numerous subjects, and who alone, of all sovereigns, enables them to enjoy an enlightened administration and wise and uniform laws. The King of Rome guarantees the duration of these benefits, and the different people subject to your Majesty, amalgamating more and more, will realize that universal peace which has hitherto been considered only as a sweet illusion.'

Similar language was put into the mouths of the deputies, which were sent by the ruined cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck, to thank their new master for the benefits conferred upon them by his decree of annexation! 'It is a pleasing consolation,' they said, 'to the honourable remembrance of our county, to reflect that our independence could yield only to him, to whom every thing has yielded; and that our political existence was to cease only at that epoch when the destinies had determined that the Tiber and the Elbe were to flow under the same laws. If your Majesty, from that exalted point from whence you take a view of human affairs, permit our feebleness to indulge in any degree of pride, we venture to think that we enter not as a vulgar territory, an obscure acquisition into that immense circle of provinces struck with admiration, and happy in obeying a single master,'

'Gentlemen deputies of the Hanse Towns of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck,' said Napoleon

in answer, 'you formed part of the German Empire; your constitution terminated with its existence. Since that time your situation was uncertain. I intended to reconstitute your cities under an independent administration, when the changes produced in the world by the new laws of the British Council, rendered the project impracticable. It was impossible for me to give you an independent administration, since you could no longer have an independent flag. The decrees of Berlin and Milan are the fundamental laws of my Empire. France is compelled to seize the English travellers, merchants, and carriers, in whatever part of the Continent they may be, and wherever she can reach them; and if in this system there be any thing little consonant to the spirit of the age, it is the injustice of the new English laws that must be charged with it: I have been pleased to enter into these explanations with you, to convince you that your union with the Empire is the necessary result of the British laws of 1806 and 1807, and not the effect of any ambitious calculation. In my civil laws you will find a protection which, in your maritime position, you can no longer find in the political code. That maritime commerce which constituted your prosperity, cannot henceforth be revived, but in conjunction with the restoration of my maritime power. The rights of nations, the liberty of the seas, and a general peace, must be re-conquered at one and the same time. When I shall have more than an hundred sail of the line, I shall conquer England in a few campaigns. The seamen of your coasts, and the materials conveyed to the mouths of your rivers, are necessary to my purpose. France, within her old limits, could not construct a marine in time of war, when her ports were blockaded. Now, from the increase my Empire has received within the last six years, I can build, equip, and arm twenty-five sail of the line yearly, without the slightest delay or obstruction from the enemy's naval power.'

While at Amsterdam, Buonaparte busied himself in the organization of his new territories; by a series of decrees issued from 'the Palace of Amsterdam,' Holland was divided into seven departments, under the names of the Mouths of the Meuse, the Mouths of the Yssel, the East Ems, the West Ems, Friseland, the Upper Yssel, and the Zuyder Zee; the French system of contributions and impost was introduced; the great roads from Amsterdam to Antwerp, by Utrecht, or by Leyden and Rotterdam to Munster and the Helder, were declared Imperial roads; and the rank of a *good city* was conferred on the Hague, by which it acquired the right of having its Mayor present at the ceremony of the Emperor's Coronation. The Dutch seminaries of learning were also remodelled upon the French system. The Universities of Leyden and Groningen were converted into branch academics of the Imperial University; that of Utrecht, together with the establishments at Amsterdam and Deventer, were declared secondary schools, and Lyceums were distributed to Utrecht, Leyden, and

Groningen. Anxious to efface as soon as possible, among the Dutch, all recollection of their independence as a nation, Buonaparte farther decreed, that within three months, every school should be provided with a person capable of teaching French; that after one year, no person should be licensed as master or assistant at any school, who was not capable of teaching the rudiments of that language, nor after two years, unless he made himself capable of speaking and writing it with ease.

The history of the rest of the Continent for the present year, is nearly a blank. In Germany and the Austrian dominions, all was silent and motionless under the shadow of that gigantic fabric of Empire, which Napoleon had reared in their neighbourhood. The Germans, however, deeply felt the degradation and oppression under which they laboured; and feelings were working among her youth, which awaited but a favourable opportunity to break out into open conflict with the tyrant. The war in which Buonaparte had involved Russia with Turkey was relaxing. Alexander was at length awakening to a sense of the real nature of his position, and seemed anxious to put an end to a contest, the continuance of which only rendered both parties a sure prey to the designs of their common enemy. There had, for some time past, been a manifest coldness between the Courts of St. Petersburgh and the Thuilleries. Buonaparte was known to complain of the inefficient manner in which his continental system was put into play in the Russian dominions; and from the note of preparation which was given on both sides, it was augured that a war between the two powers was not far distant. Buonaparte, from the natural impatience of his complexion, would probably be inclined to hasten rather than retard this catastrophe; of the result of such a struggle, he would entertain no doubt; and Russia once effectually humbled, the Continent of Europe could throughout its whole extent present no prospect or chance of reasonable resistance to his sway. The restoration of the Kingdom of Poland, and the expulsion of the Turks beyond the Hellespont, would be among the earliest consequences of his success in this quarter; and perhaps of all the projects which he was known to meditate, they were the only two, the consummation of which would afford any matter of consolation to mankind in recompense for that mass of misery which his career had inflicted.

Of all Bonaparte's diplomatic achievements the treaty of Tilsit must be allowed to be the most able. Russia, indeed, notwithstanding the disasters of the campaign, lost nothing in the way of territory; she was even complimented by acquisitions from those of all her neighbours; but no defalcation of dominion could so well have suited her enemy's purpose, as the accessions with which she was thus induced to burden herself. By the spoliations of Finland and Moldavia, Buonaparte naturally believed that he had bound Sweden and Turkey to a hearty co-operation in his future designs against her, by bonds

stronger than can be afforded by any treaty of offensive alliance. With respect to Sweden he had additional grounds to count upon her assistance, since one of his generals had been elected to the inheritance of the crown; Bernadotte, however, had no disposition to render himself the passive tool of his late master; and both his language and conduct were equally distinguished by good sense and good feeling.

If the cabinet of Copenhagen did not betray a similar spirit, much allowance must be made for the irritation which Denmark naturally continued to feel from the manner in which our war with that country commenced. In this respect, perhaps, our seizure of the Danish fleet, served the purpose of the enemy, almost as effectually as the Russian dismemberments of Sweden and Turkey. The Danes made an attempt to recover the island of Anholt. On the 26th of March an expedition consisting of twelve gun boats and twelve transports left Gierillo Bay, and succeeded in effecting a landing on the island. It was apparently the design of the enemy to carry the island before our naval force had resumed its station in those seas. It happened, however, that two ships of war, the Tartar frigate, and the Sheldrake brig, arrived from Yarmouth, on the same day that the expedition set out, and anchored on the north side of the island.

Captain Maurice, the English commandant, had received information of the intended attack, and had, in consequence, made every effort in his power to strengthen the works. These, however, were not in their own nature very strong, and his garrison did not exceed three hundred and fifty men. It was determined, however, to make all the resistance which the circumstances of their situation admitted of, and in order to preclude surprise, piquets were every night placed on the look out from one end of the island to the other.

Before day-break on the 27th signal was made by the outpiquets on the south side of the island that the enemy were in sight. Captain Maurice immediately put the garrison under arms, and hastened with a corps of two hundred infantry to oppose the disembarkation; this, however, had been already effected under the cover of darkness and thick fog: the governor on reaching an elevation discovered that the enemy were advancing rapidly and in great force against him. Fearing lest they should outflank his handful of men, and thus get between him and the works, he immediately fell back in good order; the Danes followed up close, being not more than a pistol shot distant from our rear, and at first seemed disposed to make an instant assault on the batteries. They were received, however, by a warm fire from the forts York and Massareene, and were compelled to retreat in their turn, and take shelter under the sand hills, which are thrown up on the island by every gale.

Day now broke, and the enemy's flotilla of gun-boats were observed to have taken up a position on the south side of the island, at point-blank shot, and soon after they opened a heavy fire upon our

works; at the same time a column of about six hundred men crossed the island to the westward, and took up a position on the northern shore, under the cover of sand hillocks, and of the breaks and inequality of the ground; and another column attempted to carry the Massareene battery by storm; but the attack, though several times repeated, was as often repulsed, and the assailants were obliged to fall back to their former shelter of the sand hills.

The Tartar and Sheldrake had weighed upon the first report of the firing, and as soon as day broke signal was made to them that the enemy had landed. They had anchored on the north side of the island, and as they had to run out many miles before they could weather the reefs that extend from the eastern extremity of the islands, it was some hours before they could beat round to the south. The enemy's column on the south had, in the mean while, brought up a field-piece, and pushed on against our works, and that on the northern shore renewed its assault upon the Massareene battery. At the same time the reserve made its appearance on the hills. The Danish commander, Major Melsted, was killed by a musquet shot, while leading on his men to the attack; and Captain Von Reydz had scarcely assumed the command in his stead, when a cannon ball carried away both his legs. These losses damped the spirit of the enemy, and they again retreated, and sought the cover of the sand hills. They found, however, that this shelter was now denied them, for at this moment the Anholt schooner hove up, and having anchored opened a fire on their flank. The column could now neither advance nor retreat; they held out a flag of truce, and endeavoured to obtain terms of capitulation; Captain Maurice, however, insisted upon unconditional surrender, which they found themselves compelled to accede to. The corps which had advanced on the south side also laid down their arms, and Captain Maurice now advanced with such troops as could be spared from the care of the prisoners, against the reserve, which had commenced its retreat to the west. On coming up with this body, however, they were found formed on the beach, under the protection of the flotilla of gun-boats which had been towed close to the shore. The English governor felt that it would be impossible to attack such a force with his handful of men, and was therefore reluctantly compelled to allow them to embark without further molestation. We lost in this affair only two men killed, and thirty wounded. The enemy left behind them about forty dead; and three and twenty of their wounded; a great number of these last had been carried off in the boats. The prisoners amounted to about five hundred, being about one third more in number than the garrison itself. Three pieces of cannon also fell into our hands. Two of their flotilla were captured by the Sheldrake on their return home; and another was sunk.

Before the end of the year a lamentable disaster befel our naval armament in the Baltic. The St. George and Defence men of war, were wrecked in their pas-

sage home, on the coast of Jutland, and of fourteen hundred men of which their crew consisted not more than eighteen escaped. The Hero also was wrecked on the coast of Holland.

Our relations with America underwent no material alteration in the course of the present year; though some circumstances occurred which gave a still more angry character to the discussions existing between the two countries. The British sloop of war, Little Belt, commanded by Capt. Bingham, fell in with a man of war, which having a commodore's blue pendant at her main, was conceived to be an American frigate; and, under this persuasion, Captain Bingham proceeded on his way. The strange vessel, however, soon after pursued, and about half past six o'clock in the evening arrived within gun-shot; Captain Bingham, now clearly distinguished the American flag; and thought it prudent therefore, to prevent any mistake, by bringing to, and hoisting his colours; taking at the same time every precaution against a surprise—the rather, as it was evident from his manner of steering that the American captain wanted to lay his ship in a position for raking. At a quarter past eight the two vessels were within hail, and Captain Bingham asked what ship it was? Instead of answer they received a similar inquiry from the American. The question was repeated, and the frigate immediately fired a broadside, which was returned, and an engagement followed, which lasted from three quarters of an hour to an hour. By this time the sails and rigging of the English sloop were cut to pieces, and the American then thought proper to cease his firing and ask what ship it was? Upon being answered, he inquired if she had struck her colours? This was replied to in the negative, and Captain Bingham then enquired the name of his adversary, but by this time the American had stood off to some distance. Next morning at day-light he bore up again, and passed within hail, completely prepared for action; and about eight o'clock he hailed, and a boat was sent with a message from commodore Rogers, of the President frigate, stating that he very much lamented the unfortunate affair which had happened, and that had he known that the force of the Little Belt was so inferior he would not have fired at her. Captain Bingham then inquired why he had fired at all, and the answer was, that the British vessel had fired first. Thirty-two men were killed or wounded on board the English sloop in this rencounter. The Americans had only a boy wounded.

May 11.

We have here given Captain Bingham's account of the affair; and all the particulars of his statement were afterwards confirmed by his officers and men, in depositions on oath before a board of inquiry. Commodore Rogers, on the other hand, affirmed that he was not able to approach the Little Belt near enough before sunset, to judge to what country she belonged, as she appeared studiously to decline shewing her colours. When she did hoist them, it was so dark that he could not distinguish them, and for the same rea-

son he was unable, when she first presented her broadside, to make out what was her actual force, though he had reason from her appearance to suppose her to be a frigate. Having got within hail he inquired what ship it was; and was answered by the same question on the part of the other. As he conceived himself, by the common rule of politeness, intitled to the first answer, he repeated his question, and was replied to by a shot. Before he had time to order a shot in return, one was fired, and was scarcely out of the gun, before it was answered from the British vessel by three others in quick succession, and soon after by the rest of her broadside and musquetry. The Commodore declares, that when the first shot was fired, being under an impression that it might possibly have proceeded from accident and without the orders of the commander, he had at the moment determined to fire only a single shot in return; but, he adds, that 'the immediate repetition of the previous unprovoked outrage, induced me to believe that the insult was premeditated, and that from our adversary being at the time as ignorant of our real force as I was of his, he thought this a favourable opportunity of acquiring promotion, although at the expence of violating our neutrality and insulting our flag.' Perceiving, after a few minutes, by the feeble resistance of his opponent that it must be a ship of very inferior size, or that some accident had befallen her, he ceased firing; he was however compelled to renew it, by the continued firing from the sloop; and having, after a few minutes more succeeded in silencing her, he then, upon hailing, for the first time discovered that he had been engaged with an English ship. The Commodore concluded his account by expressing his regret at the bloodshed which this affair had occasioned, and affirming, that however much he might have had grounds to feel incensed at the repeated violences committed by British men of war on the American flag, no feelings of that nature had at all actuated his conduct in this transaction.

A court of inquiry was instituted by the American government also, on this occasion, and statements on oath were made by the American officers, which went to confirm the Commodore's assertion that the English vessel had first fired. We had thus oath against oath; the probabilities of the case were clearly against the American, as nothing could be more unlikely than that a vessel of the force of the Little Belt should designedly provoke an action with a large forty-four gun frigate. The crew of the Little Belt affirm that from the manner in which Commodore Rogers apologised to them it was evident that it had been his purpose, had he fallen in with an English frigate to bring her to action; and they were the rather persuaded of such having been his intention, as his guns were loaded not only with grape shot but with scraps of iron. It is said that the Commodore was thus only acting under the special orders of his government, who had instructed him in case he fell in with the British frigate Guerriere, to have demanded the delivery of the impressed Americans,

and in the event of refusal, to attack her. It was expected that the superior strength of the American frigate would secure her success; and it would then be said, that after waiting four years in vain for reparation for the insult done to the American flag in the case of the Chesapeake, the government had been compelled to take it for themselves. This was the construction which the opposition party in the United States put upon the affair: but we think it hardly probable that such could in fact have been the deliberate design of Mr. Madison's cabinet. Such a proceeding would, in fact, have been tantamount to a declaration of war; and if anxious to come to that extremity, they would probably have chosen a less objectionable method of bringing it about. It is observable, however, that Commodore Rogers' instructions were not produced in the court of inquiry. Those which the British government had given to Captain Bingham were published, and they contained an injunction that he should be particularly careful not to give any just cause of offence to the government or subjects of the United States of America, and to give very particular orders to this effect to the officers he might have occasion to send on board ships under the American flag.

Mr. Foster, our minister at Washington, instantly demanded of the American government a disavowal of this aggression, and declared that he must suspend all negociations upon other points until measures had been taken for clearing up the circumstances that led to it. The secretary of state, Mr. Monroe, gave assurances that no instructions of an hostile nature had been given to the American commander; and a judicial inquiry was instituted into the transaction, the result of which, as we have seen, was that the statements affirmed under oath by the crew of the English sloop, were directly contradicted by the affirmations, given under the same sanction, by the officers and men of the American vessel. And here the matter was of necessity allowed to rest; whatever might be the opinion to be formed of the general probabilities of the transaction, Mr. Foster was compelled to content himself with the disclaimer which had been given by the American secretary.

The discussions respecting the affair of the Chesapeake were then renewed, and the American government at length declared itself satisfied with the terms of reparation offered by the British minister. The reparation in question consisted first of a direct disavowal on the part of his majesty of Admiral Berkeley's proceedings in that transaction; coupled with a declaration, that as a mark of his majesty's displeasure, that officer had been immediately recalled from his command; the restoration of the men taken from the Chesapeake, and a pecuniary compensation to the persons wounded, and to the families of those who had been killed. In signifying to our minister the acceptance of these terms the American government took occasion to remark, that it was much regretted that the reparation should have been delayed so long; adding that the removal of the offending officer from the command of one station to another, could not be considered as constituting a part

of a reparation otherwise satisfactory.

The American Congress met in the beginning of November, but we shall reserve our account of its proceedings for the History of 1812, with the history of which it may be most conveniently connected.

The history of our West India colonies for the present year, does not offer any thing of importance. The enemy had already lost all his possessions in that quarter. Some symptoms of discontent were manifested in the conquered colonies; insomuch that in Martinique the governor found it necessary to enact that the inhabitants should deliver up all their arms and ammunition into the hands of government; and late in the year the quiet of the same island was threatened by a conspiracy on the part of the men of colour to massacre the white inhabitants, and form an independent government, in imitation of those established in St. Domingo. One Moliere, a free Mulatto, was at the head of the plot, which was happily discovered the day before that appointed for the rising. Fifteen of the conspirators were hung; Moliere himself avoided a like fate by blowing out his brains.

This attempt had not improbably been suggested by the apparent prosperity which seemed to attend the new state in St. Domingo. The negro chief Christophe had just taken upon himself the title of king of Hayti, under the name of Henry the First; and his coronation was solemnized with a sedulous imitation of all June 2. the pageantry which is usual on such occasions in the courts of Europe. In order to grace the solemnity, he had a short time before it took place decorated a number of his adherents with the titles of princes, dukes, counts, barons, &c. the ceremony was performed by his archbishop; and he subsequently, in further mimickry of his brother adventurer Napoleon, created a kind of legion of honour, under the name of the order of St. Henry.

In our Eastern dominions all remained quiet. An expedition was undertaken against Java, by the success of which the Dutch lost the last of their possessions in this quarter of the world. The reader will find in the despatches of Lord Minto and Sir Samuel Auchmuty, (vide Appendix to Chronicle,) a detailed account of the manner in which this important success was achieved.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. MONITEURS have arrived, confirming the unfortunate loss of the Minotaur, of 74 guns, Captain Bartlett, off the Texel, in the late tremendous gales. Only one lieutenant and 110 men, by these accounts, were saved.

We regret to state the melancholy loss of his Majesty's sloop of war Satellite, of 16 guns, commanded by the Hon. Willoughby Bertie, with all the crew. She sailed from Spithead on Monday, the 7th ult. to join the ships that were cruising off La Hogue. On the Wednesday following, at six o'clock in the evening, she was in company with the Vautour, Captain Lawless. It was then blowing very hard; and in the course of the night the gale increased excessively, blowing in most tempestuous squalls. In one of these sudden gusts (which have been experienced, both at sea and on shore, in a most extraordinary degree this winter,) she, it is supposed, upset, and every soul on board perished. The next morning her boats, some spars, &c., which were upon her deck, were picked up by the Vautour; but no other vestige of her has ever been seen.

Lucien Bonaparte arrived at Ludlow about four o'clock on the evening of Wednesday se'nnight, accompanied by his nephew, an interpreter, secretary, Mr. Mackenzie, and a few servants. He drove to the Angel inn, where he dined and slept. On Thursday morning he walked about the town, viewed the castle, and some of the principal streets; but, as the weather was rather unfavourable, and public curiosity great, he did not stay out long. On that evening, one of the winter dancing assemblies took place, which Lucien, his nephew, and some of his friends attended. Some of the latter danced, but Lucien did not. He continued in the room till supper was announced; he then attended the Countess Powis to the supper-rooms, and sat at her ladyship's right hand during supper; after which he returned to the ball and card-rooms. On Saturday he went to Stonehouse, a seat of Lord Powis, about five miles from Ludlow, where Lucien is to reside in future, and from thence proceeded to Walcot, the principal

residence of his lordship, where he stayed a day or two, and returned to Ludlow.

The following account is extracted from the Ludlow paper:

2nd. *Ludlow.*—Madame Lucien Bonaparte, with her family, and numerous train of servants, arrived here this evening, occupying in all four carriages, and having performed the journey from Plymouth in a week. Lucien removed yesterday from the inn to Lord Powis's residence in this town, called Dinham-house, his lordship'sseat in the neighbourhood (Stonehouse) being found too small for the reception of so numerous a suite. It is believed they will remain here during several months. The popular surprise at the arrival of so unexpected a stranger is now beginning to subside, and Lucien may soon appear in our streets and walks with as little *eclât* as other inhabitants of the place. He is a man of retired habits, fond of reading, and of domestic life. It is easy to trace in him the origin of that disposition which has led him to quarrel with his brother, and to prefer the tranquil comforts of a private station to the pageantry of royalty. His wish seems to be to pass the time of his detention among us in a quiet manner. In consideration of his family, which consists chiefly of females, a good deal of pains has been taken in providing him with a comfortable residence; in other respects, he is treated as a prisoner of war, and is subject to whatever restraints government think proper to impose.

4th. The trial of Alexander Cahill, surgeon, of the 2nd battalion of the 25th regiment of foot, charged with the murder of Captain Hugh Blair Rutherford, of the same regiment, came on a few days since, at Edinburgh, before the high court of justiciary. It then appeared, that in consequence of a dispute which had taken place, relative to taking newspapers out of the mess-room, Captain Rutherford sent a challenge to Mr. Cahill. The parties met, and after the first fire, by signal, without effect, Captain R.'s second proposed to Mr. C. to apologize, which he declined: but added, he would quit his ground and shake hands with the captain —this was rejected. They fired again, and Captain Rutherford was wounded. He, however, called out to load again; which being told Mr. Cahill, he said he would receive the captain's fire, but not return it. Captain Rutherford then fell, and was conveyed to the barracks, where he shortly after expired. Mr. Cahill made his escape; but afterwards surrendered himself to take his trial. Several witnesses gave him an excellent character, and represented him as a quiet inoffensive man. The jury returned a verdict of Not Guilty, with the exception of two dissentient voices.

Windsor.—The bulletin 6th. of to-day is of a very cheering nature, and for these five days past, his Majesty has gradually been improving, both in mental and bodily strength. His Majesty has become more tranquillized in his general deportment, and there are daily visible signs that his malady is on the decline. His Majesty now uses his sitting-room in the Blenheim Tower, takes his meals regularly, and at

intervals amuses himself with playing the most familiar tunes on the harpsichord, with a correctness surpassing the most sanguine expectations. As a striking proof of the fact, on some very recent occasions, when his majesty, in consequence of his defective sight, struck a wrong key, he instantly corrected the error, by modulating the tune, and finishing it with his accustomed science and judgment. In many other instances which have occurred in his majesty's general conduct within these three days, many favourable symptoms of amendment have been manifested to induce a reasonable hope, that his much wished for recovery is not at any very remote distance.

The harpsichord on which his majesty plays, formerly belonged to the great Handel, and is supposed to have been manufactured at Antwerp in the year 1612. Handel's music is highly esteemed by his majesty, and many of his most favourite compositions are now played by his majesty from recollection.

8th. The Thames is now nearly frozen, there being only a narrow channel in the centre of the river free from ice. Two men walked on the ice yesterday from Battersea bridge to Hungerford stairs.

A most daring attempt was made by a party of country people at Clonderalaw bay, to take possession of the American ship Romulus, on the night of the 8th instant. They assembled at about ten in the evening, to the amount of between two and three hundred, and commenced a firing of musketry, which they kept up at intervals for three hours; when finding a steady resistance from the crew and guard of yeomanry, which had been put on the vessel on her first going on shore, they retired. The shot they fired appeared to be cut from square bars of lead about half an inch in diameter. One of these miscreants dropped, and was carried away by his companions.

9th. On the 26th ult. as Mr. Hutton, contractor for supplying Dartmoor prison with butcher's meat, was returning from Tavistock market in the evening, having dismounted to refresh his horse at a rivulet, it being dark, the animal escaped from him, and in endeavouring to recover it, Mr. Hutton missed his way, and was precipitated into an old lead shaft, upwards of sixty-eight feet deep; but there being several feet of water in the bottom, his fall was in some measure broken. On rising to the surface, Mr. Hutton laid hold of one of the cross-pieces, on which he supported himself; and he plainly heard the passengers conversing on the turnpike-road: but his efforts to make known his situation proving ineffectual, he endeavoured, by means of a pair of scissars, to dig holes in the side of the pit, to facilitate his ascension, and had got within a few yards of the surface, but the earth giving way, he was again plunged into the dark abyss. He remained in this dreadful situation until the Friday following, when he was discovered by a labourer, who was passing by; ropes were immediately procured, by which means he was

soon released from his perilous situation, and is now perfectly recovered.

A dreadful accident happened a few days ago on board the Jason, a vessel of Boston, lying about four miles from the town, in a part of the Deeps, called Clay-hole. Mr. Massam, the master, was on business in Boston; but before he quitted the vessel, he had carefully locked up the cabin, in which were some swivel-cartridges and a quantity of gunpowder. The mate of the vessel, to relieve the tedium of waiting for a wind, imprudently broke open the door during his master's absence, took out some powder, and went from the vessel to shoot sea-fowl, leaving on board only a boy of about fourteen years of age. The youth, thus left, amused himself by getting a handful of gunpowder, and throwing it in small quantities into a fire on board; but having, it is supposed, scattered some between the cabin and the fire-place, the flame ran along the train, and in an instant, by the tremendous explosion of all the powder kept for the guns which the Jason carried, the whole stern of the vessel was swept away, and she sunk with a full cargo of oats on board. Providentially the boy was not hurt by the explosion, and was taken from the sinking vessel by a boat which was put off from the Tre Madoc, lying near.

15th. *Deal.*—Sunday night, the 13th, the ship Cumberland, Barrett, master, arrived in the Downs from Quebec, under a jury-foremast and bowsprit, having pitched her bowsprit and foremast away in a heavy gale of wind off the banks of Newfoundland. From seven till eight o'clock on Sunday morning, she was attacked by four French lugger privateers, between Dover and Folkestone, the first of which hailed to know if he wanted a pilot; Captain Barrett having suspicion of her, replied in the negative; immediately after, another privateer ordered him to lay back his mainyard, and the whole of them commenced a fire of musketry, and two of them ran alongside and boarded the Cumberland; previous to which the captain had ordered all the ship's crew into the cabin, they being armed with their boarding pikes; as soon as about twenty men came on board, the captain ordered the ship to be sheered off from the privateers, leaving the Frenchmen no good retreat, and on the ship being boarded, the privateers ceased firing: in the mean time the ship's company rushed forward, and cleared the deck; the greatest part of the boarders being killed, and the remainder jumping overboard. Immediately after, another came alongside, and told the captain they would give no quarter: on hearing this, the ship's company cheered them; and they were boarded, and cleared in like manner. This was repeated three times afterwards, with the like success on the part of the ship's crew, and their taking three prisoners, two of whom were wounded, and one has since died of his wounds. Immediately after this, Captain Barrett discharged three of his carronades, loaded with round and canister shot; the first

was seen to carry away the main-mast of one of the prviateers, and the second carried away the bow-sprit of another, and it was supposed destroyed many of the men, as they were heard to cry out, and the shots were heard to strike the vessel. They then made off, and the Cumberland proceeded for the Downs. We are sorry to say, Mr. Coward, chief mate, is wounded in the shoulder, and that one man on board the Cumberland has died of his wounds. The loss on the part of the enemy is supposed to be nearly sixty. Captain Barrett killed three himself, one of which he was obliged to put his foot on to extricate his pike.

This is supposed to be the most gallant defence made by any merchant-ship during the war; as her crew consisted only of twenty-six men, and those of the privateers, according to the prisoners' statement, amounted to 270 men.

The lords of the admiralty have, as a mark of their satisfaction at the gallantry exhibited on this occasion, expressed their intention to grant, to each of the crew of the Cumberland, a protection from the impress for the space of three years.

16th. A poor chimney-sweeper's boy lost his life in a most shocking manner, in a chimney, at a house in Orchard-street, Westminster. He went up a chimney to clean it, and got out at the top. On his return, he got into a chimney belonging to the same house, by mistake, which had a fire at the bottom, in which he got stuck fast, and was suffocated before relief could be rendered him.

17th. *Windsor.*—His Majesty's health is materially improved; he is gaining daily. After dinner this day, his majesty, attended by Drs. Baillie, Heberden, and Willis, walked for more than half an hour on the north side of the terrace, during the greater part of which time his majesty was in conversation with those gentlemen. His majesty felt much refreshed by the air; and, upon the whole, derived much benefit from the walk.—In addition to this important change, it is said his majesty, within these three or four days, has experienced some faint glimmerings of returning sight, so that he could perceive some glasses of drink which were given into his hands.

18th. *Coroner's Inquest.*—An inquisition was taken yesterday on the body of Frederick Bede, who was killed in a pugilistic combat with a young man of the name of Smithers, in Newington-fields, on Monday afternoon. It appeared in evidence, that the combatants were two clerks in very respectable situations, and a quarrel arose in consequence of a dispute at cards. They retired to combat in the warmth of temper, and Bede refused to settle the dispute in any other manner. After fighting twenty-five minutes most determinedly, Smithers gave his adversary a blow under the right ear, which knocked him down, and he died in about twenty minutes. The surgeon gave it as his opinion, that death was rather occasioned by the fall than from the blow; but death having ensued in an illegal act, a verdict of manslaughter was returned.

Paris.—The bulletin of the Allier contains the following letter, addressed, on the 14th instant, by the sub-prefect of Gannat to the prefect of the department of the Allier.

"M. Prefect,—I know not how to give you the narration of a frightful crime, committed on the 15th ult. in the commune of Biozat. My pen seems to recoil at tracing details so horrible. A young woman, 23 years of age, has just murdered her father, her mother, her brother, and two sisters!

"On the 13th December, Amable Albert, of the commune of Biozat, a respectable man, poor and with a large family, was obliged, by the bad state of his affairs, to sell a small part of his property. His daughter, Madelaine Albert, of a violent character, of suspected morals, and unfortunately accustomed to abuse her father and mother, reproached her father in language the most violent on account of this sale, and ended by imperiously demanding a part of the sum which he had received. The father refused, mentioning to her, at the same time, the state of his affairs; she insisted, and abused him outrageously. The father, vexed and affronted at the insolence of his daughter, gave her several blows on the shoulders, and ordered her to go to bed. She obeyed and went to bed. A quarter of an hour after, she seized an axe, and advanced without noise towards the fire-side, where her father, mother, and three brothers and sisters were warming themselves. She aimed a blow with the axe at her father's head, laid open his skull, and, in spite of the cries of her family, she repeated her blows. He was killed by the first stroke; any one of the wounds would have been sufficient to deprive this unfortunate man of life. They were so deep, that the monster must have been possessed of extraordinary strength to produce them. She then threw herself on her mother, without being softened by her prayers and sighs, struck her five times with the hatchet, and laid her at her feet. Her two young sisters, one eleven, the other three years old, met with no greater mercy. She struck the eldest both on the head and neck, but did not kill her, because the poor creature crept under the bed. These numerous crimes did not satiate the tigress. She seized her youngest sister, who held her mother's body, took her in her arms, and threw her, alive as she was, into a well.

"Of all this family, a brother, 13 years old, survived by a kind of miracle. He was so fortunate as to creep behind a trunk, to open the door, and to make his escape, calling for assistance. Madelaine Albert added to so much atrocity the refinement of hypocrisy. She called to her brother, requested him to return, and promised to do him no harm. In a voice, the most mild and calm, she endeavoured to prevail on the boy to return to the house; but he was too much terrified, he ran away, and took shelter in the house of a man of the name of Richard. In consequence of his story, several of the inhabitants

went to assist the family. They found Madelaine Albert walking with great agitation in the house, with a large knife in her hand, with which she threatened to kill any one that should approach her. The darkness of the night, and the terror inspired by so dreadful a sight, paralyzed the courage of these men; they durst not advance and seize her. In their presence, Madelaine Albert took from her mother's pocket the key of a cupboard, opened it, took out the money that was in it, and went out of the house, without any of the spectators having the courage to seize her or follow her. It is supposed that she has gone towards Riom or Clermont; the gens-d'armerie are in pursuit of her.

"I have the honour to be, &c.
"Sartices."

Dublin.—On Sunday night last, a party of armed ruffians entered the house of Daniel Hurley, of Kilmore, and forcibly carried away Eleanor Hurley, his daughter. By his examination it appears, that Michael Ryan, commonly called Sclug, a notorious robber, and Timothy and Cornelius Ryan, his brothers, were principally concerned, and the only persons he knew. Lieutenant Neville Wayland, of the Ballintemple infantry, having heard of it soon after, took three yeomen with him to the cross roads near Lacken, in hopes that they might meet the party on their return. In about half an hour, hearing the noise of the horses coming at a great rate, he divided his little party two at each side of the road, and desired they should on no account fire until they were fired at. On their coming up, (consisting of five horses and six or seven men,) he advanced, and desired them in the king's name, to stop and surrender themselves, which they instantly answered with three shots at the yeomen: one of the foremost presented a bright blunderbuss at Lieutenant Wayland, so near that the flash threw light on his face, but fortunately burned priming only, or his head would have been blown to atoms. Several shots were fired on both sides, but the yeomen's with more effect, for one of the ruffians dropped off his horse; the others made their escape, the lieutenant and his party being on foot, and it being about one o'clock in the morning. This wretch, though mortally wounded, got on his knee, and swore he would have a yeoman's life, but was unable to present his blunderbuss, his arm being broken. He would not tell his name, and desired he might be thrown into a dyke, and the dirt thrown over him, and nothing said about it. He died soon after, and the body was conveyed to Dundrum. He proved to be Edmund Ryan, of Donohill, flax-dresser, a deserter from Sir Thos. Fitzgerald's regiment, and one of the most determined wicked fellows in the country.

Vast crowds came to view the body on Monday, which was permitted, in hopes it might have a proper effect upon the people. Lord Hawarden, who was at Mr. William Cooper's, at Cashel, being sent to early that day, came out and took a party of the Ballintemple cavalry, with Mr. William Cooper, a magistrate, and scoured the country as far as Cappagh,

after the runaways, until a late hour that night, and also the next day, but without success. The friends of the deceased having applied to his Lordship for the body, he said he would give it up if the girl was sent home by Wednesday; which not being done, his Lordship brought out a guard of the Fermanagh, from Cashel, and had the body conveyed to Cashel, and buried near the jail.

24th. Thursday se'nnight died, at Gretna Green, aged 79, Joseph Paisley, the Gretna Green parson. He was born at Kirkandrew-upon-Esk, in Cumberland, and early in life was bound an apprentice to a tobacconist; which vocation requiring sobriety and attention, ill accorded with the lax disposition of Paisley. He soon left this trade to follow the employment of a fisherman, and he was allowed by his contemporaries, from his uncommon strength and agility, to be the most expert man in the use of the lister, for the destruction of salmon, of any that we have heard of, and endured every kind of fatigue more than any other man. His conversation never turned upon religious subjects; his delight was in talking of juvenile feats of activity, and about brandy, and the immense quantities he could have drank of that stimulant without feeling the smallest effects from intoxication. He was accustomed to relate, in the presence of concurring witnesses, that he frequently swallowed a pint of unadulterated brandy at one draught. He dwelt with complacency on a celebrated achievement of which he shared the glory of a great brother drinker: they consumed, without any assistance whatever, no less than ten gallons of brandy in three days. This man could never have gained celebrity, had it not been for the culpable facility with which marriages are celebrated in Scotland; for a more unpolished and rough man in his manners we never conversed with, and his conversation was always mixed with obscenity and grossness.

The Duke of Queensberry's will only received the seal this day.

The will is dated the 16th of January, 1809. His grace devised all his freehold and copyhold estates to Lord and Lady Yarmouth for their lives, and the life of the survivor of them, and after their death to Frances, daughter of the said Lady Yarmouth, then of the age of eleven years, or thereabouts, and the children of the said Lady Yarmouth, born or to be born, and their heirs for ever; and he appointed Sir James Montgomery, Bart., Edward Bullock Douglas, Esq., and Wm. Murray, Esq., executors. He directed all legacies to be paid within three months after his decease, and all annuities to be paid half-yearly; and he directed his executors, out of his personal estate, to invest in their names as much stock as would be sufficient for the payment of the annuities. The will is witnessed by Mr. Marrofield, the duke's solicitor, and two of his clerks.

The probate stamp, the highest on the scale, is 6000*l.* This is independent of the legacy tax of ten per cent., which will attach upon the whole, both of the legacies and the annuities; and the

amount of which may be estimated by the following statement of his codicils, which were thirty-five in number.

BEQUESTS BY THE CODICILS.

	Annuity.	*Legacy.*
Burrel,	£.200	£.
Brown, Rt.,	5	
Bissot		100
Craufurd, Col. R.		10,000
Corri, Mrs.	200	
Connor, Miss,		2,000
Craufurd, Lt. Gen. Chas.	500	
Douglas, Col.,		10,000
Douglas, Capt.,		10,000
Dicke, Andrew,		5,000
Dickson, Col. Wm.	200	
Dincon, C. (U. B.)	100	
Douglas, Edward Bullock,		100,000
Ditto,		50,000
Ditto, ditto, books, pictures, &c. Piccadilly and Richmond.		
Dubois,	300	
Douglas, Major,		10,000
Darton, Madame,		1,000
Elliot, Mrs.		5,000
Elizee, Pere		5,000
Fincastle, Lady Susan		10,000
Fitzpatrick, Gen.	500	1,000
Goodison, Rd.		1,000
Gummar, Mich.,	300	
Gordon, Lord Wm.,		2,000
Gordon, Lady Wm.		10,000
Hamilton, Lady A.		10,000
Hamilton, Roy, F.,		10,000
Haydon, George,	15*l.* 12*s.*	
Herrenswand,	200	
Hamilton, Lady,	500	1000
Jackson, Mark, porter,	200	
James, Haughton,	500	
Ketteridge, John,	200	
Lock Hospital		5,000
Montgomery, Sir J.		10,000
Montgomery, Lady Eliz.,		10,000
Murray, Wm.		5,000
Martinville, Madame		5,000
Negrini, Angelo,	100	
Picton, Major-Gen.		5,000
Roselli,	100	
Radford, John,	200	
With his horses and carriages, &c. at London and Richmond.		
Rettig, Fred.,		200
Robertson, Cath.	20	
Ranault, Countess D.		5,000
Sims, Christopher, a footman	100	
Ditto,	50	
Sam, a footman		200
Somerset, Duchess,		10,000
Shellis, Janet,	4	
Sal Pietro, M.	100	
Sidmouth, Lord,		5,000
Sharp, Col. Matthew,		10,000
St. George's Hospital		5,000
Thomas, Col.,	1000	10,000
Woodford, Captain,		5,000
Wraxall, Mr.		1,000
Wraxall, Mrs.,		1,000
Walker, Martha,	5*l.* 5*s.*	
Veitch, Mr.		10,000
Yarmouth, Earl,		50,000
Yarmouth, Lady,		50,000
Ditto, and houses in Piccadilly and Richmond, and stables in Brick-street, to her Ladyship's separate use,		50,000
Lady Yarmouth's daughter		50,000
Lord Yarmouth's youngest son,		50,000

The residue of personal estate to Lady Yarmouth's daughter and Lord Yarmouth's youngest son, at twenty-one, with benefit of survivorship: if both die un-

der twenty-one, then Lady Yarmouth and her youngest son.

Weekly allowances to poor persons in London, Richmond, and New Market, amounting to 300*l.* a year, to be continued, with wages to old Joe, the gardener.

From the American Papers.—THEATRICALS.—Last night the inimitable Mr. Cooke made his first appearance on our boards, in the character of Richard the Third. Such was the anxiety of our citizens to see this celebrated performer, that the street in front of the theatre, at an unusually early hour, was crowded to a degree beyond any thing we ever witnessed upon such an occasion. As soon as the welcome moment arrived, when the doors were thrown open, the press for admission was so great, that it required the strength of a dozen Samsons to keep the populace from carrying with them the doors, and the sturdy door-keepers. The pit, boxes, and gallery, in a few moments, were crowded almost to suffocation. We never saw so numerous, and at the same time so respectable an audience. At the usual hour the curtain rose, but nobody saw or heard any thing until Mr. Cooke made his *debut*. The reception which this gentleman deservedly received, was the warmest we ever witnessed.

27th. This day the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Perceval had an interview with the King at Windsor. His Majesty upon their entrance, delivered himself to the following effect: "I am glad to see you, my Lord Chancellor, and I am happy in saying, that I can see your features almost as well as ever I did. I cannot see Mr. Perceval so distinctly, but I observe his back is to the window." Upon approaching the window, Mr. Perceval turned, and a full light falling on his face, his Majesty is said to have added, "Aye, now I see Mr. Perceval's features distinctly."

The Royal Navy Asylum, at Greenwich, under the patronage of government, is now nearly finished, and has a very elegant appearance when viewed from Greenwich Hospital. It is at present calculated to contain 1000 children, but it is proposed to extend the establishment to 2000.

31st. *Qualification of the Regent.*—On Saturday it was communicated at the Lord Chamberlain's office, and to those who have the management of the Chapel Royal, that it was the intention of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to receive the sacrament yesterday at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, agreeably to the directions of the bill, to qualify him to take upon himself the office of Regent. It was signified that it was his Royal Highness's wish to be received in as private a manner as possible; however, it was thought some preparation was necessary, and a number of workmen were employed to affix a crimson velvet canopy at the left side of the altar, which was always prepared when their Majesties were in the habit of attending at that chapel to receive the sacrament.

About twelve o'clock, his Royal Highness, accompanied by Lords Moira, Dundas, and Keith, arrived in the Palace-yard of St. James's in his carriage. The guard of the day was drawn out,

with the colours flying, and the drums and fifes playing. The Prince was received with the same honours as his Majesty would have been. His Royal Highness proceeded up the grand staircase, and entered the royal closet. He took his seat in the front of the right side, when the service of the day commenced, which was read by the Rev. Mr. Pridden, as was the litany by the Rev. Mr. Hayes. On the Bishop of London (the dean of the chapel,) and the Rev. Mr. Holmes (the sub-dean) entering the altar to read the communion service, they turned to the royal closet, and made obeisance to the Prince, in the same manner that they would have done if the King had been there. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Maddy, from the 4th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and 12th verse:—"Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other Name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved."

After which the anthem of "God is our hope and strength," was sung. At the conclusion of the anthem, the organist struck up a solemn voluntary on the organ; and at a quarter past two o'clock his Royal Highness descended from the royal closet, followed by the above three noble lords up the aisle of the chapel; his Royal Highness took his seat under the canopy, and the three lords took their seats on the opposite side of the altar. The dean after taking the sacrament himself, administered it to his Royal Highness, to the three noble lords, and Mr. Maddy, who had preached. At the conclusion of the service, the dean bowed to his Royal Highness, who then left the altar; and when he got into the aisle, he turned and bowed to the dean and sub-dean, as did the noble lords. On his Royal Highness's leaving the chapel to get into his carriage, he was received with the same military honours as when he entered; and the yard was nearly filled with spectators, who greeted his Royal Highness with acclamations, and cheered him with huzzas as he left it.

The following ludicrous circumstance occurred on Tuesday week at Bristol:—A couple of Jews being apprehended in the act of stealing several articles from the stable of the White Hart Inn, were hauled into the yard by two stout fellows, whither the whole fraternity of the currycomb were immediately summoned. The long beards of these disciples were then stuck together with pitch, (their hands being previously tied behind them;) and while thus face to face, a profusion of snuff, mixed with hellebore was administered to them, the effect of which was much sneezing and collision of heads.

A small island of the Danube, called Engel, near Pichment, has established the phenomenon of a floating island. In the memory of the oldest persons it had remained stationary until May last, when the rapidity and pressure of the stream are supposed to have detached its bottom; its inclination is uniformly to the right bank of the river, but its motion is not perceptible. Since May it has made a progress of about eight miles; and, what is not the least singular, has, from the eager and

unabated curiosity of the Germans, made the fortunes of three persons who obtained a temporary proprietorship of it.

30th. A fatal pugilistic contest took place on Wednesday se'nnight, at Rollestone, near Burton-upon-Trent, Staffordshire. On the preceding evening, Charles Beale, a farmer from Stretton, and Stringer Tonks, a basket maker, of Repton, having quarrelled, agreed to meet the next day at Rollestone, to decide their dispute. The constable of the parish was present as stake-holder! The combatants fought with a determination and courage seldom witnessed, until the 31st round, when Tonks struck Beale a dreadful blow under the ear, and death terminated the fight.

FEBRUARY.

1st. In consequence of the letter to the Minister of the French Marine, from Captain Eastwick, of the Elizabeth, lately wrecked near Dunkirk, seconded by the application of the commandant of the place, General O'Meara, Bonaparte has liberated the remainder of the crew of that vessel, who were confined in the gaol at Dunkirk. One of the officers relates, that before the Elizabeth was driven on shore, she had been beating about for nine days; and the crew, consisting mostly of Lascars, being completely worn out by fatigue, could no longer give the ship that assistance she required to keep the sea. As soon as the persons reached the shore who were preserved from the wreck, they were thrown into prison; but the next day, the merchants, and other inhabitants of the place, sent and supplied them with clothing and food, so that they were not destitute of any comfort their unfortunate situation would admit of. On Sunday last, Bonaparte's order arrived for the free and unconditional liberation of the crew of the Elizabeth, in consequence of their previous sufferings; the restoration of an equal number of French prisoners being left to the option of our government. (There can be no doubt of our fulfilling our corresponding duty.)

A melancholy circumstance happened within these few days at Newark. On Friday, the 17th ult. the passengers by the High-flyer coach from the north dined as usual. A bottle of wine was ordered, on tasting which, a gentleman, one of the passengers, observed that it had an unpleasant flavour, and begged that it might be changed. In compliance with this wish the waiter took away the bottle; but thought he had met with one of those travellers who are more nice than wise, and whom nothing can please at an inn; he therefore poured into a fresh decanter half the wine which had been objected to, and added sufficient from another bottle to make up the usual quantity. This he took into the room, and the greatest part of it was drank by the passengers. But when the coach proceeded on to Grantley, the passengers who had partaken of the wine experienced a loathing and disagreeable sickness, which, with one in particular, who had taken more of the wine than the others, increased to an alarming degree. The more melancholy part of the story remains

to be told: the half of the bottle which the waiter kept in the decanter was put aside, for the purpose of mixing negus. In the evening Mr. Bland, an attorney, of Newark, and a man much respected, went into the same house, and drank a glass or two of wine and water. He returned home at his usual hour, but was taken so ill in the night, that Mrs. Bland sent for his brother, an apothecary in the town; before he arrived, however, the sufferer was dead. An inquest was held on the body on Saturday, and the jury, after the fullest inquiry, and the strictest examination of the surgeons by whom the body was opened, returned a verdict of—*Died by poison.*

2nd. The question of privilege, which caused the exclusion of strangers on Thursday in the House of Lords, related to Lady Lecale, the widow of Lord Lecale, an Irish baron, and brother of the late Duke of Leinster. Her ladyship resides in the west end of the town. and was lately arrested for a certain sum of money. Mr. Flashman, of Ely-place, had been employed as attorney on the part of the plaintiff, and one Isaacs, a bailiff, carried the process into execution. Upon this statement being communicated to the House of Lords, they considered it a breach of the privileges of the peerage, and the attorney and bailiff were ordered to be taken into custody, and were brought to the bar of their lordship's house. We understand their lordships' judgment to have been, that the attorney and bailiff be discharged upon payment of their fees. The lady is related to one of the first families in Ireland; the sum for which she was arrested was 48*l.*

On Friday se'nnight, Mr. Hobson, of Skendleby, went in his gig to Louth, to pay a pretty considerable sum of money. His business detained him rather late, so that it was quite dark when he set out on his return home. When he had got some distance, at a part of the road called Manners-lane, he perceived a man standing just outside of the rut. It should be observed, that hereabout the road passes through a kind of swamp for forty or fifty yards, which, particularly at this season of the year, prevents carriages from quitting the track on the rampart. The circumstance, therefore, of a man standing as we have described, created a suspicion in the mind of Mr. Hobson, who, in order to avoid danger, gave the whip to his horse, and made him start into a canter. As soon as he reached the man, the fellow made a snatch at the bridle of the horse, and called to Mr. H. to stop; but the swiftness of the animal occasioned the man to miss his hold. Thus disappointed, he exclaimed, "D—n him, I have missed him;" and at the same instant aimed a blow at Mr. Hobson, with a cudgel which he had in his hand; but, luckily, hit him rather smartly on the shoulder only. Mr. H. escaped further injury, and thought himself (by continuing to canter away) free from danger; when, at the other end of the swamp, he perceived another fellow standing in the middle of the road, who, as soon as he thought Mr. Hobson within a sure reach, discharged at him the contents of a pistol, which providentially missed him.

Court of King's Bench.—The King v. *P. Finnerty.*—The judgment of the court being moved against the defendant, who stood convicted of a libel upon Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Finnerty appeared, and the libel being read, which appeared in the Morning Chronicle, Mr. Clifford, for the defendant, stated that he had some affidavits to put in. Finnerty, however, interrupted Mr. Clifford, and wished to ask whether, if he were assisted by counsel in the former parts of the case, he was precluded from addressing them himself? The court said, he either appeared by counsel, or he did not. If he appeared by counsel, he could not be heard himself. Finnerty replied, that he then wished to be considered as not appearing by counsel. He put in a long affidavit, which was partly read, when the further reading was interrupted by the court. The affidavit itself was of a most violent sort; it included in it copies of affidavits of a number of persons made in Ireland.

Mr. Finnerty then offered the affidavit of a Dr. O'Connor, relative to a Mr. Chinnery. On being asked, to what the affidavit referred? he stated that it referred to a fact of a person's having been banished to Botany Bay on the warrant of Lord Castlereagh alone, without trial.

The court said, it could not be received.

Mr. Finnerty—If the court could believe this lord guilty of such an offence, would they punish him for speaking ill of such a man?

He then offered in evidence two other affidavits, which, he said, would fill the minds of the court with horror at the bare recital of them.

Lord Ellenborough asked, were they to be trying persons who were not before them? This was an enormity not to be tolerated. These affidavits must be refused.

Mr. Finnerty said, he had told the court if they would wait, he would to-morrow new model his affidavit.

Lord Ellenborough observed, that he had been simple enough to believe that the defendant meant to profit by the recommendation of the court, but he found he had been deceived. Was there any thing more the defendant would wish to offer, which he would venture to say should be received?

Mr. Finnerty understood he was at liberty to offer any thing in extenuation of his own offence. Now what would extenuate his offence as against the public and against the law of the land, must of course aggravate the offence as against Lord Castlereagh. He wished to treat the law of the land with all respect, but by no means to make any atonement for what he had said against Lord Castlereagh. The indictment charged him with having attributed every thing that was bad to Lord Castlereagh; he now asserted the truth of his statement, and was ready to show that he was that base person.

Here some marks of approbation having appeared among the audience part of the court,

Lord Ellenborough said, if any individual attempted to disturb the court, he should be sent to a

place where he would be more properly seen after; he also ordered that part of the court to be cleared.

Mr. Finnerty said, he was ready to prove what he had just stated; and if the noble lord or his advocates were willing to justify him, they had an opportunity of answering the charge. But, in the name of all goodness, how would it appear, if, while he was sent to prison for asserting this, the noble lord should be impeached for any one of the acts of which he was now ready to adduce evidence! He now asked, would the court allow any of these affidavits to be read?

Lord Ellenborough said, if they were of the nature of those he had already tendered, certainly not.

Mr. Finnerty here tendered certain affidavits, describing different species of punishment said to have been inflicted in Ireland: one was the affidavit of John Clare, of Essex-street, Dublin, merchant-taylor, sworn before the Right Hon. St. George Daly. It stated, "that various kinds of torture, by half-hanging, whipping, &c. had been practised in Dublin in the year 1798," &c. But which the court refused to receive.

He then said, he was ready, if he had been allowed, to prove the truth of every part of the libel. If he was refused that, he must seem not only to be a libeller, but, what to his own mind worse, a liar. The affidavits which he was now ready to produce, and for every one of which he could have procured a hundred such, he had taken the trouble to go to Ireland to select. To this trouble and expence he had exposed himself, misled by the case of Draper, who was allowed a complete proof in justification; and, even though great part of the proof offered by him turned out to be false, escaped without any punishment but being held to bail, purely because there had been an irritation excited between the parties.

After several ineffectual attempts to prevail on the bench to receive his affidavits, the defendant addressed the court in a speech, so replete with matter infinitely more strong than the libel which was the subject of the prosecution, that it would not be prudent nor just to give it publicity, unsupported by any evidence that could be received in a court of justice. The court had frequent occasion, during his harangue, to repress the warmth of his expressions, and confine him to matter more relevant to the subject in question.

The attorney-general and Mr. Garrow severally addressed the court in support of judgment, urging the conduct of the defendant on this day as an additional reason why a very severe measure of punishment should be dealt out to him; as well to repress similar conduct on his part, as to shew to the people of England that their laws were not mere dead letters, and that justice was to be found in the courts of Westminster.

The court then proceeded to consider the sentence, and after a very short consultation, Mr. Justice Grose delivered a suitable comment on the enormity and malignity of his offence, and sen-

tenced the defendant to be confined for eighteen calendar months in his Majesty's gaol in the city of Lincoln, and at the expiration of that period to give security for his good behaviour for five years, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties of 250*l.* each; and to remain in custody until the same shall be given. In the mean time to be committed to the custody of the marshal of the Marshalsea.

Mr. Peter Finnerty, on leaving the bar, said,—"*I thank your lordships.*"

Extraordinary Case.—A few months since, a great part of Ashdown forest, in Sussex, was inclosed by a set of men called foresters, and also by the Rev. Robert Bingham, the curate of the parish of Mayersfield; which being deemed to be the right of the Duchess of Dorset, the same were thrown down by order of her grace and Lord Whitworth, and Lord Sheffield, the acting magistrates for that county. This act irritated all those that had made inclosures, and some of them were heard to make use of threatening language, which caused some little alarm among those concerned in destroying the inclosure; but no particular notice was taken, or any act done, except swearing in a number of respectable inhabitants as special constables, to be ready in case of an emergency.

On Sunday the 16th of December, a letter was found on the road near Mayersfield by the sons of Richard Jenner, a respectable farmer, directed to their father. The boys took it home; but their father being absent, they gave it to their mother, who, on opening it, discovered that it was headed in large letters, "Fire! Murder! and Revenge!" and the contents threatened destruction to the parson, churchwardens, farmers' houses, barns, and stacks. The boys told their mother, that after Mr. Bingham performed the morning service at Mayersfield church, he got on horseback to ride to a neighbouring parish to do duty there in the afternoon. He passed them, and when he was at a short distance from them, they saw a paper drop from his pocket, which they were positive was the letter they picked up.

The letter so much alarmed Mrs. Jenner, that she sent off one of her sons after her husband, who was in London. The circumstance caused considerable alarm in that part of the country. Lords Whitworth and Sheffield published an advertisement, offering a reward of 200*l.* for the discovery of the writer of the letter. A number of men were employed to watch Mr. Jenner's premises, and to patrole in different parts.

On the 16th of January last, Mr. Bingham's house was discovered to be on fire, and although timely assistance was given, great part of the premises were destroyed. It was ascertained that the fire broke out in the school-room, where there were several faggots laid. Mr. Bingham reported that he had no doubt it was one of the foresters who had set fire to his premises. The account he gave of the fire and his conduct, was, that his family went to bed about ten o'clock—he was the last up. About half past ten o'clock he heard the noise of footsteps: he looked out of his window, but could not see or hear any person.

About half past eleven o'clock, he was alarmed again: he looked out of the window the second time, but did not see any person; but a little before one, he heard a noise at the school-room door; and he states, that he saw a man walking from the house, but could not tell whether he had on a blue coat or a smock frock. This account being so very extraordinary and unsatisfactory, lord Sheffield sent to the public-office, Bow-street, for an active and intelligent officer, and Mr. Read sent Adkins. Upon the officer's arrival, after making enquiries, he strongly suspected Mr. Bingham had set his own house on fire, and in consequence placed several men to watch. One of them he stationed in the steeple of the church, when they discovered him to bring a great quantity of books from his stable, and bury them in his garden. From a variety of other suspicious circumstances, a warrant was granted against Mr. Bingham, and one to search his premises, when Adkins found in the roof of the privy a variety of valuable papers concealed, together with other suspicious circumstances of his having set his premises on fire for the purpose of defrauding the Union fire office, and he was in consequence taken into custody, and on Friday underwent a final examination at Lewes, before lords Chichester and Sheffield, and was fully committed for trial.

5th. A Dublin paper, of Wednesday last, contains the following paragraph:—Assassinating committees are again in activity. In the course of last week, several gentlemen received anonymous letters, threatening death, and desiring them to prepare for their fate. One gentleman seems to have disregarded the caution—he was way-laid on Sunday night in Gardiner-street, attacked by a posse, knocked down, and when on the ground, a carbine, loaded with several balls, was fired at him. Two balls passed through his hat without injury to his person; a third wounded him, but not mortally, in the head.

Hotel Robber.—A man was taken into custody on Saturday, on the charge of having robbed divers hotels. Several charges were made against the prisoner, and it appeared that he was in the habit of entering the hotels with all the *sang-froid* imaginable, and with a candle in his hand he took his walk through sets of rooms, and at opportunities conveyed away such light moveables as he could get at. Amongst his booty was a writing-desk, which contained a quantity of guineas, and which he could not get at; but while he was employed cutting the article to pieces, Foy interrupted him in a tap-room, and took possession of the property. The prisoner was remanded for another examination this day.

6th. This being the day appointed for swearing in the prince of Wales as regent, about twelve o'clock a party of the flank companies of the grenadiers, with their colours and the band of the 1st regiment, marched into the court-yard of Carlton-house, where the colours were pitched in the centre of the grand entrance. The band struck up "God save the king," and continued playing that piece, al-

ternately, with martial airs, till near five o'clock.

At a quarter before two o'clock, the duke of Montrose arrived, being the first of the privy counsellors who attended; he was followed by all the royal dukes, and a very numerous assemblage of privy counsellors, who had all arrived by a quarter before three o'clock. The whole of the magnificent suite of state apartments were thrown open, which for taste and splendour surpass any thing of the kind in this country.

About half-past two o'clock, the lord president of the council obtained a private audience of the prince, to prepare his royal highness for the business that was about to be proceeded upon, in the same manner as the proceedings of a council about to be held are laid before the king; which being done, the president retired to the state or levee-room, where the noble personages assembled were so extremely numerous, that many retired to the anti-room. Soon after three o'clock the approach of the prince to the state-room was announced, and immediately after his royal highness entered, attended by lord Keith, colonels Bloomfield and Macmahon, and two other attendants. His royal highness was dressed in full regimentals, and appeared in excellent spirits. He took his stand under the throne, when those assembled made their obeisance to him; afterwards the prince went round the room, and spoke to those assembled with his usual condescension. The levee being over, the prince signified his readiness to attend the council, when the procession to the grand saloon, appointed for holding the council, began to move in the following order:

The great chamberlain of England (lord Gwydir) with his wand of office.

The vice-chamberlain (lord John Thynne) with his wand of office.

The duke of Montrose, master of the horse.

The lord steward of the household (earl of Aylesford) with his wand of office.

The treasurer of the household (earl of Courtown) with his wand of office.

Comptroller of the household (lord George Thynne).

Gold stick (lord Heathfield).

Silver stick.

His royal highness's attendants.

The regent.

The royal dukes.

The archbishops of Canterbury and York.

The lord chancellor.

The lord president of the council.

The other ministers and privy counsellors.

On their entrance into the grand saloon, a long table was prepared, covered with crimson velvet, with massy silver inkstands, which originally belonged to queen Anne. The different oaths directed to be taken and signed by the regent were separately laid at the head of the table, written on vellum. His royal highness took his seat at the head of the table, the lord president on his right, and the lord chancellor on his left hand: the other privy counsellors being seated, the lord president briefly stated the indisposition and inca-

pacity of the king, and the proceedings that had taken place in parliament to appoint a regent; and then read the oaths required by the act for the prince to take, to enable him to fill that high office; and his royal highness signifying his willingness to take them, the lord president proceeded to administer the oaths, and the prince signed the different pieces of vellum upon which they were inscribed, in the presence of the following privy counsellors, who signed as witnesses to the prince's signature:

Their royal highnesses the dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, Sussex, Cambridge, and Gloucester.

The archbishop of Canterbury.

The lord chancellor.

The archbishop of York.

The lord president of the council.

The lord privy seal.

The duke of Montrose.

Marquesses—Douglass, Buckingham, Stafford, Lansdowne, Wellesley, and Hertford.

Earls—Moira, Liverpool, Aylesford, Mount Edgcumbe, Derby, Grosvenor, Bathurst, Chatham, Aylesbury, Pembroke, Spencer, Hardwicke, Winchelsea, Buckinghamshire, Chesterfield, Cholmondeley, Lauderdale, Temple, Carysfort, Harrowby, Chichester, Grey, and Powis.

Viscounts—Cathcart, Morpeth, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh.

Lords—Erskine, Grenville, Ellenborough, C. Somerset, Palmerston, Arden, G. & J. Thynne, Redesdale, Teignmouth, St. John, Walsingham, St. Helen's, and Mulgrave.

The Bishop of London.

The master of the rolls.

General Fitzpatrick.

The chief baron Macdonald.

Sirs—W. Drummond, W. Scott, J. Nicholl, D. Dundas, E. Nepean, and J. Anstruther.

The speaker of the house of commons.

Messrs—Ponsonby, Sheridan, Ryder, W. Elliot, C. M. Sutton, Arbuthnot, Corry, Canning, Yorke, T. Grenville, G. Rose, Wallace, Tierney, and Long.

The proceedings upon swearing in the prince regent being ended, his royal highness retired, and commenced his office by transacting business with the ministers of state.

The cause between the Rev. Basil Woodd of Bath, rector of Thorpe Bassett, in the East Riding of the county of York, and his parishioners, respecting the tithes of that parish, was heard on Thursday last, when a decree was made in favour of the rector, establishing his right to tithes in kind; and the defendants were ordered to account with the rector for four years, the time of his incumbency, and to pay the costs of suit.

The defence set up was, that awards for money payments, accompanied with allotments of land, made in 1695 and 1718, amounting to a composition real, sanctioned by the then archbishop of York, the diocesan; the earl of Carlisle, lord of the manor and patron; and the Rev. Bernard Lewis, the then rector; and confirmed by a decree in the court of chancery in 1722, were binding on future rectors.

By the present decree it is completely established, that no award

or decree as to an existing rector, or any composition real, since the statute of the 13th Elizabeth, can deprive a future incumbent of his common right to tithes in kind.

A few days ago, a notorious offender, and most formidable ruffian, was taken by Mr. sheriff Bernard, accompanied by some of the peace officers of Cork, and a party of military. This daring villain, whose name is Laffan, had been for a long time a sort of *Rugantino* in Cork, exciting terror wherever he made his appearance. It was necessary to manage a man of this description with very great circumspection and stratagem, as his vigilance eluded every effort that had been made to arrest him. He was at length, however, so well watched, as to have his haunt discovered, which was so judiciously surrounded as to leave no possibility of his escape. Before he knew any thing of the sheriff's arrangement for detecting him, the room in which he worked (at brogue-making) was entered by Mr. Collis, one of the peace officers, whose zeal and exertions in this, as in many other instances, deserves every commendation. The ruffian immediately took a posture of resistance, and threw his working seat at Mr. Collis, without however, fortunately, doing him any mischief; he made another blow with a loaded stick, which had more effect: it fell upon Mr. Collis's hand, which it injured severely. Finding, however, that Mr. Collis was not to be deterred from seizing upon him, and that a reinforcement was following him into the room, he bolted through a window, and got over a wall. Here he was beset by the sheriff's party, which he resisted with extraordinary ferocity until he received several wounds. He was, however, finally seized upon and lodged in gaol. There are different indictments against this ruffian for capital offences; and he is also a deserter from the 95th rifle corps, and from other regiments.

6th. A few days ago, as a dragoon was on his return from duty to his quarters, a small public house, called Barndean Hut, in the forest, near Petersfield, in Hampshire, his attention was arrested by the cries of some person in distress, which induced him to ride up to the spot from whence they proceeded, where his humanity was shocked on beholding a woman tied to a tree, with the tears which her situation and suffering had produced, actually frozen to her cheeks, and, horrid to relate, quite naked, having been stripped and robbed of every article of dress by two villains, who afterwards left her in that deplorable condition. The dragoon instantly cut the cords that bound her hands and feet to the tree, and having in some measure restored her to the use of her limbs by rubbing them, wrapped her up in his cloak, placed her on his horse, and proceeded on to his quarters, where he soon after arrived; and as he was conducting the shivering object of his care into the house, she looked through a window that commanded a view of the kitchen, suddenly shrunk back, and in a faint voice exclaimed "there are the two men that robbed me of my all, and used me so cruelly." The sol-

dier, in consequence, entered the kitchen, and secured the men, who were the next day taken before a magistrate, and after the necessary examination, fully committed to Winchester jail, for trial at the next assizes.

On Thursday the 24th ult. a fox was unkennelled at Ystradgunlais, in the county of Brecon, which was pursued by a number of men on foot to the extremity of the parish of Lloughor, in Glamorganshire, where reynard became quite exhausted, and was killed after a chase, which, in a direct line, was not less than 30 miles, but in the winding direction which the fox took is supposed to be nearly 50 miles. The pursuers were all in at the death, but could not muster a hat or shoe amongst them, so eagerly had they followed their game, and the dogs were completely knocked up. The hardy fellows, after taking some refreshment, set out on their return home.

7th. *Dublin.*—The special commission, for the trial of the persons accused of being concerned in the recent outrages, was opened at Clonmel, on Monday, by the chief justice of the common pleas, (who delivered an impressive charge on the occasion to the grand jury,) and the chief baron of the exchequer. Several persons were arraigned under lord Ellenborough's act; but, on the application of their counsel, the court allowed their trials to stand over, the prisoners not having had sufficient notice of the nature of the offence with which they were charged. Andrew Kerwick and Lawrence Dwyer were tried on an indictment charging them with having been concerned in stopping the Cork mail-coach, and taking from the guard two blunderbusses and two pistols. The evidence for the prosecution, and that for the defence, exhibited a striking example of contradictory swearing. The prisoners were acquitted. On the following day, the 5th, two unfortunate men were capitally convicted.

9th. *Consistory Court of London, Doctors' Commons.*—Cox v. Gooday.—This case was a criminal proceeding, at the instance of Miss Cox, against the reverend W. Gooday, officiating minister of Terling, in Essex, for a disturbance in the church. It will be recollected, that the particular circumstances attending it were fully detailed in our report of the hearing on admission of the criminal articles. (See Vol. 3. Part 2. p. 254.)

Mr. Gooday having this day personally admitted the facts charged in the articles, the counsel for Miss Cox, after a few observations, moved for the judgment of the court, as expressed in the statute upon which the suit was founded.

The learned judge (Sir William Scott) then, in a very impressive manner, addressing himself to the reverend gentleman, delivered his judgment. He observed, that the offence charged against him (and which he had just admitted) was that of having wantonly interrupted the performance of religious service in his own church, by addressing Miss Cox, in the midst of the service, in the language of uncalled-for reproof, mixed with a considerable degree of intemperate warmth; he re-

minded him, that it was the duty of the churchwardens, and not of the minister, to repress any indecorum that manifested itself in the church, and that his thoughts ought to be otherwise occupied: they should accompany those of his congregation in the contemplation of divine objects, and the observance of religious duties, and should rise superior to every thing militating against those important considerations. He was willing, however, to impute the offence of the reverend gentleman to an excess of zeal, unrestrained by the suggestions of prudence; and should be sorry, therefore, to visit him with a greater punishment than was commensurate with it: but the statute was imperative upon him, and left him but little discretion to exercise. In complying, therefore, with its injunctions, he felt it his duty to suspend him (Mr. Gooday) from his ministry for the space of one fortnight; and, after a suitable admonition, the learned judge concluded with observing, that, as the reverend gentleman had attended personally to receive the sentence of the court, he should not think it necessary to direct its being published in the church.

Mr. Gooday then bowed and retired, evidently much affected.

Amsterdam.—The female, named Madelaine Albert, has been apprehended. The following is the extract of a letter on this subject, transmitted on the 22d of January, by the sub-perfect of Gannat, to the prefect of the department of the Allier.

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that the female, named Madelaine Albert, was apprehended yesterday, the 21st of this month, in the commune of Saien Ignat, three leagues from Rione: she was to day conveyed to the prison of Gannat. The multitudes which assembled from all parts to see this monster were prodigious; I cannot describe to you the fury of the populace. If the gens-d'armerie had not protected this parricide, I believe she would have been torn to pieces. It was with the utmost difficulty she was saved from the sticks and stones with which she was assailed."

11th. Mr. Roche was brought up for judgment for the libel in *The Day* newspaper, reflecting on the conduct of the military employed to preserve the peace in Picadilly, at the time of the service of the Speaker's warrant on Sir Francis Burdett. He was sentenced to be imprisoned twelve months in the Marshalsea, and to give security for his good behaviour for three years from that time, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each.

15th. Accounts were received yesterday from Teneriffe to the 8th ult. by which it appears that the yellow fever had made dreadful ravages at Santa Cruz, upwards of 1200 persons having died. About the middle of December, its virulence began to decrease, and continued to do so progressively to the departure of the last accounts. The fever had not appeared in any other part of the island of Teneriffe.

A short time since, two of the old swans, and four of those of the last year, whose feathers were about turning white, were stolen from the Serpentine River, in

Hyde Park. The bodies were found tied to trees, without the skins and feathers, which have been traced to a Jew, who resides in the neighbourhood of Oxford-street, through his sending them to a feather-dresser to be dressed. The Jew has been taken into custody, and has undergone several examinations at the public office.

On the night of the 13th, the Pandora sloop of war struck on the Scaw-reef, a shoal off the coast of Jutland. In less than five minutes she lost her rudder, in consequence of repeatedly striking the ground with great force in a heavy sea, and in an hour's time she was nearly filled with water: previously to which, the crew cut away the masts, in order to lighten the vessel; but the wind being extremely high, the sea broke over her with great fury, and every moment threatened to be their last. The wind was piercingly cold, and the men had the miserable prospect before them of being either washed overboard or frozen to death. In this state part of the crew perished from the inclemency of the weather; and next morning some of the survivors contrived to cut a hole in the weather side of the deck, which was above water, and by that they were enabled to get down below, one by one, out of the severe and boisterous weather. About three in the afternoon of the 14th some boats were observed coming off from the shore to their assistance, but the sea running very high, they durst not approach the wreck. The surviving crew were so reduced as to be unable to launch their own boats, which were covered with ice, and bore the appearance of marble of immense thickness. However, in the course of the night the wind abated, and the next morning being quite calm, a number of boats came off, and took the men from the wreck. The crew was of course made prisoners; but the Danes have treated them with all possible hospitality. Twenty-nine sailors were lost from the severity of the weather.

Plymouth.—Loss of the Amethyst.—Last night it 16th. blew a very heavy gale of wind from the W. S. W., in which his Majesty's frigate Amethyst, of 36 guns, commanded by Captain Walton, drove from her anchorage in the Sound, and about one o'clock ran on a reef of rocks near Mount Batten Bay, near the place where the Pallas frigate was also wrecked some years since; the night was extremely dark, and in consequence lights were hung out from all parts of the ship, and guns were fired from her as signals of distress. Soon after striking, it was deemed expedient to cut away her masts, which prevented her from falling over; but shortly after, from the damage sustained in her bottom, she was found to be filling fast, and in consequence some of her crew took to the boats, and were making for the shore, but were soon overwhelmed by a heavy sea then running into the bay, and it is feared the greater part of them must have perished, as six boats were discovered wrecks on the shore at day-light. A boat from one of the men of war in the Sound was proceeding to the relief of the crew, but, melancholy to relate, was overset on nearing the ship,

and all hands perished, consisting of an officer (supposed to be a midshipman) and 16 men; two other boats, from outward-bound transports lying in Catwater, were also proceeding to the relief of the distressed, and it is feared were upset, and their crews perished, as they have not since been heard of: the Amethyst was riding at single anchor, ready to start for the squadron off Brest. Three of the bodies of the unfortunate sufferers have been washed ashore. The guns that were fired from her as signals of distress, unfortunately were shotted, which prevented the timely assistance that would otherwise have been rendered.

A Dover letter relates the following atrocious deed: A gentleman passenger who was washed on shore near Dunkirk, out of the Elizabeth Indiaman, lashed to a piece of the wreck, was conveyed to a little hovel by a Frenchman, who had found him along shore, to whom he gave 50 guineas, having saved 500. The Frenchman promised to come at night and take him to a place of safety; at night, he went with two others, each having a shovel, when they beat his brains out with their shovels, plundered the body, then dug a hole and buried it in the sand; three or four days after which, the principal being troubled in his conscience, went and confessed what he had done to a magistrate, when his two accomplices were taken up, and the dead body dug up greatly mangled. The three men have been committed to Dunkirk jail, to take their trial for murder.

Caravats and Shanavests.—The following explanation of the above names, by which two formidable factions, embracing the greater part of the lower order of people in the counties of Tipperary and Limerick, are distinguished is, taken from the report of the trial of some of these persons, before the late special commission at Clonmel:—

James Slattery examined.

Chief Baron.—What is the cause of quarrel between these two parties, the Shanavests and Caravats? A. I do not know.

Q. What's the true reason? A. I cannot tell.

Q. So then, according to your account, I am to understand that each party attacks the other by way of defence?

Question by a Juror.—Were the men who were concerned in the affray in the month of August the same that were concerned at the races of Coolmoyne? A. They were.

Q. Do you know a man of the name of Pauddeen Car? I do.

Q. He is your uncle. Was not he the principal ringleader and commander of the army of Shanavests? A. He is a poor old man, and not able to take command.

Q. (By Lord Norbury.) What was the first cause of quarrel? A. It was the same foolish dispute made about may-poles.

Q. (By the Chief Baron.)—Which is the oldest party? A. The Caravats were going on for two years before the Shanavests stirred.

Q. Why were they called Caravats? A. A man of the name of Hanley was hanged; he was prosecuted by the Shanavests, and Pauddeen Car said he would not leave the place of execution till he

saw the Caravat about the fellow's neck; and from that time they were called Caravats.

Q. For what offence was Hanley hanged? A. For burning the house of a man who had taken land over his neighbour's head.

Q. Hanley was the leader of the Caravats? A. Before he was hanged his party was called the Moyle Rangers. The Shanavests were called Pauddeen Car's party.

Q. Why were they called Shanavests? Because they wore old waistcoats.

25th. Extract of a letter from an officer on board his Majesty's ship Franchise, to a friend at Plymouth :—

"At three on Wednesday morning, in the act of wearing, we unfortunately ran down the transport brig John and Jane, William Wishart, master, with 219 of the 11th regiment on board, 14 of her crew, 15 women, and six children, making in the whole 254 souls; out of which are saved, Ensign Duff, and 22 of the troops, Mr. Wishart, master, his mate, and six of the crew; making in the whole 31 saved, and 223 drowned."

The following extract of a letter from an officer on board the Franchise, contains a more particular account of the loss of the passengers and crew of the transport unfortunately run down by that vessel:

"*Franchise, in Farrich Roads, Falmouth, Feb. 21.*

"At three o'clock this morning, the weather being uncommonly dark, squally, and raining, in the act of wearing this ship ran on board a transport brig, and from the velocity with which we were going at the time, the shock was so great, that we very nearly cut her in two, and she sunk under our bows in less than five minutes.

"On striking her, we immediately proceeded to throw all aback, to prevent our going completely over her; she, however, went down almost immediately, but many of the unfortunate crew clung to the masts and spars, which fortunately were entangled in the rigging of our bowsprit.

"In this situation, every exertion was made to save the wretched sufferers. Ropes-ends were thrown out to them, to which they fastened themselves, and by this means a few were saved. I offered to be lowered into one of the boats, to go to their assistance, so indeed did some of the other officers; but Captain Allen thought the boats would certainly be lost, and would not let them therefore be lowered. The darkness of the night, the howling of the wind, the cries of the poor fellows in the water, together with the view of several dead bodies lying on the wreck of the spars, presented a scene of indescribable horror. Out of 252 souls, 224 perished. I subjoin the number of each class drowned:

197 soldiers of the 2d battalion of the 11th regiment, including two captains, two lieutenants, and 3 ensigns, 15 women, six children, and six seamen—making a total, drowned	224
One ensign, 3 serjeants, 18 privates, and six seamen, saved	28
	252

"The officers drowned were—Captains M'Rae and Gregsby; Lieutenants Ross and Fuller; Ensigns Glendenning, Handcock, and M'Masters."

Extract of a letter written by a survivor in the transport:—

"I was officer of the middle watch, which, in consequence of the state of the weather, and of an order on the subject, had not been turned up. I was in bed, undressed, but not asleep, (about three o'clock in the morning of the 21st) when I was alarmed by the report of a gun from the commodore's ship, the Franchise, Captain Allen. The report was so loud, that I knew she must be very near us. I ran on deck, nearly naked, and found our vessel standing on her larboard tack, with part of the crew aloft reefing the sails, the wind blowing a violent gale. At the same time seeing the Franchise running down upon us so very fast, as convinced me of our imminent danger, I ran below to alarm my brother officers, all of whom were in bed. I returned upon deck immediately after the Franchise had struck our vessel nearly a midship, almost dividing her. Those below joined me in a few moments, with the exception of Captain Grigby, who was prevented perhaps by the rushing in of the water. The attempt to describe the scene that now presented itself, or the horror of our situation at this awful moment, would be in vain. The melancholy pleasure of recording the heroic constancy and resignation of my companions alone is in my power. This last and well-deserved tribute of respect to their memories, may, in some degree soften the distress of their friends, and afford a slender consolation for their loss. Each officer appeared perfectly calm and resigned to a death then appearing inevitable to all. After shaking hands, and mutually promising, if surviving, to acquaint their respective relations with the fate of their friends, they recommended themselves to God, and each prepared to meet his destiny. A moment after, a second shock from the Franchise separated the transport, and with the greatest difficulty, after succeeding in fastening a rope round me, I was dragged on board the frigate, where I immediately fainted, and never after saw the wreck. The remaining officers and men, 22 of the latter only excepted, found a watery grave. Before I close this melancholy narrative, I should do justice to the uncommon devotion of Mrs. Donovan, wife of J. Donovan, of the third company. She had got upon deck with her child in her arms, and seeing the impossibility of being saved, insisted upon her husband, who had declared he would stay by her, to leave her and take care of himself. I am also bound to return my most grateful thanks to the officers and ship's company of the Franchise, who all exerted themselves to save us in a manner far above my praise."

The Birmingham coach was robbed, a few days ago, of a trunk, containing jewellery, &c. to the amount of 2,400*l.*

A few days ago, a person went to the different clerks of several of the most eminent barristers, and gave them a case for an opi-

nion; at the same time tendering a check, and receiving change. This trick was practised on more than twelve, before the checks were found out to be forgeries.

One of the Martello Towers on the coast of Essex, near St. Osyth, has given way. Its first inclination was several feet one way: in order to restore it to its situation, the ground was excavated on the other side, and it has now gone back with an inclination in nearly the same proportion the other way. What is very singular, though the fabric must have sustained a great degree of percussion, no crack or fissure appears in the brickwork.

The crew of the Otter sloop of war, which arrived at Plymouth from the Cape of Good Hope, suffered the greatest privations on the passage, owing to a want of fuel to cook their provisions, they consumed two of their boats, and all the spare timber they had; and when that was expended, they were compelled to eat their beef and pork raw.

MARCH.

1st. Statement of the duty paid to government by the different London fire offices in the year 1810:—

Sun	£93,867	16	10
Phœnix	57,705	4	10
Royal Exchange	45,067	12	10
Imperial	35,346	14	6
Globe	27,353	10	6
British	16,695	5	5
Hope	15,878	17	8
Albion	15,683	8	4
County	13,664	15	4
Westminster	12,054	13	10
Hand-in-hand	11,505	12	9
Eagle	11,355	12	5
Atlas	9,815	9	6
London	9,312	7	8
Union	5,847	18	8

Sentence was passed on Tuesday morning, in Frankfort barracks, Plymouth, on Keeling, Smith, and Marshall, of the Nottingham militia, for allowing French prisoners to escape from Dartmoor, while they were doing duty there. They were sentenced to receive 900 lashes each; but the two latter were forgiven their punishment; and Keeling, who procured fire-arms for the Frenchmen, received 450 lashes in presence of the picquets from every regiment in this garrison.

The frequent escape of French prisoners from Plymouth and other sea-ports, has called forth a measure from government, which will tend to prevent such occurrences in future. All the French prisoners in our possession, who belonged to the navy, are marching to the depôts inland; while those belonging to the army, are in future to be confined on board prison-ships, and in the vicinity of sea-ports.

A gentleman of the name of Span, late of Bristol, was unfortunately killed in a duel, in January last, with an officer of the garrison of Trinidad.

Tuesday night, about nine o'clock, an unfortunate female, whose appearance spoke the capacity of respectable servitude, was found hanging to the iron-rails of Devonshire-place, Paddington. A gentleman who was returning home, first saw and cut

her down, and after three hours exertion, assisted by an apothecary in the neighbourhood, succeeded in restoring animation. Yesterday morning she was quite sensible, and assigns for a reason her extreme poverty; she had journeyed from Hereford on foot, without money, and on that day had walked 19 miles without subsistence.

2nd. On Saturday the 2nd, the honours due to the birth, character, and services of the late brave and lamented duke of Albuquerque were paid to his remains. The chapel royal of Spain, in Spanish-place, Manchester-square, was fitted up on this occasion, for the celebration of a solemn dirge, with much mournful magnificence. The floor and greater part of the interior of the chapel was covered with black cloth, and large sable draperies were spread over the pillars, the fronts of the galleries, and above the organ, &c. The coffin, which had been deposited the night before in the vault underneath, was placed on a platform or bier, moderately elevated in the centre of the chapel. The outside coffin was covered with crimson velvet, richly ornamented with gilt handles, stars, and nails, and a large gilt plate with the arms of the late duke engraved thereon, and an inscription reciting all his numerous titles.

At the foot of the coffin, a step lower on the bier, was placed a square casket, covered with crimson velvet like the coffin, and ornamented in the same manner, and which contained the embalmed bowels of the deceased. On the top of the coffin stood a silver urn, containing the heart, and a ducal coronet. Towards the foot of the coffin were displayed the full dress uniform coat of a Spanish general, worn by the duke, (of dark blue, faced and lined with scarlet, and very superbly embroidered with gold) the sword and cane placed saltierwise; the scarf, the hat, with feather and Spanish cockade, &c. Over these were placed the blue and white ribbon, with the other insignia of the order of Charles the Third, and the chamberlain's gold key. The sides of the bier were appropriately decorated with heraldic bearings: in the centre of each, an escutcheon with the family arms on the shield, enclosed within the collar of Charles the Third, in an ermined mantle, ornamented with military trophies, and surmounted by a ducal coronet. On each side of the escutcheons was the crest of the family, (a knight in full armour, with a cross in his right hand, emerging from a circular embattled tower) and the family motto. The whole was surrounded by twenty very lofty gilt candlesticks, with lights burning. The altar was similarly lighted up, and silvered escutcheons fixed up in various places. The particular mourners sat between the coffin and the altar, mostly Spanish officers in their uniforms, and gentlemen residing here, who are natives of Spain, with some British officers who have served in that country. Many English and French nobility and gentry sat in the body of the chapel round the bier. The marquis of Wellesley and admiral Apodaca sat on the same bench. The foreign ambassadors and

other foreigners of distinction, and their ladies, occupied the private gallery to the right of the altar, and the king's ministers and their friends sat in that to the left. The rest of the chapel was filled with persons of both sexes, in mourning. The chapel was opened at ten; admission to which was obtained by tickets. At eleven o'clock the solemn service of high mass was performed with all the magnificence which accompanies the celebration of the principal rites of the Roman Catholic church. A catholic bishop, the reverend doctor Poynter, Coadjutor of London, officiated in person in his splended episcopal vestments, wearing a white mitre on his head. The united musicians of the Spanish and Portuguese chapels performed the celebrated mass of Mozart; after which, the office for the dead was chanted. The impressive nature of the service, and the peculiarly afflicting circumstances of the occasion, excited much seriousness, and called forth the silent but strong expressions of deep-felt regret. The ceremony being concluded, at two o'clock the body was carried out by six bearers, and placed in the hearse.

It was then conveyed in great ceremony, and with a very numerous attendance of mourning coaches and carriages of the nobility and ministers to Westminster Abbey, where the procession was received by the dean and clergy; and after a short funeral service, the body was deposited in the Ormond vault, in Henry the VIIth's chapel.

4th. In consequence of a trifling quarrel, a duel took place at Barbadoes, on the 15th of January, between captain Boardman, of the 2d battalion of the 60th regiment, and ensign de Betton, of the royal West India rangers, in which, at the first fire, the former was shot through the heart, and instantly expired. The survivor immediately escaped from the island.

8th. Yesterday morning, Hepburn (late an ensign), and White, the drummer, for an abominable offence, were executed before the debtor's door, Newgate. White came out first; he seemed perfectly indifferent to his awful fate, and continued adjusting the frill of his shirt while he was viewing the surrounding populace. About two minutes after, Hepburn made his appearance, but was immediately surrounded by the clergyman, the executioner, his man, and others, in attendance. The executioner, at the same time, put the cap over Hepburn's face, which of course, prevented the people from having a view of him. White seemed to fix his eyes repeatedly on Hepburn. After a few minutes prayer, the miserable wretches were launched into eternity. A vast concourse of spectators attended. The duke of Cumberland, lord Sefton, lord Yarmouth, and several other noblemen, were in the press-yard.

Forgery has been practised on a very respectable house in the city, under the following singular circumstances, by which they were defrauded of two thousand and ninety pounds, and hitherto the parties have avoided the vigilance of the police. A few days ago, a person called at a house in

Francis-street, Fitzroy-square, a part of which was let, to engage it for, as he said, a gentleman of the first respectability; and having agreed to terms, &c. the better to prevent further inquiry, he offered to pay for three months in advance, and for the purpose presented for change a hundred pound note, having several other notes in his hand at the same time: none of them, he said, were for smaller sums. This manœuvre had the success that was wished; the lady who had the lodging to let, could not give change, but the sight of the money lulled her into security, and the gentleman was allowed to take possession on the following day. The financier, thus seated in fashionable lodgings, sets about raising the ways and means, and commenced by answering an advertisement from "a young man from the country in want of a situation," who was desired to call in Francis-st. Fitzroy-square, where, if he answered the description of the advertisement, he might hear of a situation likely to suit him. The young man accordingly presented himself; and being interrogated as to what he could do, &c. he was asked for his town references, which he gave, and was desired to call on the following day, at twelve, for his answer. He did so, and was informed that the inquiries respecting his character and connexions were satisfactory; and his salary being settled, he was to enter on his employment the next morning. However, as he was taking his leave, his intended master asked what way he was going, or if he was particularly engaged that afternoon? if not, he would get him to do a little business in the city for him. The youth eagerly expressed his wish to go any where; when his master, taking out a small red pocket-book, and from it a check for 2090*l.* desired him to get cash for it at the banking-house, observing, at the same time, that as bankers' clerks were not over-accommodating, he was to take two notes of 1000*l.* each, and the other 90*l.* any way; and then to go the Bank of England to get notes of 50*l.* and 30*l.* for the two 1000*l.* notes, and to meet him at the Moor-gate coffee-house, Fore-street. The check was paid by the banker without suspicion; and the large notes having been changed at the bank in the manner desired, the young man went to the coffee-house, but no master had come to meet him. After waiting for two hours in great anxiety, he set off for Francis-street, and was there informed that his master had gone out soon after him, and had not returned. The young man went a second time to the Moor-gate coffee-house; still no master: but he found a note had been left for him during his absence. On opening it, it was from his employer, dated the White Hart tavern, Holborn, corner of Warwick-court, whither he was desired immediately to repair, where his master was waiting for him. On his way to Holborn he was joined by a man who forced his conversation on him, and to whom he related where he was going, and what he had been about. They parted at the door of the tavern, and the clerk went in to ask for his master; still no master was, or had

been there. The young man having been permitted to remain long enough in the tavern for those outside to ascertain that he was not followed by any person from the banking-house, or Bank of England, the person whom he had the conversation with in the street came into the house, and told him that his master was crossing the way. The young man looking out, saw his master, to whom he went up, and was *most graciously* received, and relieved from any further anxiety respecting his charge; the master, to save trouble, taking the youth's pocket-book, in which were the 2090*l.* promising to return it in the morning when he came to business; but this trouble was spared him, by a note which he received the same evening, inclosed in a parcel, in which were his pocket-book, and two 1*l.* notes. The note expressed that unexpected business had called the master suddenly from town for Liverpool; that the two pounds were for the trouble he had had; but that his further services would for the present be dispensed with. This strange proceeding awakened suspicion in the young man's mind; and the following day, by the advice of some friends, he went to the banking-house; when they first discovered that the check was a forgery. It is hardly necessary to state that the parties never returned to their lodgings in Francis-street.

Another case of forgery has occurred within this day or two, in the city, which, in point of art and dexterity, we presume, has no parallel in the annals of swindling. The party having succeeded in procuring cash at a banking-house to the amount 1000*l.* for a forged check, in the course of the same day sent a person to the banking-house in question, in the name of the gentleman forged upon, for his banker's book; requesting, at the same time, that it might be made up to the latest moment, and contain all the checks which had been paid, as the gentleman (mentioning the name of the proprietor of the book) was about to leave town, and was desirous of seeing the state of his account. The request was complied with, and the swindler got possession of the forged draft, which, no doubt, he would destroy, as the surest means of preserving his own life in the event of detection and apprehension. Incredible as it may appear, we have heard that both these successful deceptions were practised on the same banking-house, and within a very few days of each other.

Richard Armitage.—This celebrated character, of whom so much has been heard respecting his transactions with Roberts in forgeries upon the Bank of England, in which establishment he was a clerk, was taken on Tuesday morning at an inn about three miles from Ipswich, in a cross country road, by John Foy, accompanied by two gentlemen from the bank, a reward of 300 guineas having been offered for his apprehension as long since as the 11th of August. The prisoner went by the name of Barclay at the inn, and represented himself as a private gentleman, who wished to reside secluded from the gaieties and pleasures of the me-

tropolis. He spent his time in the association of the gentlemen yeomen in the country, with whom he used to take the sports of the field; and his wife, who had just gone through an accouchement, was the only person who knew his situation. The prisoner was surprized in bed, first by the hostess of the inn, who informed him three gentlemen wished to see him; and after one of the gentlemen had been introduced, Foy followed and took him, and conveyed him to London in a chaise-and-four. He was carried to Marlborough-street office; and after having been identified, and some other necessary forms gone through, he was committed to the New Prison, Clerkenwell, for examination on a future day, where he was doubly ironed. The prisoner appeared in good spirits. He had resided at the place where he was taken, from the day he had escaped from London.

Two marines were executed on board his Majesty's ship Zealous, at Lisbon, on the 8th ult. for the murder of a sergeant of marines. Their trial disclosed the following wicked, and in other respects singular circumstances:—The deceased sergeant had been sent with two prisoners to do duty on board one of the prison ships in the Tagus. In the course of the night, they planned to call the sergeant from his cot, under pretence of his being wanted. On his proceeding to the part of the ship requested, they way-laid him, and shoved him overboard. It must be supposed that he had made himself obnoxious to them; but this did not appear. On the deceased's being missed, it obtained general belief on board the prison ship that he had jumped overboard; but it was not warranted by the man's general character, for he was a sober discreet man, and a good soldier. The first intimation of his death to his shipmates on board the Zealous, was by the sentinel upon deck seeing his hat pass by the ship, in the Tagus. The sentinel instantly knew it belonged to him, and inquiry ensued. No suspicion, however, fell upon the prisoners; nor was it necessary for the ends of justice,—for their consciences so lacerated them, after the first hour they had committed the crime, that, as they confessed to their comrades, they had no rest day or night. Their voluntary confession led to their trial: they told the court they had not slept since, but were constantly visited by a distempered imagination of being in the presence of the deceased's ghost! Both of them, it afterwards appeared, were notorious characters; one of their names was Brown.—They died very penitent.

A fine peacock, belonging to Mr. Henwood, of Cardinham, near Bodmin, was lately attacked by a ferocious hog, and literally torn to pieces. It was above ninety years of age, and a very old man now living in Warleggan, has remembered it more than eighty years. Its appearance made it probable that it would have lived many years longer. It was lively and active, and its plumage as perfect and beautiful as in early life.

A few nights ago two servants, (the huntsman and whipper-in) of Sir John Dashwood King, Bart. were found dead in their beds, at

his hunting seat, at Bourton-on-the Hill, Gloucestershire. It appears, that on retiring to bed the preceding evening, conceiving the room where they slept (being over one of the out-buildings) to be rather damp, they had taken up with them, from under a furnace, some live coals in an open coal-scuttle, which they left in the middle of the room; but the place having no chimney or vent of any kind, and being closely shut up during the night, they must have been suffocated from the effect of the sulphuric gas. One of them was found in a sitting posture in bed, as if he had been awoke by the oppression of his breath; but, doubtless, at the moment he was too much overcome either to effect his escape, or create alarm.

On Tuesday, four women and two men, concerned in the robbery of Mr. Read, the jeweller, in Jermyn-street, underwent an examination before Mr. Colquhoun, at Queen-square office, when it appeared in evidence, that a search warrant had been obtained against a house kept by a man near St. Ann's church, which had the appearance of a pastry-cook's shop, where it was suspected some of Mr. Read's jewellery goods had been sold. On searching, about a hundred pairs of stays were found, also quantities of jean and calico; but none of the articles stolen from Mr. Read's shop. There was very little appearance of the regular trade of a pastry-cook being carried on, but there were strong suspicions of its being used as a receptacle for stolen property. The master of the house stated the stays and other goods to be the property of a bankrupt; with which statement the officers executing the warrant were satisfied, and did not take the man into custody. In a short time after they left the house, they ascertained that the stays and other property had been stolen from a shop in Cranbourn-alley, which had been broken open a short time since; they in consequence returned to the house, when they found that the occupier had absconded: they, however, seized the stays, &c., and they have since been identified as the same stolen from the shop in Cranbourn-alley. A relative of the pretended pastry-cook has since applied to the stay-maker, offering him a sum of money not to appear against his relative, for which he has been held to bail.

A cannon-ball, weighing ninety-six pounds, and measuring upwards of thirty inches in circumference, has within these few days, been dug out of the ruins of the old castle in Berwick. According to Fuller, in the year 1405, a conspiracy was formed in Berwick against Henry IV. in which the Earl of Northumberland and several others were the principal leaders. The earl held possession of the castle at that time, when hearing that Henry was bringing against him 37,000 men, with engineers and artillery properly fitted for a siege, he retired into Scotland. The royal army advanced to Berwick with some engines of destruction which had never before been brought against it; and which were on this occasion for the first time employed in Britain. The first discharge from

one of these cannons of a large bore demolishing one of the principal towers of the castle, the garrison was thrown into such consternation, that it made an instant surrender. From this account it is probable that this is the identical ball which, four hundred and six years ago, occasioned the surrender of Berwick to the English arms.

13th. *Trim Assizes.—Trial of Roger O'Connor.*—This day Roger O'Connor, and Roderick O'Connor, Esqrs., and Peter Hayes, were given in charge for assaulting Henry Ogle.

Mr. Jebb stated the case, and called the prosecutor, who proved that he had been violently assaulted and beaten by the two O'Connors, father and son, on two distinct days, at Dangan castle, the residence of the elder O'Connor. The witness had gone to the house of the latter to demand a receipt in full for half a year's rent, for which Roger O'Connor, his landlord, had seized and sold Ogle's chattels.

Cross examined by Mr. O'Connor.

Q. Do you know two men of the names of Martin M'Keon and James Crosbie? A. I do.

Q. Look on the bench at my Lord Norbury, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas: is he a sworn friend of yours? A. I never spoke to the gentleman in my life.

Q. Is he a sworn enemy of mine? A. I do not know.

Q. Did you ever say, if my rent was to be decided before Lord Norbury and a Trim jury, they would make right wrong, and wrong right? A. I never said any such thing.

Lord Norbury.—If any person was to say such a thing, I would feel it my duty to apply to his Majesty's attorney-general to file a criminal information.

Mr. O'Connor.—I will prove it to your lordship this day upon oath.

The witness was then examined by Mr. O'Connor as to a variety of dealings, relative to the rent of the premises.

Lord Norbury.—I have every wish to give every possible and reasonable degree of latitude in the cross-examination; but, Mr. O'Connor, I request you to recollect there are a number of poor wretches in the dock, waiting to take trial for their lives.

Mr. O'Connor.—I do not know how, or why, I am so hemmed in. Is there a man in the country but myself that would have been sent to the assizes to stand his trial for a common assault; to be dragged into this court, instead of being sent to the sessions, for the purpose of making me more particular than any other man,—I, who hardly ever stir abroad, except when I go to Dublin or England with my family; who am unacquainted with the gentlemen of the country; who never was in one of their houses for seven years; whose only acquaintance, and that but a slight one, in the country is Mr. Winter? Why should I be treated in a manner totally different from any other man?

Lord Norbury.—I only wish to assist you in your mode of proceeding, and to save as much of the public time as we can.

Defence.—Nicholas Keerney, Gwen Tracy, and Dorah Crosbie, swore positively that the prosecutor was the first aggressor.

Martin M'Keon, examined by Mr. O'Connor, was one of the persons left as keeper on the prosecutor's property, and had a conversation with him.

Q. Had you any conversation with him relative to the learned and noble lord on the bench?

Lord Norbury.—Sir, I caution you not to commit a studied contempt of this court; I have as much temper and forbearance as any man that has the honour of presiding in a similar situation. As to myself, I am totally indifferent to what was said; but I will never suffer any man, under colour of a defence, to be guilty of a studied contempt, because it cannot be relevant to the issue; and as to the gossipping of a parcel of illiterate fellows, it can be of no use to you; and I will not set a precedent for insulting the coming judges of assize.

Mr. O'Connor.—My lord, I do think it very relevant, and, if it should be a contempt, I do it in ignorance. Perhaps I may put the question this way: Did you hear any thing from the prosecutor respecting the trial? A. This is the great man that you thought so much about, and that the people thought so much about; and that they thought to crown king of this place; and, if he was governor of Tara, you would be worse off than you are; but, if it was left to a jury of Trim and Lord Norbury, little of it he would put ever into his pocket. You know little about it, for they would make right wrong, and wrong right.

Lord Norbury.—Q. Who was present? A. James Crosbie.

James Crosbie, examined by Mr. O'Connor, is the second keeper that was on the prosecutor's property. The prosecutor said, Is not this a terrible thing, that he should be such a tyrant? But I will let him know I have friend; my Lord Norbury is a friend of mine, is an intimate friend of mine, and a sworn enemy to Mr. O'Connor; and if it is left to the decision of my Lord Norbury, and a jury of Trim, by the *maculate farmer*, he would never get his rent, for they would make wrong right, and right wrong.

Mr. M'Nally to the prosecutor.—Q. Is that true? A. It is as false as any thing ever was said.

Q. You have heard what he has said respecting the noble lord on the bench; Does he swear false? A. I say it is a most infamous lie.

Here the cause closed.—Lord Norbury summed up the evidence.

The jury retired for about an hour, and then brought in the following verdict: Roger O'Connor, Esq. guilty; Roderick O'Connor, Esq. not guilty; Peter Hayes, guilty.

Mr. O'Connor begged leave to address the court. He said the verdict just given reminded him of a verdict given against him on a former occasion, in a civil action, tried in the same court-house, before his lordship, in which the verdict was not only against the evidence, but against the charge of the noble and learned lord. The verdict of this day was a proof of the testimony which

charged Mr. Ogle with having said, that he could not have justice from a Trim jury; and he now felt that justice was not to be had for him in the county of Meath.

Lord Norbury said, he would not listen to such a charge against the jury; they had always shewn themselves the protectors of the peace and liberty of the subject, and had executed their duty this day with a conscientious adherence to the evidence given, and with a merciful adherence to the case of the younger O'Connor, whom they had acquitted, and in doing which, they had done right; as to any imputation on his lordship himself, that was below his resentment. Though not of the nobility of the country, he was as proud as any lord that had a title, and he could not condescend to vindicate his conduct from malignant and unfounded imputation.

Mr. O'Connor said, he alluded to his lordship's conduct heretofore in the House of Commons, when attorney-general: to that conduct he imputed the partial treatment he had received: it had poisoned the opinion of the people against him; it had affected him in his character and in his dearest interests. But, however, he thanked the noble lord for the patience with which he had attended to the trial, and permitted him to expend so much time.

Lord Norbury replied, that when the history of the year 1798 came fairly to be stated to posterity, he had no doubt but that the attorney general of that day would appear as deserving the thanks of the country.

Mr. O'Connor. — Then, my lord, for your satisfaction, I tell you I am writing that history.

Lord Norbury said, that what he had said did not relate to Mr. O'Connor, but to his family, which had been troublesome, and disturbers of the peace.

Mr. O'Connor.—Your lordship alludes, I presume, to my brother, now absent in France, with whom government capitulated, and permitted to go abroad.

Lord Norbury.—I will hold no farther conversation with you, Mr. O'Connor: let the gentleman be taken into custody; we will consider of the sentence.

Mr. M'Nally informed the court, it was the intention of the prosecutor to bring an action, and said he gave this intimation, for the purpose of mitigating the sentence; and that Mr. O'Connor should have nothing to complain of, he would advise his client to lay the *venue* in a different county.

Mr. O'Connor was sentenced to be confined one month, and Mr. Hayes one fortnight.

On Monday morning, as the captain of a Dutch vessel which had been wrecked on her passage from Ostend, was enquiring his way in Westminster for the Alien office, he unfortunately enquired of some sharpers, who informed him he was too early to obtain a passport, the office not being open; and prevailed on him to go with them into a public house in Charles-street, where they were joined, as usual, by another of their gang; and contrived by play, and borrowing money, to defraud him of 35*l.*

Cambridge University. 15th.
—The Vice-Chancellor as-

sembled the Senate of the University upon this day, for the purpose of communicating to them the vacancy of the Chancellorship, occasioned by the death of the Duke of Grafton. He, at the same time, read to the Senate two letters which he had received from the Dukes of Gloucester and Rutland, announcing themselves as candidates to succeed the Duke of Grafton in the office of Chancellor of the University. The day of election was appointed to take place on Tuesday, March 26.

"*Belvoir-Castle, 6th March,* 1811.

"Sir,

"Having heard that the Duke of Grafton is in such a dangerous state of health as to preclude any hopes of his recovery, it becomes, therefore, my duty, and I trust that I shall stand excused in your sight for the presumption of my expectations, to notify to you my intention of becoming a candidate for the dignified and distinguished office in your University, which will be vacated by the lamented event of his grace's death.

"I will not, because I cannot, look for foundation to my pretensions in any individual merits of my own; but I ask permission to state, as a circumstance of no trivial importance and gratification to me, my belief that his Majesty has been gracisusly pleased to express himself favourable to my cause, and I have the additional pleasure of receiving the warmest assurances of support from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Perceval.

"I will no further intrude upon you at this present moment, than to request that you will make such use of this letter, and of the facts alluded to in it, as may appear advisable to you. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) "Rutland.

"The very Reverend the Vice-Chancellor."

"*March* 15*th*, 1811.

"Sir,

"As my wishes, in respect to the Chancellorship of the University, have been long and generally known, I should have thought it unnecessary, and perhaps indelicate, to have expressed them formally to you, as Vice-Chancellor, before the expected vacancy had taken place. Having learned, however, that another person has officially declared himself a candidate, and even assigned reasons which induce him to hope that the University will support him, and many members of the Senate having solicited me to make a public declaration of my sentiments, I am apprehensive that my silence, if long continued, might be construed into disrespect.

"I will now, therefore, express the very high gratification I should feel at seeing myself chosen to fill the office of Chancellor; if the Senate should think proper to confer upon me a charge that must be so truly flattering to one who was educated at Cambridge, and who feels so warmly attached to the University.

"I ground not my pretensions on the influence of any man, however exalted his rank or character. I ground my pretensions upon my exclusive and unalter-

able attachment to the place of my education, being the only one of the royal family who has studied in an English University.

"I should take particular pride in promoting the interests of that body to which I have the honour to belong; and I trust that the unvaried deference to your laws and discipline, which I paid during my residence at Cambridge, will be an earnest of my endeavours to maintain your privileges, if intrusted to me as your Chancellor. I am, with the highest esteem and great personal regard, Sir, very sincerely yours.

(Signed) "WILLIAM FRRDERICK.

"To the Right Worshipful the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge."

On Friday last, a servant girl of Lieut. Col. Kent's, at the army depot, Isle of Wight, poisoned herself by taking arsenic. It appeared in evidence she was five months with child, and it is thought she only meant to destroy the child. She told the surgeon who attended her she took it on purpose to destroy herself. The jury, after a few minutes consideration, returned a verdict of *felo-de-se*, and she was buried in the high-road near the barracks.

A family, consisting of an elderly woman, two smart young females, and a servant, who lately occupied a house at Richmond-place, Brighton, has suddenly disappeared, leaving all their bills, with between twenty and thirty trades-people (some of which are to a considerable amount) undischarged. They went by the name of Hill.

19th. A rise of ten per cent. in the current value of the stamped dollars in circulation takes place this day. The increase in the price of silver has become so great, that the dollars or tokens issued by the Bank sell for more as bullion than they are current at as coin. The Directors have, therefore, given notice, that they will in future receive in payment all Bank dollar-tokens at the rate of five shillings and sixpence each, instead of five shillings as heretofore. All such tokens are henceforth to be issued at the same increased rate. The object of this regulation is to prevent this species of currency from being withdrawn from circulation, which was rapidly effecting, in consequence of the disproportion between the real and circulating value of the article.

20th. Her Majesty the Empress of the French was safely delivered of a Prince, at nine o'clock this morning.

A most horrid attempt was made by a man who resides near Dockhead, on Friday last, to poison his wife and three children. He took a leg of mutton home, and ordered it to be roasted for dinner. His wife accordingly roasted it, and got it ready by the time he appointed. He did not come home to dinner, and the wife and children made their dinners from some provisions that were in the house, and did not cut the leg of mutton. The husband did not arrive till supper-time, and made an excuse for not coming to dinner. His wife offered him some of the leg of mutton for his supper, but he declined

it, saying he had brought home some fish, which he wished to have fried. His wife fried them with the dripping produced from the roasting of the leg of mutton, and he ate heartily of the fish. In the night he was taken extremely ill, and has continued in the most excruciating torture ever since. He inquired how the fish had been cooked, and being informed, and also that none of his family had partaken of the mutton, he acknowledged his guilt by saying, the deadly and diabolical scheme he had laid of poisoning the whole of them had fallen upon himself, having laid the leg of mutton in a quantity of arsenic for a considerable time, and also having rubbed it into the meat. The miserable wretch is languishing in the greatest torture of body and mind.

21st. *Volcano in the sea.*—Extract of a letter from St. Michael's, Feb. 7, 1811.—"For several weeks past the people of Ginetes, Varzes, and Candelaria had been much alarmed by repeated convulsions of the earth, which had rendered their houses unsafe, and induced them to pass the nights in temporary huts raised in their gardens, as you know is usual on these occasions; for since those violent shocks which we experienced in July last, they had never been entirely free from alarm.

"It was reported that a Volcano had broke out upon the Pico das Camarinhas, and in other places; but on Saturday the 2d of February, being informed by a person from Ginetes, that the day before a tremendous volume of smoke was seen constantly issuing from the midst of the sea, and that by night the flames were visible, I resolved, in company with a friend, to proceed to the spot. This we did upon the 5th instant. When we arrived at Monte-Gordo, just above the Feiteiras, we perceived a vast column of thick dense smoke ascending from the sea, which was discoloured from Ginetes, down to where we stood (a distance of two leagues at least) and at intervals a dark muddy substance, resembling the *lodo* of the Furnas, was hove up to the height of 10, and sometimes 20 fathoms. As yet, we could not distinguish any fire; but the country people assured us, we should plainly see it, if we staid till night; and we accordingly continued our journey towards Ginetes, where we arrived just after sun-set, and found ourselves precisely opposite the scene of our curiosity and admiration. We kept so bad a look-out, however, that we did not happen to be watching the first and second time it appeared (as we learnt from our host, who did not come in doors all night.) But as morning approached, and being desirous of bearing testimony to the fact, I resolved not to withdraw myself for a moment from the window; when, between five and six o'clock I and my companion were filled with the most sublime sensations, at the awful appearance of these devouring elements. We saw the fire distinctly three several times. The first volume of it did not ascend very high; perhaps not more than twenty feet above the surface of the sea: but another body of less circumference accompanied the smoke to a greater height, carrying up with it substances re-

sembling pieces of stone or metal. The third and last explosion we beheld, was just at day-break: it was far more tremendous than either of the others, and ascended like a host of sky rockets to an immense height, and the burning fluid or lava was not extinguished till it plunged again into the water.

"Being now broad day, we walked down to the sea-side, in order to endeavour to ascertain as near as possible the distance of the volcano from the shore. It appeared to us to be about one mile; but as we had no means of calculating, except by the eye, and fearing the magnitude of the object might lead us astray, we think it safest to call it a mile and a half, and would recommend your pointing it out as such to all masters of vessels coming this way; for, since the eruption has in some degree subsided, the spot appears like a rock under water, with the sea breaking furiously over it. In summer time it may be possible for boats to approach towards it, and more correct observations than our's will no doubt be made; for it has been blowing a gale from W.S.W. ever since. You will find in Mr. Read's map, that the shore of Ginetes is laid down in 25 deg. 44 min. west-longitude; consequently, if he be correct, which we have no doubt he is, this danger, which lies in a due westerly line from the Pico de Ginetes, should be set down in 25 deg. 45½ min. west longitude, and 37 deg. 52¼ min. north latitude.

The fishermen say, there are soundings in eighty fathom water; and the crater, we conceive, may be about two hundred yards in circumference. What likewise struck us very forcibly was, that this must have been very nearly, if not exactly, the spot where the unfortunate crew of the Swift were swallowed up; and it is a question in my mind, whether some rock or shoal might not have existed under water at the time they were lost, and been the fatal cause of their destruction."

On Saturday last, William Townley, was executed at the drop in front of the county gaol, Glocester, agreeably to his sentence. A short time before his execution, he is said to have admitted his full share in the crime for which his life became forfeited to the laws. "On Friday night last," says a Bath paper, "a reprieve for the above man was put into the Post-office of Hereford, addressed *by mistake!* to ——— Wilton, Esq. Under Sheriff, *Herefordshire*, instead of Gloucestershire, some time after the post-letters for that night had been delivered out, and of course remained there till next morning, when, about half-past eleven, it was opened by Messrs. Bird and Wollaston, under-sheriffs for the county of Hereford, and immediately the importance of its contents to the wretched object of intended mercy was ascertained. An express was sent off with the utmost celerity by Mr. Bennett, of the hotel, at his own expence, who started about 20 minutes before twelve o'clock, and arrived at Gloucester a little after two, twenty minutes after the culprit had been turned off, and who was then suspended on the drop!

Cork.—On Sunday, the house of Mr. Purcell, of High Fort, was broke into by six armed ruffians, who proceeded to his bed-cham-

ber, in order to seize upon whatever sum of money might be in his possession, and to add the crime of murder to the meditated robbery. It appears that Mr. Purcel had determined to set apart the evening of the 11th instant, for the purpose of arranging some of his accounts; and as he foresaw that he would be thereby employed until a late hour, he caused his servant to provide supper. Mr. Purcel conceives he had been two hours in bed, when his attention was engaged by an unusual noise outside his house. The room in which he had supped and slept was inside his parlour, the windows of which latter, after a short interval, were beat in, and scarcely an instant elapsed before he heard several persons, he believes twelve or thirteen, leap into the room, in rapid succession. He had but a moment to deliberate; and although he found himself totally unprovided with any other weapon than the knife which he recollected lay on the table, he resolved on defence. As there were two doors connecting his bed-chamber with his parlour, he was a while in suspense at which door the robbers would enter, but was speedily relieved from his doubts, by hearing them remove a *garde-de-vin*, which obstructed one of the passages, and thereupon seeing the door thrown in by a violent blow of a sledge. Mr. P. now put his back close against the wall, immediately contiguous to the door. Although the darkness of Mr. Purcel's room rendered him invisible to those without, yet the moon shining brightly through the windows which had been broken, and through which the party entered, gave him an imperfect view of his assailants, and he discovered two men abreast, approaching him by the door. Mr. Purcel at this moment only hesitated to decide whether a back-hand or a right forward blow would be most powerful; and on preferring the former, he plunged his knife far into the breast of the nearest man, who immediately fell back with a horrible scream, and expired. The captain of the party gave orders to fire, and a musket was thereupon presented at Mr. Purcel, and actually lay against his belly, but as, from its oblique position, Mr. Purcel saw it could not injure him, he pressed against the barrel, in order to induce a belief that it should prove mortal, and permitted it to be fired; he then gave this ruffian also a terrible wound, with which he retreated; a third fellow, undeterred by these examples, had the temerity to attempt an entrance, but met with the like repulse. The expulsion of the entire gang from the house, it was imagined, was, by this, effected, with the exception of one powerfully strong villain, who, more successful than his comrades, forced his way into the bed-chamber, which the ruffian presently notified in the loudest and most exulting tone. During the whole of this most terrific proceeeding, Mr. Purcel had not felt the influence of apprehension until now. He closed, however, on his assailant, and a very fierce struggle ensued. Mr. Purcel finding that although he frequently

stabbed the fellow in the side, he nevertheless persisted in repeating a demand of Mr. Purcel's money, dreaded the point of his knife had been turned and blunted, and such, on feeling it, he found to be the case:—he was thus bereft of his only weapon; however, in the encounter, he discovered a sword suspended to his opponent, which he now strove to gain, but during the exertion, the wretched man expired in his arms, and thus Mr. Purcel found that his knife had not failed him until, guided by providential interposition, it had miraculously and faithfully secured his deliverance.

The remainder of the party were now contented to depart, carrying off the dead and wounded, and Mr. Purcel, dreading the renewal of the attempt with increased numbers, prudently concealed himself between two heaps of culm in an adjoining yard, from whence he issued in the morning completely coated with blood, and whatever else this clammy matter caused to adhere to his body and limbs. It seems a third fellow, named Joy, a native of this country, who composed one of this party died in Newcastle, county of Limerick, his wounds not having permitted him to escape farther than that town; and, it is thought, few out of them will go unpunished, being well known.

The gentleman who so valiantly repulsed this gang of ruffians, is more than 70 years of age.

25th. Accounts received from New Orleans to the beginning of February communicate information of a very serious insurrection which had taken place among the negroes, who had set fire to many plantations, and destroyed property to a vast amount. The military, however, had been called in, and in order to subdue the rioters, they shot every man of colour that came in their way: the slaughter was immense, but the proceeding was effectual; it put down the insurrection.

Cambridge, Tuesday evening.—This being the 26th. day when the University was to bestow on one of two rival candidates

> "The laureat wreath that Cecil wore,"

the place was a most amusing scene of bustle and activity. The duke of Rutland had been here for many days. His illustrious antagonist perhaps better consulted the dignity of the senate and his own by abstaining from a personal canvas: but his friends were energetic in his support. His royal highness the prince regent was likewise said to have pledged his services upon this express condition, that his royal relative should decline a canvas. It was understood, by communication from the committee in London, that four hundred and seventy votes had been actually promised to the duke of Gloucester. No one anticipated the presence of a greater number than nine hundred voters; this was deemed a pretty strong assurance of ultimate success.

On the contrary, his most noble antagonist was deemed to possess no ordinary strength: the support of the prime minister, and the conformity of his grace's politics with those of the people in power, were circumstances of-

great weight; and many who were not swayed by political motives, were biassed by fox-hunting ones, to give him their votes; his grace's hounds being, as is supposed, among the best packs in the kingdom.

Wednesday morning, One o'clock. —The contest has terminated in favour of the duke of Gloucester. The poll continued until twelve o'clock at night, when, no more votes being tendered, the boxes were closed: the number were

For the duke of Gloucester, 470.

For the duke of Rutland 356

Court of Common Pleas.—Threatening Letter—The Rev. Robert Bingham was arraigned on two indictments, the first charging him with sending a letter without a signature, threatening to burn the houses, barns, &c. of Richard Jenner, and the other charging him with setting fire to his own house, to defraud the insurance-office.

He was put to the bar, and tried on the first indictment. It stated, that he, on the 1st of December last, feloniously and wilfully did send a letter, without a name, addressed to Mr. Richard Jenner, and which letter was as follows:

"*Fire! Murder! and Revenge!*

"Fifty of us are *detarm'd* to keep our lands or have revenge. Therefore *pasons churchwards* and farmers your barns and houses shall burn if you take our lands, your lives *two* shall pay your sheep we will eat—your oxen we can *mame*, your stacks shall blaze, and Dick you shall be *shooted* as you return from the market or fair. We are united and sworn to stand by one another 50 good fellows." To this he pleaded Not Guilty.

The first witness called was,

John Jenner, who said his father lived at Mayersfield; the prisoner was clergyman at Mayersfield; he went to school to him, and he taught him to write. He has seen Mr. Bingham write. He and his brother went to church on Sunday, the 16th of December; Mr. Bingham was at church; his brother and a cousin returned home with him. Mr. Bingham overtook them on horseback; he said, in a joke, he would ride over us. After Mr. Bingham got by, he saw a letter dropping to the ground. He was then distant about six rods; he thought it came from Mr. Bingham, but he was not sure; he thought so, because he saw it flying in the air before it reached the ground: it was wavering in the air. He came up, and picked up the letter. Mr. Bingham rode forward, but looked back very much. He carried the letter home, and gave it to his mother.

William Jenner, aged 11, cousin of last witness, John Jenner, was in company of last witness at Mayersfield church. He did not see the paper until he nearly came up to it; his cousin John picked it up. Before they came up, John said, "There, William, there is a letter dropping to the ground." When they picked it up, John said, he thought it was Mr. Bingham's writing; he said he thought it was not.

Mr. Richard Jenner deposed he was a farmer at Mayersfield, occupying the Dairy Farm, on which there is barns, oxen, sheep, corn, &c. He is called by his familiar

friends "Dick." He was in London when the letter in question was found. He had known Mr. Bingham five or six years, and their families lived on friendly terms; and he should have thought him the last person to do him an unfriendly act. He apprehended himself to be meant by "Dick" in the letter, and that the threats were directed against his lands and cattle, &c. He has had frequent correspondence with Mr. Bingham, and is well acquainted with his hand-writing. (Looking at the letter.) He believes it to be Mr. Bingham's hand-writing.

On his cross-examination he said, he first suspected that the letter came from some of the foresters. Mr. Bingham has been curate many years of Mayersfield, and had always duly performed his clerical duties. He had also been instrumental in founding a charity-school for the poor. There had been lately many inclosures in the forest, which had been thrown down by order of the lords of the manor.

Richard Trill, Mr. J. Knipe, and John Maynard, believed the letter to be his hand-writing.

Robert Turner, attorney at Lewes, Mr. Attree, and Mr. Eusan, all said they believed the letter to be the hand-writing of the prisoner.

This closed the case for the prosecution.

Mr. Bingham then read a written defence, in which he very feelingly commented on his unhappy situation, and argued on the improbability of his writing a threatening letter to his friend without any motive.

His counsel then called the following witnesses.

William Cramp, keeper of the house of correction at Lewes. In the month of January (the 12th,) Mr. Richard Jenner called upon him, and conversed on the subject of the letter; he said he wished to have some conversation with a man in custody on a charge of felony, of the name of Best. He observed, he supposed witness had heard of the letter; he replied he had. He then said he wished the witness would examine Best, as he had no doubt but that Best knew who the writer was. There was no doubt but it was written by one of the foresters.

Lord Sheffield said, he had known Mr. Bingham about five years. In doing his duty, in redressing disorders in the county, no man had been more diligent. He had had a very good opinion of Mr. Bingham, and he was convinced he had incurred a great deal of rancour by his attempts to repress the disorders of the foresters.

Mr. Archdeacon Doyley has known the prisoner six or seven years; he was always attentive to the morals of his parish, and exemplary in his own conduct.

I. M. Cripps, Esq. gave a most excellent character to the prisoner for integrity and honour, in every relation of life.

The Rev. Mr. Turner, the Rev. Mr. Bradford, Mr. Claude Matte of Trant, and the Rev. Sackville Bayle, all spoke of the prisoner in terms of the highest praise, both as a gentleman and a clergyman.

The Lord Chief Baron then summed up the evidence with

great minuteness, and impressed the jury strongly with the necessity of their being perfectly satisfied, as there was no motive in evidence which could induce the prisoner to send this letter.

The jury, after considerable deliberation, found the prisoner—*Not Guilty.*

The same prisoner was then indicted for setting fire to his house, with a view to defraud its owner, the Rev. Mr. Rivett, his rector, and the Union Fire-office, in which he had insured furniture, &c. to the amount of 500*l.* The evidence on this trial was long and complicated; but the only circumstances which appeared to make against the prisoner were, that he, the day before the fire, busied himself in causing to be removed from one outhouse to a nearer, the stacks of wood with which the house was fired, (as the prisoner stated his supposition at the time, maliciously) his depositing of a few private papers and quills over the privy, and of his burying a quantity of copy-books of no great value in his garden, planting over them a flower for better concealment. It was proved, however, that the prisoner's plate and watch, which might have been more profitably removed, were burnt, and that he had actually sent for the latter on the evening of the fire to the house of a neighbour, where he had been visiting, and where he had forgetfully left it. The prisoner had, immediately before the fire, been in town to transfer insurance of 50*l.* upon a cottage to a further security of his furniture; but that cottage, it was proved, he had before sold. He then stated to his friend, the secretary to the insurance-office, that he was afraid his house would be burnt, in consequence of the incendiary spirit of the neighbourhood, and always stated, to those to whom he told the story of the fire, a *presentiment*, which possessed him on the evening of the fire, that the casualty would happen. It was proved by the prisoner's brother, the Rev. Richard Bingham, incumbent of Gosport chapel, and magistrate for the county of Hants, and Captain Joseph Bingham, R. N., that the prisoner's books and furniture were worth from 900*l.* to 1000*l.*; and that he was in far from distressed circumstances, otherwise he would have applied to the former brother, as he had before done, and always been relieved; and that the latter brother had lately laid down a large sum to free the prisoner from his embarrassments, upon the positive assurance that the prisoner had told his brother the extent of his debts, and was made a free and happy man. Many of the prisoner's neighbours and servants also spoke of the value of his furniture, linen, &c.

The prisoner on this occasion also read a written defence, and the learned Chief Baron recapitulated and commented on the whole of the evidence, adopting the prisoner's expression, that he must have been mad to have committed the crime of which he was charged, if the testimony of his honourable brothers were to be at all credited. The jury found the prisoner—*Not Guilty.*

The trial of these indictments lasted from 8 o'clock in the morning, till nearly 9 at night.

29th. *Westminster Sessions.*—A withered prophetess, named Alice Burke, above 70, appealed to the court through her counsel, Mr. Peat, to quash a conviction against her, had on the 21st instant, before Mr. Fielding, one of the Magistrates of Queen's-square Office, for being a common cheat and impostor. The circumstances deposed against her were by a police-officer, who knew her occupation as a profound dealer in destinies. He saw her going towards her temple, in the attic regions of a house in Charles-court, in the Strand, on the 21st instant, followed by two damsels, in the occupation of children's maids, and he gently ascended after them, at a respectful distance, and saw them enter the sybil's apartment: he peeped through the key-hole, and observed a dozen other lasses, who were also votaries of the prophetess, waiting to consult her on the dispositions of the Fates towards them. The sybil herself was occupied in poring over the hand of one of the damsels, and alternately consulting the dregs at the bottom of a mystical coffee cup, in order to discover her future fortunes; and in a little while, with grim aspect and solemn voice, she pronounced that the girl must have to encounter many misfortunes, but would overcome them all: that a young man, with light-coloured hair, was in love with her, and would ultimately marry her; but that before marriage he would take a liberty with her, which she must not resist, and that he would afterwards become her most valuable friend. The constable, however, abruptly entered, told the prophetess she was mistaken in the colour of *his* hair, but that he must take a liberty with her, which she must not resist, and carry her before a magistrate.

The Chairman, however, was of opinion, from this evidence, that as no money was seen to pass, owing to the officer's precipitancy, the charge was not made out to warrant a conviction, and it was therefore quashed.

On Wednesday last, a young girl, about sixteen years of age, in boy's attire, went on board the Valiant, in Cawsand Bay, to offer herself as a servant, and requested to see the commanding-officer. On being introduced to the officers in the ward-room, she unfortunately dropped a curtsey instead of making a bow, which, causing a general laugh, so discomposed her that she was nearly fainting; but on being encouraged and assisted by the officers, she soon recovered herself; and informed them of her desire to be a sailor.—On learning her abode, a messenger was sent to her brother, who immediately came with her clothes, thanked the officers for their polite treatment, and returned with her the same evening to her friends at Milbrook.

The election of a Member for the University of Cambridge has terminated in favour of Lord Palmerston. The poll commenced at 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning, and continued, with only an adjournment of two hours, until 9 o'clock at night, when it finally closed, and the numbers were declared to be—

For Lord Palmerston .	459
Mr. Smyth . .	347
Majority	112

Yorkshire Assizes. — Trial of James Whitehead, for attempting to murder Ann Ockleton. —The prisoner, on being arraigned, pleaded guilty, which plea he persisted in for a considerable time; but, by the advice of the court, and the repeated entreaties of his counsel and friends, he reluctantly withdrew his plea, and pleaded not guilty. The prisoner, who was a good-looking young man, seemed greatly affected during the whole of his trial.

Mr. Tindall stated, that this was a prosecution under what is called Lord Ellenborough's Act. The prisoner lived servant with a Mr. Brown of Hedon, at the same time that Ann Ockleton, the prosecutrix in this indictment, lived there as a domestic, and a considerable degree of attachment existed between them at that time. After Ann Ockleton left the service of Mr. Brown, their intercourse with each other was necessarily less frequent, and her father having expressed some disapprobation of the connection, a shyness on the part of the young woman took place, which probably led to the catastrophe detailed in the following evidence:—

Ann Ockleton, a young woman of about 20 years of age, was the first witness called; but she was so extremely agitated, as to be unable to give her evidence. The judge recommended that another witness should be placed in the bar until she was more composed; but as it would occur first in the natural order of the trial, we shall give it that place in our report.

Ann Ockleton stated, that she first became acquainted with the prisoner in December, 1809, when she lived with Mr. Brown, with whom she was his fellow-servant. During the time in which she lived with Mr. Brown, which was until April following, the prisoner paid his addresses to her, or, as she expressed it, kept her company. After quitting the service of Mr. Brown, she lived at a public-house at Sproatley, where her sweetheart occasionally visited her; on leaving Sproatley, she went to live with her father at Aldbrough, where she was visited by the prisoner once or twice, at which her father expressed some dissatisfaction: she also stated, that she had left the service of Mr. Brown on account of her intimacy with the prisoner. On the evening of the 4th of September last, she went with her aunt, Jane Ockleton, to milk in a field about half a mile from Aldbrough. On their way thither they were met by the prisoner, who said to her, "How do you do, Nancy?" She answered, "Very well, thank you." The prisoner then stopt, and she said, "If you mean to go with us, I will return home." The prisoner replied, "No; I do not want to go with you;" and then turned, and walked towards the town, and the witness and her aunt went forward: they were employed about a quarter of an hour in milking. On their return home, at a short distance from the close, they met the prisoner, who spoke to her aunt, and desired her to leave her with him, as he wished to have some talk with her, which her aunt declined; when the prisoner swore, and said he did not care for her, and, turning himself round, stood before them, and said, "Stop!" and drew a knife from his pocket and opened

it; on which witness and her aunt set up a loud cry, and the witness let fall the milk pail. She then ran back two or three yards, and was followed by the prisoner, who caught her in his arms, and threw her on the ground, he falling with her; he then cut her throat with a knife, and, after being wounded in the neck, she wrested the knife from him, and threw it over the hedge, and, while he was seeking the knife, supposing she had dropt it near the spot, she extricated herself from him, and run away, the prisoner pursuing her, and almost immediately she met Isaac Ellard, who took her under his protection.

Jane Ockleton gave a similar account of all the transactions which preceded her niece being thrown down by the prisoner, and added, that she, the witness, called to him, and said, "You villain, do you mean to take her life?" He replied, "Yes, damn her; I will murder her, and then I will murder you, and then there will be nobody to tell." Witness immediately ran to the town for assistance. In about a quarter of an hour she saw her niece again; her neck was cut, and she bled profusely; her fingers were also much cut.

Isaac Ellard said, on the 4th of September he met Ann Ockleton in the lane, and James Whitehead pursuing her; she exclaimed, "Save my life!" and witness shouted out, "My friend, what have you been doing?" To which the prisoner replied, "I do not mean to hurt you, or any man or woman on the earth, but Ann Ockleton; and I mean to have her life, if it be possible. Give me your hand, for I shall be hanged for her; and so I will go to the gallows and be hanged like a dog." Witness said, "No, my friend, I hope you have done nothing yet that will hang you." Prisoner said, "Yes, I have cut her throat; and if I had not lost the knife, I should have killed her upon the spot, and she would now have been a dead woman." During this conversation, himself, the prisoner, and Ann Ockleton, were walking towards Aldbrough. The prisoner wished to shake hands with her, which she refused. The witness did not observe any appearance which indicated derangement of mind.

Mr. John Mann, surgeon, described the wound, which he was called in to examine, as an incision in the neck, about three and a half inches in length, and a quarter of an inch in depth, a little before the tracher; he also said, that several of her fingers were much cut.

On the part of the prisoner, Mr. Robert Stubbing, the partner of Mr. Brown before referred to, stated, that during the time the prisoner lived with them, which was about nine months, he conducted himself with propriety, and seemed to be of a humane disposition and good temper.

The learned judge, after recapitulating the evidence, said it was possible the prisoner was much attached to the young woman, whom he suspected of a coldness towards him; and that, under the influence of these feelings, he had worked himself into a violent phrenzy of passion. But his lordship observed, that the violence of passion would not justify or exte-

nuate an act that deliberately aimed at the life of a fellow creature; if it did, a door would be opened to all the excesses and crimes which persons under the impulse of passion might be induced to commit; and no evidence had been given to induce the jury to think that the prisoner was not in a sane state of mind at the time this act was perpetrated. The jury, without leaving the box, found the prisoner *Guilty*, but recommended him to mercy on account of his good character. The prisoner, on leaving the bar, said, "May God be the comfort of my prosecutrix."

On Sunday evening last, the Royal Powder Mills at Ospringe, near Faversham, blew up. No lives were lost.

The remains of the late Queen of France, consort of Lewis XVIII., were removed from Westminster Abbey on Tuesday, and put on board a vessel in the river, to be conveyed to Sardinia for interment.

Thursday morning, in a house near the barracks, Glasgow, a servant girl put up a folding bed, in which a fine child of about 17 months old was sleeping, without knowing the circumstance; and although the accident was soon afterwards discovered, yet the child was smothered.

APRIL.

1st. A spirited tar, who had just received his prize-money, lately engaged a small provincial theatre entirely to himself. He took his seat in the centre of the pit, furnished himself with an inordinate quantity of beer, punch, and tobacco, &c., and requested the performances to commence, as no one should enter the theatre but himself. At the close of every speech that pleased him he presented the actor with a glass, and when the curtain dropped, he transferred his stores to the stage, and invited the whole of the performers to partake.

Mr. Chambers, late master's mate of the Minotaur, arrived in town on Friday, from Valenciennes, whence he effected his escape on the 4th of February. By this officer, the following information of the persons unfortunately lost at the time the Minotaur, of 74 guns, was wrecked, has been received:

It appears the Minotaur struck on a large sand, a few leagues from the entrance of the Texel, at midnight, on the 22d of December, in a very heavy sea; and in less than two hours the water was completely over the orlop deck. In this dreadful situation she remained the whole night—the ship sinking; all the masts, yards, and boats, except two small ones, gone. Before two o'clock on the following day, the ship was entirely gone to pieces; and of the 680 persons on board, at the time the ship struck, only 110 were enabled to reach the shore. Of this number were ten officers, five private marines, eighty-five English seamen, and ten foreigners. The whole of these, excepting the foreigners, were put on board Dutch schuyts, and conveyed to Amsterdam, and from thence marched to Valenciennes.

7th. On Saturday evening, a clerk to an attorney in

Lynn, went to the bank in that town, where his master kept cash, with his bank-book, and desired to have 700*l.* Without any other authority they let him have it, and the business being done in a hurry, not any of the numbers of the notes were taken. In a short time after, it was discovered that the clerk had obtained the 700*l.* without the authority of his master, and had absconded from Lynn with it. Several persons were dispatched in various directions in pursuit of him, and he was traced to Boston, but there lost. The attorney having written off to his agent in London, with a description of his person, and the particulars of his obtaining the 700*l.* the agent gave information at the public office, Bow-street, and Vickery was employed to go in pursuit of the offender. He learnt that some of the bank post bills obtained had been changed on Monday morning, soon after nine o'clock, at the Bank of England. This convinced the officer that the offender had arrived in London; and after making inquiry at several inns, where the Ely, Cambridge, and other coaches put up, he ascertained that a young man, answering the description, had arrived by the Boston coach early that morning, at the Saracen's-head inn, Snow-hill, in company with a young lady, who was then in the inn waiting his return. In the mean time one of the Bankers from Lynn arrived, and waited with Vickery till the young man returned, when the Banker identified him as the person who had obtained the 700*l.* under a pretence of being authorised by his master. Vickery took him into custody; also the young lady he had travelled with; and on searching them, he found upon her notes to the amount of near 600*l.* Upon him he found a gold watch, chain, and seals, for which it appeared from a bill and receipt, found upon him, he had paid 50*l.*

The Lowther Castle Indiaman carries out a letter, written in Latin, to the Viceroy of China, relative to the investigation which has taken place in this country regarding the murder of a Chinese by a British sailor, of which the latter is proved to have been innocent. The same ship also carries out presents to the Viceroy to a very considerable amount.

8th. A very singular discovery has been made at Colchester, respecting the sex of a servant who had lived thirty years in a family in that town, as housemaid and nurse. Having lately paid the debt of nature, it was discovered, on examining the body, that the deceased had been a male. No reason is assigned for his having assumed the female garb: and he had never, like the Chevalier D'Eon, excited suspicion, or been the subject of bets and law-suits.

Two houses in Ironmonger-row, Old-street, which, notwithstanding they were under repair, were crowded with inhabitants, fell down with a most tremendous crash, while the workmen were gone to dinner. By this disaster a great number of the inmates were buried in the ruins. The London militia, who were at the time exercising in the Artillery Ground, were immediately sent to aid the sufferers, and by dint of

the most unwearied exertions, eleven persons were taken out, four of whom were dead, viz. a mother and three children named Crewe; the wounded persons were taken to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, most of them in a deplorable state.

10th. Execution of John Gould, aged 23, for the murder of his wife, Elizabeth Gould.—This unfortunate young man suffered the sentence of the law on Wednesday last, on the new drop, in front of the county gaol of Stafford.

There were some circumstances attending this trial which are worthy of notice. This youth married at an early age, without any ostensible means of supporting a wife and family beyond his own daily labour. He worked, it appeared, for his father, in the character of a servant, on a small farm. Finding a family coming on, his wife being pregnant of the second child, it appeared that he had used violent and cruel means of producing abortion, namely, crushing or elbowing his wife in bed, rolling over her, &c. By these means abortion was produced, and the unfortunate mother died in a short time after, the wife and offspring sharing the same fate. Before she expired she declared, according to the evidence, that ill-usage of the above kind had been the cause of her death; and on this circumstantial evidence Gould was found guilty. On sentence being passed upon him, he exclaimed that he was murdered.

Gould, after being conveyed back to his cell, wept aloud, and his cries were heard by the whole of the prisoners in the gaol. He appeared incapable of receiving consolation. His sentence came like a thunder-bolt upon him, and deprived him of every manly exertion. He was attended with unexampled assiduity and kindness, by a reverend and respectable clergyman, who volunteered his truly christian services to prepare him for the last moment.—All, however, appeared to be without any particular effect. He was susceptible of nothing but grief; and when his time approached, it was with difficulty that he was induced to leave his cell. He could scarce contain himself as he was led through the different courts to the lodge. He was in a manner heaved up to the platform, from which his cries were heard by a numerous and sympathising populace, to a considerable distance. He was launched off about 10 minutes before 12, and appeared to die harder than is usual.

Gould was a fresh coloured young man, middle-sized; with a countenance not at all indicating hardness of mind, and expressive only of youthful rusticity.

A subscription was lately opened at Hamilton, for the relief of the industrious inhabitants, who, in common with those of all the other manufacturing towns in the west of Scotland, have been thrown out of employment, in consequence of the stagnation of trade. A very large sum was forthwith subscribed; but when an attempt was made to distribute it, the people for whose use it had been so generously provided, refused to accept of it as alms, but said they would be happy to earn it by their labour. The subscri-

bers have accordingly agreed to expend the money in making a foot-path between Hamilton and Bothwell bridge, at which all the labouring inhabitants of the parish will be invited to work, at the usual wages.

Old Bailey.—Yesterday the Sessions commenced before the Recorder of London, Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, and Mr. Justice Bailey. The first prisoners brought forward for trial, were Davenport Sedley, and Charles Gabriel Gustavus Kieruft, commonly called Baron Kieruft, indicted together with Edward Meyer, (who has fled from justice) for a felony, in stealing bills of exchange to a considerable amount from the Marquis of Headfort.

The indictment was stated by Mr. Curwood.

Mr. Alley, in stating the case for the prosecution, observed, that the Marquis of Headfort, the prosecutor for the crown in this case, is a nobleman of rank in Ireland, and that he has extensive estates in that country; that his lordship, within the last year or two, was occasionally in want of large sums of money; and rather than be obliged to trouble his friends, or immediate connections, by applications to them for loans, he chose to make application to those who were in the practice of procuring such loans for pecuniary consideration. He, in consequence, had dealings with some of those persons who frequently advertise to accommodate noblemen and gentlemen in want of money; and an offer was made to procure money upon his acceptances, and by thus getting his negociable securities in their hands to commit the grossest frauds upon him. In the month of October, 1809, the prisoner Sedley communicated to a man named Walker, who would give his testimony for the prosecution in this case, that he knew the Marquis, the extent of his fortune, and his perfect competence to pay any securities into which he might enter; and between them they resolved to send his lordship a letter, offering their service to procure any money he wanted, upon his acceptances. Both Sedley and Walker, so far from being able to advance loans of money at the time, were actually paupers, and prisoners within the rules of the Fleet; and Walker especially, in so ragged and tattered a state, that he could not venture to appear to the Marquis in the character it was proposed he should assume. In this dilemma, Sedley requested of Walker to apply to some person of his acquaintance out of prison, to allow of letters to be received for him at his house, and others sent from thence, without incurring a charge of forgery; and Walker did, in consequence, prevail on a person of his own name, having a house in Robert-street, Bedford-row, to allow of letters to be dated from thence, and others received on his account. Sedley then writes a letter to the Marquis, which Walker copies and sends to the Marquis, in which he states, that if his lordship is under any difficulties to raise money, he would undertake to procure for him 50 or 60,000*l.* upon his securities; and if necessary for present exigency, to oblige him with an advance on

his acceptances of 8, 10, or 12,000*l.*; but at the same time enjoining the Marquis to the profoundest secrecy on money matters, and requesting the matter might be unknown to any person but his Lordship and the writer, until the Marquis should return to England. This letter was sent to the Marquis's town residence. He was in Ireland at the time he received this letter; and, on his return, he was not surprised that a knowledge of his pecuniary embarrassments should have reached the writer. He therefore answered the letter, and desired a personal interview; but Walker was in such a state of rags and wretchedness, that he could not appear; and yet those wealthy gentlemen, who were so ready to procure for the Marquis of Headfort 60,000*l.* could not, amongst them raise money enough to purchase a suit of clothes in which to dress their chosen actor for the purpose of playing his part at the proposed interview; and therefore another person was chosen, whose name, in charity, he would not mention, because his evidence this day might be adduced in further exposing the machinations of this foul and fradulent conspiracy. Upon some further consultation, it was agreed that Walker had blown up the plot, and another person, named a Mr. Edward Meyer, a *count*, by titular assumption, was chosen at the recommendation of Mr. Sedley, and a second letter was sent to the Marquis from Meyer, proposing to lend the money.

In this letter Meyer recurs to the accommodation proposed by Richard Walker—offered, as he states, to the mercantile house in which he was a partner; but as his partners have rejected the business as out of the way of their concerns, he (Meyer) states, that having solely taken, on his own private account, a business wholly unconcerned with his partners' export trade, he is, if his lordship stands in need, ready to accommodate him with 6 or 8000*l.* for four or six months; after which time he would renew the securities for four or six months longer; and do the like again, if it should not be perfectly convenient for his lordship to pay the money. This letter is dated the 14th of December, 1809, from 21, Little St. Thomas Apostle's; the very counting house, which, as he was ready to prove on the testimony of the widow from whom it was rented, had been taken by the prisoner Kieruft, and the rent paid by Sedley, both of whom were frequently there together. This letter also enjoins profound secrecy; it appears to be copied in the hand-writing of John Sedley, the son of the prisoner; and the original draft, in the prisoner's own hand, is found amongst his papers, on his apprehension; so loosely and incautiously will such persons sometimes act, when wrapt up in an imaginary security from all discovery. The Marquis in consequence agrees to an interview. Mr. Walker's absence is accounted for by a statement, that he is in the country confined with the gout. The Count Meyer comes to the Marquis elegantly dressed, and being a man of specious address, found no difficulty in imposing on the credulity of the Marquis, nor would, perhaps,

on the discernment of persons much more acute and conversant with the practices of such persons. The Marquis asked Meyer how he proposed to accommodate him, and Meyer answered, by purchasing merchandizes for the securities, and then turning them into money. The noble Marquis, however, decidedly objects to this mode, and to every thing like having his securities brought into the mercantile market; but insists, that whatever was the amount received must be in money. Upon this Count Meyer took his departure; but on the very next day the Marquis receives another letter, the contents of, and the circumstances connected with, which, it would be of the utmost importance to the jury to attend to; because it would develope a sort of bye-plot, still deeper than any stratagem hitherto practised: and under the pretence of personal knowledge of and respect for the Marquis, to guard him against imposition, by a manœuvre, which was obviously and insidiously calculated to lull all his suspicions, and to lure him into the very trap against which it pretended to guard him. This letter was signed by the name of a person calling himself O'Brien, and pretending to be a wealthy merchant. It is not addressed to the Marquis, but to a lady then in his house, who, it was naturally supposed, would communicate its contents to his lordship. It professed an intimate knowledge of his lordship's family and his property; it states a knowledge of Meyer having visited his lordship, and cautions him against any money transactions with Meyer, whom it states to be an artful usurer, extremely rapacious, and who had amassed an immense fortune by usurious transactions, and who would exact the exorbitant terms of 8 per cent. It stated that this Meyer had advanced in this way large sums to certain branches of the royal family, and in particular 50,000*l.* to the Prince of Wales; that his mode of negociating securities was by pretended purchase of merchandize, of which he usually made fictitious sales to his clerks, at a pretended loss of 8 per cent, and charging the loss to the borrower: thus artfully pretending to guard his lordship against usurious extortions, to which he knew he must submit, while it insinuated that Meyer was a man of immense wealth, who had the means in his power of accommodating his lordship in all events, and thus lulled all suspicion of insecurity in trusting him with his acceptances. The draft of this letter was found amongst Sedley's papers, and the letter sent to the Marquis is in the hand writing of his son John. Immediately after this comes a letter from the same counting-house, signed by the name of Edward Meyer, dated 20th December, 1809, purporting, that he could now purchase, on very low terms, a quantity of port wine, very good, at four and six months credit, which he could sell in a few days again at risk; and if his lordship would allow him to draw upon him for 3000*l.*, one half at four and the other at six months, he would purchase the wines, and his lordship might draw upon him for 2800*l.* at 21 days, which would give him time to put the

wines again into his own stores, and sell them again to the trade, without giving the business the appearance of a money transaction; and as soon as his own acceptances were paid, he would shew the account, and settle the balance to his lordship's satisfaction. This also was in John Sedley's hand writing, and so little disguised, that on the slightest examination it might have been discovered to be the same hand with that signed O'Brien. This was followed by a series of other letters, signed by Meyer's name, and written in the hand of young Sedley; which ended in the obtainment from his lordship of the bills in question to the amount of 5000*l.* A day or two after those bills were passed, a letter comes to the Marquis, signed by G. Kieruft, dated from No. 4, Panton-square, January 13th, 1810; in which the writer states, that he has received from Edward Meyer his lordship's acceptance for 500*l.* which he very much wished to convert into two bills, and he drew and inclosed two for his lordship's acceptance at 6 months, the one for 300*l.* the other for 200*l.* and saying that on Monday afternoon following, on receiving those bills accepted from his lordship's porter he should leave with him that which he held. The letter concludes with this remarkable paragraph, that when the bills became due, he should, if required, renew them, according to Mr. Meyer's engagement with his lordship. He received the two drafts as he requested. Kieruft, however, had denied all connection with Sedley or Meyer.

Here Lord Ellenborough interposed. His lordship said, he had no doubt of the correctness of the statement, but still, from the whole, it did not appear there was any fact to sustain the charge of a felonious taking against either of the prisoners.

Mr. Alley then proceeded to state another part of the transaction which he termed still more atrocious than all the rest, and calculated, when Lord Headfort refused, by the advice of his friends, the payment of those bills out of which he had been defrauded, to terrify him into the payment by one of the most abominable insinuations ever devised for such a purpose. A letter to Lord Headfort, signed by a person subscribing himself John Yeates, stated, that some friends of his held three of his lordship's bills for 1500*l.*, drawn upon him by Edward Meyer, which they very much wished to get rid of, having lately discoved that Meyer was a person notorious for propensities the most unnatural and abominable, and had been twice punished under the sentence of the law for unnatural crimes. It stated, that the writer and his friend were well satisfied that his lordship was unacquainted with this character of Meyer's when he accepted those bills, otherwise his lordship would not blend his name on paper with such a ruffian's; neither did his friend, who took the bills from Meyer, know any thing of his character at the time, or they would not have had any thing to do with him. The letter concludes by offering to introduce his lordship to a man who would lend him 10,000*l.* for any length of time, provided he would agree to pay

the 1500*l.* out of it. This letter was in the hand-writing of the prisoner Sedley, and dated from his residence, No. 5, Gray's Walk, Lambeth, 2d of May, 1810. His lordship treated this letter with the contempt it deserved; it was afterwards followed up by several other letters of a like tendency, signed by the name of John Phillips, dated from 14, Swithin's Lane, Lombard Street, all tending to terrify his Lordship in the same infamous way; and the last of which, after endeavouring to induce his lordship to pay those bills, under the dread of blending his name with that of a man so implicated as Meyer, artfully submits the copy of a posting-bill, advertising the acceptances of Lord Headfort, paid by Meyer to Mr. John Williams, and by him to the said John Phillips, stating Meyer to be a common swindler, notorious for another abominable crime, who never had any residence at 14, Little St. Thomas Apostle's; had been twice pilloried for the crimes already stated, and offering a reward of 20*l.* for his apprehension, payable by this John Phillips, at 14, St. Swithin's-lane. He proposes to send thirty of his own workmen to paste up ten thousand of these hand-bills all over London and its suburbs. This by way of assisting his lordship, whose consent he asked for the publication, to lay hold of Meyer, and get from him the money to pay his own acceptances which he gave his lordship in exchange for his; or, in all events, obliging him to pay the bill in Phillips's hands, which was paid to him for a valuable consideration: thus endeavouring insidiously to terrify the noble Marquis to pay those bills, under the menaced alternative of paving the walls of the metropolis with ten thousand posting-bills, in conjunction with that of a proclaimed swindler and reputed monster. Now all these letters from Phillips would, he said, be proved to be in the hand writing of Sedley, and that the drafts of them were found at his house.

Here again Lord Ellenborough interfered, and said, that still it did not appear there was any proof of felony in Kieruft in this case.

Mr. Alley admitted the case against Kieruft was not quite so strong as against Sedley; and not being able to sustain the felony, he should relinquish that part of the case as to him. If he had sooner seen the indictment, he would have indicted Sedley, at the Quarter Sessions, as an accomplice before the fact, and Kieruft as an accessary after it.

Lord Ellenborough repeated his former opinions as to the grievous fraud upon Lord Headfort; but the question now to try, was whether a felony could be proved. It would be first necessary to prove the facts as to how the property was obtained, and then see how the law applied. If the bills were handed to Kieruft merely as a servant or agent to obtain the money, and he had embezzled them, then the felony would be complete; but the fact of exchanging them for the bills with his lordship, repelled the charge of felonious taking.

Mr. Alley then declined pushing the prosecution further, after

the opinion expressed by his lordship; and no evidence being offered, the jury, under the direction of Lord Ellenborough, acquitted the prisoners of the felony.

Mr. Alley immediately addressed the court, and declared his intention of prosecuting both the prisoners at the next Middlesex Session for the conspiracy, and therefore moved that they be detained. He afterwards, however, consented to Kieruft's being enlarged upon his former recognizance.

A young gentleman of family and fortune, from the neighbourhood of Cheltenham, lost, or to speak more correctly, was robbed of seven thousand pounds, on Sunday morning, at a low gaming house, in the neighbourhood of Pall Mall.

The British Navy.—There are at present in commission 150 ships of the line, 20 from 50 to 44 guns, 168 frigates, 153 sloops of war, five fire-ships, 174 armed brigs, 37 cutters, 76 schooners and luggers, making altogether 792 ships of war: besides which, there are building, repairing, and in ordinary, as many as make the grand total 1065, of which 256 are of the line.

From a Barbadoes Paper.—We have been furnished by a gentleman, passenger on board the ship Cornwall, Captain Peat, bound to Jamaica, from London, which arrived on Sunday last, with the following particulars of her voyage here, after having lost her rudder in a gale she encountered in the Bay of Biscay. The Cornwall had 200 recruits and 16 officers on board, for the different regiments in the West Indies; the whole under the command of Captain Cameron, of the 6th West India regiment.

On the 3d of January, in lat. 45. 18., she encountered a very severe storm, which increased in the evening with such violence, as to endanger her safety. During the night, the gale still continuing, she unshipped her rudder, which, on disengaging, tore away the helm, stern, and counter, but fortunately did not injure the sternpost, or she must have foundered. She was thus rendered a wreck, and became completely unmanageable.

On the following morning the wind abated; but in the afternoon it blew a hurricane, when all on board, amounting to nearly 300 souls, momentarily expected a watery grave. Captain Peat, having foreseen the storm, had fortunately placed the ship in its best possible state; and, during the gale, the exertions of himself and crew are beyond praise.

At the dawn of day on the 5th, the gale subsided, and a gleam of hope succeeded, depending on the friendly assistance of some vessel that we might fall in with, as we had the signal of distress flying. About two o'clock a ship hove in sight, and came down to witness this scene of wretchedness. When she came within hail of the Cornwall, the master having observed our loss of the rudder, promised to keep by us. Allowing, however, no further time for conversation, he unexpectedly shot ahead; and as the sea was running mountains high, no boat could be sent off to explain the assistance we required; thus, when a prospect of relief was in view, did this

monster, in the shape of a man, make sail from us, and left the miserable to their fate.

After being thus abandoned, it became necessary to devise some method of governing the ship; a jury-rudder was therefore made by means of a spare fore-top-yard, at the end of which were fixed pieces of square plank, to serve as a paddle, reeved with blocks and tackle, ingeniously contrived by Captain Peat and his carpenter: this served as a rudder, and requiring great power to assist in steering, was supplied by the exertions of the soldiers, under the direction of Captain Cameron, who regularly did this duty until the 13th when it was contrived to work with the wheel of the lost rudder. Considerable delay was occasioned by the repairs this machinery required, and the improvements that were daily discovered, which rendered the working of the vessel more steady; and by unparalleled assiduity and perseverance, the vessel was safely brought to anchor in Carlisle Bay on the 10th instant.

22d. On Saturday, between the hours of two and three in the morning, a dreadful fire broke out at Goullee's pork-shop, corner of Half Moon-street, Bishopsgate-street. The moment the flames burst forth in the lower apartments, the alarm of fire was given from without by some passengers: but such progress had the fire made, that it was too late to save the lives of most of the inhabitants. The family consisted of Mr. Goullee, his wife, three children, the nurse, a maid-servant, shop-boy, and a waiter of the London-tavern, and his wife, who were lodgers in the first floor. The two latter only were awakened by the noise, and they had the good fortune to escape with their bed to the window of the first-floor, which they threw on the pavement, for the purpose of throwing themselves upon it. The wife made a leap, and falling on the bed, did not receive the slightest injury; her husband, who instantly followed, was not so fortunate; he came in contact with a hook, which tore his leg in a dreadful manner, but from bruises he suffered no material injury. Of the rest of the family nothing was seen, but the populace heard at intervals their cries; and this was but for a short time, for the floor giving way, the whole of this unfortunate family perished in the burning ruins. As soon as daylight appeared, the remains of the unhappy sufferers were searched for in the ruins, and in the course of the day they were all found, except the maid-servant and the boy, and conveyed on shutters to Bishopsgate workhouse. The youngest child was only a month old, and the nurse who attended Mrs. Goullee was one of the unhappy sufferers. It is not known how the fire originated.

By the sentence of a court martial lately held at Lisbon, Lord William Fitzroy, captain of the Macedonian frigate, has been dismissed the service for tyranny and oppression, in putting the master of that vessel in irons. The master was afterwards tried for contempt to Lord William Fitzroy: the charged being proved, he was dismissed his Majesty's service, and rendered incapable of serving again as an officer.

At the Warwick Assizes, William Bradbury was tried and convicted of selling forged notes, of the similitude of Bank of England notes, considerably less than the expressed value, and was left for execution. He is an old offender, and is said to have been the cause of more than fifty persons having suffered death for uttering the same.

At the late assizes at Haverfordwest, a person named John Griffith was convicted of the murder of his wife by poison. On his return to goal, after sentence was passed on him, he was visited, at his own request, by the Rev. Mr. Luke, to whom he confessed that he was not only guilty of the crime for which he was about to suffer, but that he had also murdered his first wife, and had destroyed both by administering arsenic to them. He said that he had employed a fellow-servant to purchase the arsenic for him with which he poisoned his first wife, pretending that he wanted it to kill the rats and mice that infested the house; he admitted further, that he purchased a shilling's worth of arsenic himself, for the purpose of destroying his second wife, and that he gave her the first dose in some *budram*, (oatmeal gruel), on the morning of the 25th of February last: this not taking immediate effect, and his conscience upbraiding him, he went the next morning to Dr. Freeman for advice; but the same evening he gave his unfortunate wife a second dose, in some treacle, which soon deprived her of life. He admitted she was a good woman, and of an excellent temper; and declared he had no object in view in thus destroying his two wives, but that "the devil persuaded him to it."

After condemnation the conduct of this wretched man manifested the deepest contrition for the horrible crimes of which he confessed himself guilty. He prayed constantly; expressed his fears that he should not be considered worthy of Divine mercy; but praised God that his offences had been brought to light, as it was fit they should be punished.

On Saturday morning, about eleven o'clock, he was conducted from prison to meet his fate; he appeared entirely resigned, and joined in prayer with the clergyman. He next addressed the numerous spectators in English and Welsh, exhorting them to take warning by his miserable situation, and confessed thus publicly that he had poisoned both his wives, to which he had been tempted by the devil. After bidding his numerous hearers an eternal farewell, he was turned off the ladder, and died without a struggle.

This wretched criminal was only twenty-six years of age; he was born in the parish of Mote, Pembrokeshire; his parents being poor, he received no education, and could neither read nor write.

On Saturday, Patrick Mullowney, who had been so long the terror of the neighbourhood of Mitchelstown, was capitally convicted before Judge Day, at the Cork Assizes, of a burglary and murder, and was on Sunday sent under an escort to the scene of his former crimes, there to suffer the sentence of the law. This man was a rare example of har-

dened villainy. According to a confession made by himself, before he was twenty years old he was concerned in a murder, and had been since at the forcible abduction of twenty-four women.

A singular, but dreadful accident, occurred a few days ago on board his majesty's ship Menelaus. A sailor, having over-reached himself, fell from the main-top just as the sentinel was passing beneath, pitched directly on the point of the bayonet, and was literally empaled. The violence of the shock wrested the piece from the arms of the sentinel, and threw it with its wretched burthen over the gunwale.

A stock-broker, deemed until lately of great integrity, has absconded with 12,000*l*. The greater part of this sum belonged to persons in humble situation in life, who had placed it at his disposal, in order that they might derive higher interest from his experience in the fluctuations of the stocks.

A short time ago, the mail-coach from London to Carlisle, having changed horses at Boroughbridge, started off at full gallop, without guard or driver, with four inside passengers; and having run about a quarter of a mile on their usual road, struck off on a rough country road, crossed a draw-bridge, and continued at the same speed about a mile and a half farther, when they were stopped by the road terminating at a farm gate. The passengers then got out in safety, and the driver and guard, who had followed on horseback, resumed their seats.

26th. On Wednesday, a huge baboon, the size of a full grown Newfoundland dog, having broken his den at Exeter Change, got out of the two story window, and fell on the leads of some shops adjoining, whence he leaped into the street, and proceeded up Burleigh-street, with a numerous concourse of people after him. He was afterwards safely secured without doing any mischief.

27th. On Monday last a disturbance of a serious nature occurred at Sampford Peverell. The annual fair for the sale of cattle, &c. was held there on that day. On the Saturday preceding, a number of the workmen, employed in excavating the bed of the Grand Western Canal, assembled at Wellington, for the purpose of obtaining change for the payment of their wages, which there has been lately considerable difficulty in procuring. Many of them indulged in inordinate drinking, and committed various excesses at Tiverton, and other places, to which they had gone for the purpose above stated.

On Monday, the fair at Sampford seemed to afford a welcome opportunity for the gratification of their tumultuary disposition. Much rioting took place in the course of the day, and towards evening a body of these men, consisting of not less than 300, had assembled in the village. Mr. Chave, (whose name we had occasion to mention in unravelling the imposture respecting the Sampford ghost) was met on the road, and recognized by some of the party. Opprobrious language was applied to him, but whether on that subject, or not, we have not been informed. The rioters followed him to the house, the

windows of which they broke; and, apprehensive of further violence, Mr. Chave considered it necessary to his defence to discharge a loaded pistol at the assailants. This unfortunately took effect, and one man fell dead on the spot. A pistol was also fired by a person within the house, which so severely wounded another man, that his life is despaired of. A carter, employed by Mr. Chave, was most dreadfully beaten by the mob. Additional numbers were accumulating when our accounts were sent off, and we understand their determination was to pull down the house.

A dreadful accident happened last week to a son of William Davis, of Bourn, Lincolnshire. A new threshing-machine, which had been lately erected in the neighbourhood, excited the curiosity of several people to see it work; among others, the above lad (contrary to the injunction of his father) went for that purpose: the father happened to go also; and the boy perceiving him come, crept under part of the machine, in order to conceal himself, when one of the wheels caught his clothes, and drawing him among the works, broke his collar-bone, one of his arms in three places, both his thighs, both his legs, and cut his head in a dreadful manner.

MAY.

Penal Laws.—An afflicting detail has been laid on the table of the house of commons in consequence of the humane endeavours of Sir Samuel Romilly to modify our penal laws. It is a return of the number of commitments for trial in the years 1805-6-7-8, and 1809, distinguishing the crimes, the convictions, and the sentences. In London and Middlesex alone, it appears that the numbers were:— 1st.

Committed.	Indicted.	Convicted.
1805 - 980	951	588
1806 - 899	835	475
1807 -1017	980	542
1808 -1110	1074	619
1809 -1242	1197	750

In this melancholy table, the gradual increase of crimes and convictions for the last three years is very remarkable; and we fear that the evil may be traced to the pressure of the times, for we observe that it is under the head of *larceny* that the increase of crimes is chiefly to be found.

To give an idea of the number of commitments, trials, and convictions for all England, we subjoin the return for the year 1809:—

	Committed.	Indicted.	Convicted.	Executed.
Home circuit	368	332	205	17
Oxford ditto	269	262	154	2
Western ditto	267	253	152	4
Midland ditto	223	214	134	4
Norfolk ditto	121	118	70	3
Northern ditto	108	98	49	7
North Wales ditto	1	1	—	—

	Committed.	Indicted.	Convicted.	Executed.
Brecon ditto	10	10	5	—
Carmarthen ditto	18	15	4	—
Lancashire ditto	105	96	52	13
Durham ditto	8	5	2	—
London and Middlesex Sess.	1242	1197	750	7
	2740	2601	1577	50

"*Newmarket, May 3.*

"We are all here in the highest degree of indignation and astonishment. Six noble animals that were to run for the stakes were poisoned yesterday morning. The poison was administered in their watering-troughs, and the poor creatures, about two hours after drinking, were found in the most dreadful state of agony, kicking, tumbling, and rolling on the ground in the most furious manner. This horrible act was done of course with a view to prevent their running for the stakes. The horses were the property of Mr. Sitwell, sir F. Standish, and lord Kinnaird. Suspicion has attached upon one of the jockeys. A large reward has been offered for the discovery of the perpetrator of this infamous deed."

The Jockey Club has offered a reward of 500 guineas for the discovery of the person or persons who infused poison into the different water-troughs on Newmarket Heath. An anonymous letter was sent to one of the trainers, desiring him not to water his horses at a particular trough, as he might be assured poison was put into the water. Unfortunately, several racers were allowed to drink out of it, and sir F. Standish's colt by Young Eagle, Lord Foley's Pirouette, and Lord Kinnaird's the Dandy, are since dead. No hopes being entertained for the recovery of Spanish, Lord Foley has ordered him to be shot.

A meeting of the Jockey Club will be held in London the week after the second spring meeting, in order to draw up some resolutions in consequence of this abominable act, and for the purpose of discovering and bringing to justice the perpetrators thereof.

There is a most extraordinary trial coming on in the court of common pleas, *Bolton* v. *the Queen*, for 44,000*l.*, a charge made for instructions given to the princesses in writing, drawing, &c. Her Majesty has entered the plea of *Assumpsit*, and also the statute of Limitations. These have been replied to, and the case will probably be tried in the sittings after the term. Mr. Bolton also brought a charge against the princess Elizabeth for 12,000*l.* but her royal highness has been advised to file a bill in equity against him.

Calcutta, May 6.—Early in the morning of Tuesday last, his

highness Mohee Oodheen, the second legitimate son of the late Tippoo Sultan, put a period to his existence, in the ground floor of his own apartments at Bussapuglah. He effected his purpose, by discharging a fowling-piece, loaded with small shot, into his chest. The shot entered in one compact body between the sixth and seventh rib, on the left side, near the breast-bone, passed in the direction of the heart and left lung, and issued at the upper part of the shoulder-blade on the same side. On examining the premises, the shot was found to have lodged in the adjoining wall, at the height of between five and six feet from the ground. No person was near when the act was perpetrated; but the report of the piece was heard about four in the morning, when the family and attendants instantly rushed into the room. From the direction of the wound, it is conceived that the deceased had planted the butt-end of the piece on the floor; and, pointing the muzzle to his breast, had drawn the trigger with his toe. When discovered, he was lying on his back across a cot, in the agonies of death, with the gun resting on his body. He expired almost immediately.

The prince, we understand, since his arrival in Bengal, had distinguished himself above the others by the regularity and correctness of his conduct, and, on that account, had been permitted to enjoy a larger share of liberty.

A young woman, named Susan Rudson, died a few days since at a small village called Mill-hill, near Hendon, Middlesex. Her complaint was what is generally termed a galloping consumption, which arose from her taking, no doubt, at different times, poisonous medicines, procured, as she said, by her seducer, but unsuccessfully, for the purpose of producing abortion; and the last unhappy offspring was the fifth child.—For several days previous to her dissolution she appeared to struggle under the most violent convulsions possible for any human being to endure, and exhibited all the horrors of imagination arising from a mis-spent life. A few moments before death closed her eyes, she declared she could not die until she had unburthened her conscience. A clergyman was sent for, but to him she would say nothing; but called out for a Mrs. Mackay, who had given her nourishment during her illness. This miserable creature then related how she had falsely sworn her two first children (now alive) to an innocent man, and how she had disposed of three others born since. The first, a boy, she destroyed as soon as born, and buried under a tree in a garden near Dors-lane; the second, a girl, met with a similar fate, and she buried it behind a public-house called the Adam and Eve, Mill-hill; the last child, a girl also, shocking to relate, she buried alive in a field near Totteridge. After this disclosure, the unhappy wretch appeared more resigned, and expired almost immediately. The circumstance had such an effect upon the people of the neighbourhood, that no one would stay with the corpse during the night previous to the burial.

A duel was fought on Tuesday morning at day-break, in a field about a mile and 9th.

a half from Totteridge, between two gentlemen who had alighted from post-chaises, at the King's Arms, public-house, near the spot. In an hour after, one of the party was brought in mortally wounded in the abdomen, and he died in four hours after. A jury was held, and the fact of the duel being proved by some husbandmen, a verdict of wilful murder was returned. The body was owned after the inquest. The deceased was a Mr. Harrison, a young man about 22 years of age.

12th. About five o'clock in the afternoon a destructive phenomenon appeared at Bonsall, in the Peak of Derbyshire. A singular motion was observed in a cloud of a serpentine form, which moved in a circular direction, from S. by W. to N. extending itself to the ground. It began its operations near Hopton, and continued its course about five or six miles in length, and about four or five hundred yards in breadth, tearing up plantations, levelling barns, walls, and miners' cots. It tore up large ash trees, carrying them from 20 to 30 yards; and twisted the tops from the trunks, conveying them from 50 to 100 yards distance. Cows were lifted from one field to another, and injured by the fall; miners' buddle-tubs, wash-vats, and other materials, were carried to a considerable distance, and forced into the ground. This was attended with a most tremendous hail-storm: stones and lumps of ice were measured from nine to twelve inches in circumference.

15th. *Wirksworth, Derbyshire.* —on Sunday last, about half past five o'clock, a tremendous whirlwind or tornado, immediately after a short thunder and hail storm, began, as far as we can learn, near Kirk-Ireton. Its appearance was an immense cloud, in form of a balloon, whirled round with incredible swiftness, having a pipe or tail hanging down to the earth about 300 yards wide, darting continually up and down, the force of which nothing appears to have been able to resist, which it caught in its course, taking Kirk-Ireton, part of Cawlow and Hopton, which it has laid in a complete state of ruins.—It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the scene immediately after it had passed, and the destruction so instantly occasioned by it. Houses were unroofed, and barns and out-buildings entirely and in part unroofed and thrown down; hay and corn stacks carried away and dispersed; trees of all sizes torn up by the roots and broken off in the middle, being twisted in several instances into splinters.

Tortola, May 16.—On the 8th was executed behind the jail in this town, the Honourable A. W. Hodge, Esq. one of the members of his majesty's council in this island, for the murder of one of his own negroes named Prosper.

The prisoner on his trial pleaded Not Guilty. The first witness was a free woman of colour, named Pareen Georges. She stated that she was in the habit of attending at Mr. Hodge's estate to wash linen; that one day Prosper came to her to borrow six shillings, being the sum that his master required of him, because a mango had fallen from a tree,

which he (Prosper) was set to watch. He told the witness that he must either find the 6*s*. or be flogged; that the witness had only 3*s*. which she gave him, but that it did not appease Mr. Hodge; that Prosper was flogged for upwards of an hour, receiving more than 100 lashes, and threatened by his master, that if he did not bring the remaining 3*s*. on the next day, the flogging should be repeated; that the next day he was tied to a tree, and flogged for such a length of time, with the thong of the whip doubled, that his head fell back, and that he could bawl no more. From thence he was carried to the sick house, and chained to two other negroes; that he remained in this confinement during five days, at the end of which time his companions broke away, and thereby released him; that he was unable to abscond; that he went to the negro-houses and shut himself up; that he was found there dead in a state of putrefaction, some days afterwards; that crawlers were in his wounds, and not a piece of black flesh was to be seen on the hinder part of his body where he had been flogged.

Stephen M'Keogh, a white man, who had lived as manager on Mr. Hodge's estate, deposed, that he saw the deceased Prosper after he had been so severely flogged; that he could put his finger in his side; he saw him some days before his death in a cruel state; he could not go near him for the blue flies. Mr. Hodge had told the witness, whilst he was in his employ, that if the work of the estate was not done, he was satisfied if he heard the whip.

The prisoner's counsel, in their attempt to impeach the veracity of the witnesses, called evidence as to his general character, which disclosed instances of still greater barbarity on the part of Mr. Hodge. Among other examples, Pareen Georges swore that he had occasioned the death of his cook, by pouring boiling water down her throat.

The jury brought in a verdict of *Guilty*. There were six other indictments on similar charges against the prisoner.

To the last moment of his life Mr. Hodge persisted in his innocence of the crime for which he was about to suffer. He acknowledged that he had been a cruel master, that he had repeatedly flogged his negroes; that they had then run away, when, by their own neglect, and the consequent exposure of their wounds, the death of some of them had possibly ensued.

On the evening preceding his execution, he took leave of his three young children, which so overpowered him, as to make it a matter of doubt if he would ever be restored to tranquillity. In the morning, however, he was calm, and acquired still greater fortitude by receiving the sacrament. He walked with firmness to the place of execution. Thousands of persons witnessed the awful spectacle, some of whom rather indecently expressed exultation.—Mr. Hodge was a gentleman commoner of Oriel College, Oxford. He came out some years ago to visit his property in

Tortola. He was a man of great accomplishments and of elegant manners; and at the time of his death was about 50 years of age. He had been thrice married. Happily, neither of his wives lived to see his last disgrace. By his second lady he has left a daughter about 15 years of age, now in England: by his last, three children, of whom the eldest is about eight, and the younger four years old.

The duke of Devonshire has inclosed the principal part of his mountain estate round Buxton, on which he has erected several farm-houses, and other appropriate buildings, to the great improvement of a country that for centuries had remained in a desert and barren state.

Burdett v. *Abbott.*

17th. The attorney-general proceeded at great length in his argument on the demurrer; to which Mr. Holroyd replied.—Lord Ellenborough then said, that he had not the shadow of a doubt as to the great features of the question, and he thought the justification satisfactory:—1st, The right to commit was authorised by reason and law.—2d, The warrant followed the order, and the order was conformable to the power.—3d, The outer door might be broken open for contempt of an inferior court, and it certainly might be so where public benefit was concerned. Mr. justice Grose and Mr. justice Bailey concurred entirely in opinion with the chief justice. Mr. justice Le Blanc was absent through ill health.—*Judgment of the court in favour of the Speaker.*

18th. Twelve standards and colours taken from the enemy on different occasions, including the French eagle taken by the 87th regiment at the battle of Barrosa, were carried with military ceremonies from the parade in St. James's park to Whitehall chapel, and deposited on each side of the altar. The spectacle, which was one of the finest ever witnessed, was attended by the Dukes of York and Cambridge, Sir D. Dundas, Generals Hope, Doyle, Calvert, and Phipps, and the Spanish and Portuguese ministers, besides a number of ladies of distinction.

20th. The French general Rufin, who was made prisoner at Barrosa, expired on board the Gorgon ship of war, on Wednesday evening, the 15th, at St. Helens: he had spent the day in good spirits, expressing his satisfaction at arriving in England, and his escape from the Spaniards. He was buried on Saturday at Portsmouth, with distinguished funeral honours. This general in the hard-fought battle of Barrosa received a wound in his neck, which paralysed his arms. He continued very cheerful, and seemed to suffer but little from his wound, till about ten minutes before his death: after having ate a hearty dinner on Wednesday, he was suddenly seized with pain which terminated in his death: the wound had affected the spinal marrow. The deceased was a great favourite with Buonaparte; he possessed a considerable landed property in the neighbourhood of Havre-de-Grace.

21st. Late on Sunday night it was rumoured about Windsor, that his Majesty was so much recovered that the physicians

would allow him, after that day, to appear in public, and that he was to ride on horseback the next day. Early yesterday morning the public expectation was confirmed, by the King's equerry in waiting giving orders for his Majesty's saddle-horse to be got ready. This order soon spread through the town: and from this time the visitors, as well as the inhabitants of Windsor and Eton, flocked to the castle-yard and park in crowds. About a quarter past twelve o'clock, his Majesty's grooms made their appearance in the castle-yard, with his Majesty's favourite horse Adonis. All was anxiety then for the appearance of the King. His Majesty soon after came out of the castle, accompanied by the princesses Augusta and Sophia, with whom he appeared in cheerful conversation. They were attended by General Gwynne, Colonel Taylor, and Lady Collyer. His Majesty mounted his horse with apparent ease, and proceeded through the little park into the great park, where the royal party continued till half past one o'clock, when they returned to the castle, where there were crowds waiting their return. His Majesty on his return was received by Dr. Willis, at the palace gate, who conducted him into the castle.

As soon as his Majesty had mounted his horse, a signal was given, and the bells of the parish church and cathedral struck up to announce the happy news of his Majesty's re-appearance in public. At the same time the Royal Stafford regiment, and the Windsor volunteers, who had been drawn out upon the occasion, fired a *feu de joie*. The towns of Windsor, Eton, and the vicinity, exhibited one general scene of rejoicing.

The following remarkable article is extracted from the Moniteur of the 15th ult.

"*Report to his Majesty the Emperor and King.*

"SIRE,—I had the honour to submit to your Majesty on the 22d of March, the disclosures of the Sieur Ounisse Owen, an officer of the British navy, prisoner of war at Besancon. The result thereof was, that this prisoner had concerted with a Sieur Laupper, an officer in the 4th Swiss regiment, the means of surprising Belleisle-en-Mer. Owen, according to the promise he had received, as he said, from M. Mackenzie, to whom the plan had been communicated, was to have been exchanged, and to command the expedition; and Laupper, whose battalion was in garrison in Belleisle, charged himself with the recruiting of partizans among the officers and soldiers, to favour the communications between the cruizers and the coast, &c. It was at Besancon where Laupper had stayed some time, while conducting the recruits to his corps, that this plot was formed. Among the papers which the Sieur Owen produced in support of his statements, there appeared many letters which Laupper had addressed to him from Rennes, and in which he stated that several officers had joined themselves to the conspiracy, and especially a Sieur Laudis, who, he asserted, was to give in his resignation, for the purpose of following Owen to England.

In pursuance of orders I had given, Laupper and Laudis were arrested at Rennes. The first declared, that having had occasion to know the Sieur Owen, on his way to Besancon, and finding himself pressed by the want of money, he had appeared to receive the propositions which the Englishman had made to him of procuring a particular information respecting Belleisle, or the plans and maps of that place; but he maintains that he would not have pretended to enter into his views, but in order to draw from him the sums which he had promised; that he never intended to assist his projects; that he had not even the means of doing so, for he had resided only thirteen days at Belleisle. On his arrival at Rennes, Laupper was arrested for debts contracted to his regiment. It was not long, he added, before he received a letter from Sieur Owen, in which he reminded him of their reciprocal promises, and announced the approaching arrival of the money; in fact, he transmitted to him, at two periods, two drafts, one for 1000 francs, and the other for 400, but they were not paid. In the mean time, the Sieur Owen, insisting and advising him to bring into their interests some of his comrades; he then described to him, as an officer of his regiment, the Sieur Laudis, an old grenadier, who was in prison with him; and he protests that this soldier was totally ignorant of the part which he was made to perform in his correspondence with the English prisoner. Laudis is, in fact, an old grenadier, of the 4th Swiss regiment, who, having been reduced in 1809, remained in the department in quality of garde forrestier; he had been imprisoned for firing a musket at some person. It was in this prison that he found Laupper. He declared that he never received from him any overtures respecting his intercourse with the Sieur Owen, and with the exception of the letters of Laupper, the investigation has not hitherto produced any proof against him. Whatever may be the denials of Laupper, and the grounds on which he supports them, it does not appear to me that they can be capable of justifying him, in opposition to the suspicions which his correspondence with the Sieur Owen establishes against him.

"I have the honour to propose to your Majesty to order the transmission of the papers to the minister of war.

"I am, with profound respect, &c.

(Signed)

"The Duke of Rovigo.

"Referred to the Grand Judge, to cause the laws of the empire to be carried into execution.

(Signed) "Napoleon.

Palace of the Thuilleries, 14th of April, 1811. By the emperor's orders.

(Signed)

"H. B. Duke Bassano."

An experiment of an improved method of charging with the bayonet took place yesterday, by a detachment of the Royal Marines, in presence of the Lords of the Admiralty, and a committee of marine officers. The whole plan contains many very superior advantages over the present system, particularly in enabling the rear rank men to use their muskets at the charge, with similar effect, and at the same moment, as the

front rank, causing the men to stand in a stronger position, and enabling them either to attack or defend, at one instant, both the front and the rear. It appears to be particularly adapted to repel any attack that may be made by an enemy's boarders in a naval engagement. The plan met with entire approbation; and it is reported that it will be adopted.

22nd. *Volunteering from the Militia. Plymouth.*—The volunteering from the militia goes on with spirit from all the regiments in this garrison: the North Devon, the Nottingham, the Salop, the 2d Royal Lancashire, the Royal Cheshire, Somerset, & South Hants, have given in all their quotas; the favourite regiments are the 5th, 19th, 52d, and 74th.

23d. *Yarmouth.*—Several men belonging to the West Norfolk militia lying here, have volunteered into the line, and the 54th foot have by far the greatest share of them.

The volunteering from the militia into the line commenced at Norman Cross on Wednesday, from the 1st Royal Surrey militia, and Cumberland, stationed at that place; the quota for the Surrey being 92. When the order was read in the circle, the whole number allowed to go turned out, with their officers, in the most handsome manner. What makes this the more satisfactory is, that not a shilling of the bounty was to be paid till they got to St. Ives, for the purpose of preventing any disorder amongst the French prisoners. The 56th, commanded by General Norton, was the favourite regiment; 85 as fine fellows as ever handled a musket selecting that regiment to join. The Cumberland, a much stronger regiment, only turned out 29. The 1st Surrey has always been conspicuous for their spirit on such occasions. In the volunteering of 1809, their quota was 183, who turned out the first day, and joined the 56th; since aiding in the capture of the Isle of France. The volunteering from the South Gloucester took place at Brighton also on Wednesday. The complement required was 103, and though to the full of that number turned out, we understand 73 only were accepted. The further volunteering for the remaining 30 men will take place next week.

Imports.—From a return just presented to the House of Commons, it appears that we imported last year,—1,387,820 quarters of wheat;—503,422 cwt. of flour;—533,613 quarters of oats; and 33,226 bolls of oatmeal.

Of this quantity the imports were—From France, 334,806 quarters of wheat, and 202,922 cwt. of flour;—from Holland, 189,016 quarters of wheat;—from Germany, 145,186 ditto; and from Poland and Prussia, 296,756;—from Denmark and Norway, 110,935 quarters;—from America, 34,829 quarters of wheat, and 210,209 cwt. of flour.

Hence more than one third of the wheat, and nearly one half of the flour, came from France and Holland; while from America we imported not more flour than we did from the countries with which we are at war; and the quantity of wheat from America did not exceed one fortieth part of the whole quantity imported.

Robberies at the Opera House.—Bow-street.—Yesterday, a man was brought before Mr. Nares,

on a charge of being the person who has perpetrated the robberies that have lately been committed at the Opera, without the least suspicion against him, he being supposed to be a man of consequence from his constant attendance at public places. Townsend, who attended at the Opera, pledged himself that the robberies were not committed by any known thieves; or even those suspected of thieving; still, however, gentlemen complained of being robbed in the pit. At length it was agreed by the magistrates, that six persons belonging to the office, who were not likely to be known, should attend in the pit, dressed in a style so as to appear as part of the company, which they did last Tuesday: but they did not see any suspicious character, nor any improper conduct whatever in any person. They attended again on Thursday, and took their seats in different parts of the pit. A little before eleven, Nichols observed a man, who although he had every appearance of a gentleman, being dressed in black, a large gold watch, chain, and seals, a large opera hat under his arm, and using an opera glass, pursue conduct that he deemed suspicious; he accordingly followed, and watched him closely, and when he was on the left side of the pit, he saw him feel, and knock his hand against some gentlemen's pockets, to ascertain if any thing was in them, and suspected that he put his hand into their pockets; but if he did, he was sure he did not take any thing out. From that part he went into the avenue in the centre of the pit, commonly called Fop's Passage, where Nichols followed him, and saw him pursue similar conduct. He removed from thence to the right of the pit, where he saw him lean upon the rail, feeling a gentleman's pocket who was sitting close to the rail, put his hand in, and take out something, and put it into his left-hand inside pocket, and moved off. Nichols was apprehensive of laying hold of him, fearing he might be mistaken; but followed him, and beckoned to Humphreys, who was a short distance from him, and desired him to go to the gentleman and ask him if he had lost any thing: the gentleman answered in the negative. Humphreys went and informed Nichols, who desired him to go again to the gentleman, as he was confident the man he was following had taken something out of his pocket. On Humphreys applying a second time to the gentleman, he ascertained that his pocket had been picked of a large valuable silver-gilt snuff-box. In the mean time Nichols had been following his man to several parts, and in the water-closet he observed him examining something. Immediately after Humphrey came up to Nichols, and told him the gentleman had been robbed, and at the same instant the man had got up the stairs, and was getting into the right side of the pit; Humphreys, however, followed him closely, seized him by the collar, and pulled him backwards, and secured his hands. He then called out to know if the officers were going to rob him; the officers replied, "Yes, of a snuff-box, which he had robbed a gentleman of." Nichols put his hand into his pocket, and took out a snuff-box, which, on being held

up, a gentleman owned. He was taken to the watch-house, where, in the course of the night, he tore his opera hat to rags, and threw it out of the window. He has carried on the business of a taylor at the west end of the town, in a most extensive way, these 25 years past.

31st. *Berkley Cause.* — The earl of Berkeley died August 8, 1810. His lordship had married Mary, the daughter of William Cole, by whom he had William Frederick Fitzharding, known as viscount Dursley, six other sons, and two daughters. The fact concerning the time of his marriage had been for years a subject of much conversation among the higher circles: but within these two or three years it excited a more general interest, in consequence of a petition to the house of commons, and the discussion which followed on lord Dursley taking his seat as member for Gloucestershire, and qualifying as the heir apparent of a peer. The subject had likewise been brought before the house of lords some time previously to this, with the view of removing all doubts respecting the succession to the title: but the house refused to go into it, on the ground that it was premature during his lordship's life-time. His lordship's will, dated Aug. 31, 1810, was proved by Mary countess of Berkeley. It comprises nearly eighty sheets, and appears to have been drawn up with considerable caution and circumspection. To his eldest son, described at the time as lord Dursley, he gives personal property to the value of from 30,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* To Augustus, Francis, Thomas, George, and Craven, 700*l.* per annum each, besides 5,000*l.* each at their respectively attaining the age of 21 years. To Mary, Caroline, and Emily, daughters, 400*l.* per annum each, till married; and if married with the consent of their mother, then 10,000*l.* each.— Again, upon their attaining the age of 21, 200*l.* per annum more till married; and upon their mother's death, 500*l.* per annum till married. All the foregoing to be charged on the Berkeley estates in the county of Gloucester. To lord Dursley, the eldest son, Berkeley Castle, in the county of Gloucester, for life, with remainder to his heirs male for ever; on failure of heirs, to the other sons in succession; and, failing them, to the daughters and their issue; and, failing them, to his brother (admiral Berkeley) and his heirs. His estates in the county of Sussex are bequeathed to his son Maurice and his issue male; which failing he gives to the third and other sons down to Craven; and failing them, then to his daughters and their issue for ever. It is provided, that if the Sussex estate should devolve to the possessor of the Gloucestershire estate, that then the interest to such possessor shall terminate as to the said Sussex estate, which is made a remainder over. The paintings, plate, china, and household furniture of Berkeley Castle, together with those of Cranbrook in Middlesex, to descend as heir-looms; but all the other personal property therein to rest for ever in the countess Berkeley. There are powers given to children possessing real estates to make settlements. A like power to the countess to devise annuities, not

exceeding a sum limited; and also a devise to her of 1,000*l.* immediately, and 2,000*l.* per annum for life, charged on the Gloucestershire estates; together with the estates in Middlesex for life; Lugges Farm for life, and leasehold house in Spring Gardens for life, and she is made residuary legatee to all the rest, residue, and remainder of his property for ever. It concludes with a solemn declaration of the legitimacy of lord Dursley, and finally disinherits all and every of the children who presume to dispute his title and legitimacy. There are matters of minor interest. The foregoing are prominent features of this interesting document. His title has, however, been disputed, and the following may be regarded as the leading features of the case. —Common reputation was, that the four eldest sons had been born before the deceased lord was married to their mother the present countess; but her ladyship, on behalf of her eldest son, averred, that although the public solemnization of the marriage took place after the birth of the before-named four children, yet that she had been privately married to lord B. before their birth: and, to establish this statement, an entry in a parish register was produced, which entry, it is alleged, had, for certain reasons of pleasure and convenience on the part of lord Berkeley, been written on a leaf that was pasted down in the registry-book for many years, until upon the present occasion it was wanted. The truth of this story is what the house of lords has been engaged in inquiring into. The clergyman who is stated to have made the entry in the register is dead; and his widow has declared that she does not believe the writing to be that of her deceased husband. Mr. Tudor, brother of lady Berkeley, however, deposed, that he was present at her marriage with the late earl in 1785. —Lady Berkeley is the daughter of Mrs. Glossop, of Osbournby. Lincolnshire, (formerly Mrs. Cole). She contradicted her daughter in some particulars, but gave her evidence in a very respectable way. The old lady has always lived in obscurity herself: but her three daughters have risen to a remarkable elevation in society; one is the present countess of Berkeley; another married a gentleman, who, dying, left her possessed of 7,000*l.* a year, and she is now the wife of a nephew of sir F. Baring; and the third daughter married a general in the army, at present in an important command in America. The evidence adduced is extremely voluminous, occupying upwards of 800 pages; the most remarkable parts of which are the statements of Mrs. Foote, the Rev. John Chapeau, Mr. Fendall, Admiral Prescott, and Maria Lumley,—of which the following is a sketch.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE given before the Committee of Privileges of the House of Lords, to whom the petition of William Fitzharding Berkeley, claiming as of right to be Earl of Berkeley, was referred.

The examination of lady Berkeley took up several days. It stated in substance that she was first married to lord Berkeley, at Berkeley, the 3d of March, 1785,—that her brother, William Tudor, was the witness to the marriage, —that the reasons for concealing

it originated with lord Berkeley, —that she never lived with her sister, Susannah Turner, after her first marriage, because she (Mrs. T.) was living under the roof of a gentleman to whom she was not married,—that she never applied to lord Berkeley to marry her, but was rather unwilling that the second marriage, which was at Lambeth, May 16, 1796, should take place, on account of her elder children,—that she never disclosed her first marriage to either her mother or her two sisters; but that she had given her mother reason to believe she was married, or she would not have lived with her, which she did in 1786, for a few months, during her lying-in of the present claimant.

Ann Foote was called in, and having been sworn, was examined as follows:

Where were you living in the early part of the year 1784?—At Broughton Malherd, in the county of Kent, 40 miles from London.

Did you in the early part of that year receive into your employment a lady who is now lady Berkeley?—Yes, on the 4th of March 1784.

In what capacity was she with you?—As lady's maid.

William Fendall, esq. examined as follows:

Are you not a barrister by profession?—Yes, I am.

Where is your principal place of residence?—In the neighbourhood of Gloucester.

Can you recollect particularly whether you attended the quarter sessions at Gloucester in the early part of the year 1785?—Yes; I certainly did.

Do you recollect on the day on which the sessions ended, or on any day during the sessions, your walking out after dinner into a part of the town called Bell-lane?—I do.

Did you there observe any person looking out of a window in a house there?—I did.

Who was it?—The present lady Berkeley.

Were you at that time acquainted with that lady?—I was not.

Had you ever spoken to her before?—Never.

Had you ever been in her company before?—Never.

Upon seeing that person looking out of the window, what did you do?—Either by taking my hat off, or kissing my hand, I showed an intention of waiting upon her if she would allow me. I in consequence, went up stairs into the room.

After you had made these signals, how were they received by the lady?—They were neither assented to, nor dissented from, that I recollect, and the door was open and I went up.

Upon going up stairs, did you find any body in the company of that lady, and what room did you go into?—I went into a room up one pair of stairs, and I am pretty confident that the sister of that lady, Mrs. Farren, was with her in the room when I went in.

Have the goodness to proceed in giving an account of what passed with these two females.—I sat with them, and I rather believe, but I am not confident, whether I drank tea with them that afternoon or not; I sat with them from half an hour to an hour; I should rather suppose I might stay probably the greater part of an hour.

During that hour you think you

drank tea with them?—I rather think I did, but I am not confident.

Was it to lady Berkeley your attentions were particularly directed?—Certainly.

How were you received?—Not particularly objected to, and with no particular degree of forwardness; I do not recollect that there was any thing particularly forward in lady Berkeley's conduct; nor did she appear offended with my conduct.

She conversed familiarly with you?—Yes.

Did you at any time afterwards renew your visit?—Yes; either the next, or the following day; I think not till the Friday. It was in the afternoon, I recollect perfectly well. I should think about seven o'clock; it was after dinner.

Did you then go into the house?—I did.

Was the door open or shut?—The door was, as it generally was, open; it was not the door of the house, but a private door in the lane.

Who was in the room when you went in?—I think only lady Berkeley.

What passed on your going in, how did you introduce yourself?—I do not know exactly how to state that; but that I intimated, that having visited her before, I wished to visit her again, and was come in consequence. It is impossible for me to state at this distance of time the particular language that I used.

Had you any business with the lady?—No.

How long did you stay with the lady the second time?—I should suppose about the same time as the first.

You were alone during this visit, as you think?—Certainly part of the time, if not the whole.

State what was the subject of conversation between you during this second visit.—It is impossible for me, at this distance of time, precisely to state the whole of the conversation; I certainly professed myself an admirer of her's.

In what way were those professions received?—Not with any surprise certainly; but at that time certainly no particular marks of encouragement were given me.

Did you repeat your visits after that again?—Yes I did.

When?—I should suppose the very next day. I think on the Saturday: and I think once afterwards.

It was then four times in the whole?—I think, as nearly as I can recollect, it was four times in the whole; I joined the circuit either the Tuesday or Wednesday following, at Hereford.

As to the visit the third time; in what part of the day was that paid?—It was in the afternoon.

Did you stay the third time?—I do not recollect that I did.

During the third time did you see lady Berkeley?—Yes.

In company with any body; or alone?—Whether the sister might be present part of the time or not, I cannot pretend to say.

Can you recollect whether, during any part of the visit, you and lady Berkeley were left alone together?—Yes, certainly, we were part of the time.

During this third visit, was any objection intimated by lady Berkeley to those visits which you paid?—Not any that I recollect.

Do you recollect any thing that enables you to state at whose house this was where the lady was? —I did know whose house it was in the course of my visiting, but on what particular day I cannot recollect. Mr. Farren, the husband of Mrs. Farren, came into the room, whom I had known some years before, and I immediately recognised him: whether this was his house or not, I cannot particularly say.

At the time when Mr. Farren came into the room, was there any female in the room except lady Berkeley? — No; I remember perfectly well there was not.

State what was passing between you and lady Berkeley at the time Mr. Farren came into the room? —Premising that nothing criminal, I solemnly declare, ever did pass between lady Berkeley and myself, I must submit to their lordships that circumstances might occur which it might be very unpleasant to state. Occasional liberties might be taken, and perhaps at the time Mr. Farren came in, something of that sort might be passing; but I most solemnly declare, that nothing criminal ever passed between lady Berkeley and myself.

What was the nature of the liberties, if any, that were passing when Mr. Farren came into the room?—I certainly was taking liberties with lady Berkeley at that time, unquestionably.

Was it with or against her consent?—Certainly with a degree of reluctance on her part.

What was the nature of the liberties you were taking?—I was saluting her.

Were you upon the ground with her?—I rather think not, but I will not take upon me particularly to say. There was a moment, I believe, when by accident she had slipped off her chair; and whether it was at that time when Mr. Farren came in, I will not take upon me to say.

Did you receive from lady Berkeley during this time, or at any time during the visits, any reprimand or condemnation of what had passed?—Lady Berkeley certainly did express reluctance at liberties that I attempted to take.

Was that during the period those liberties were taking, or before, or after them?—She expressed a reluctance every time I attempted to take any liberties of that kind, certainly.

After that passed, had you any communication with lady Berkeley after you went to Hereford? —When I was at Hereford I wrote to lady Berkeley.

Did you receive any letter from lady Berkeley?—I did.

Is that letter in existence, or is it destroyed?—It is lost; I believe I may say destroyed.

State, as nearly as you can, the contents of that letter.

The contents of lady Berkeley's letter were rather of a favourable expression towards me. It begins with a complaint of my making a request to her to meet me alone, unaccompanied by any female friend; that if my intentions were honourable towards her, I should rather have desired her to bring some female friend with her, whose presence would have prevented any improper circumstances taking place at the meeting; which was pretty near the whole, at least that was the substance of the letter I received from her ladyship.

The Reverend Mr. Chapeau examined.

States an application from lord Berkeley, in January 1787, to christen a *natural child* of his, which was done—States his being intimate in the family.

Examination proceed in.

During all the time of the intimacy subsisting between you and lord Berkeley, did lord Berkeley pass as a married or single man? As a single man. I recollect a circumstance that passed on coming from shooting one day. It was lord Berkeley's custom to ask, where Miss Tudor was; and the servant that answered the question said, "My lady Berkeley is in the pleasure-grounds." To which lord Berkeley answered, "You fool, whom do you mean by lady Berkeley?—I have no lady Berkeley belonging to me but my mother." That servant repeated that once after that, but never afterwards.

You represented that you had seen lord Berkeley at Spring-gardens on his return from the house of lords, when he went to claim a former marriage?—I did.

Did you see lady Berkeley there?—Both, at Spring-gardens.

Did you hear lady Berkeley say any thing upon that occasion?—I sat in the dining parlour with admiral Prescott, about half an hour before the carriage drove up: when the carriage drove up, lady Berkeley got out of the carriage first; my lord Berkeley was detained with his porter in the hall; lady Berkeley being first, had flounced down in a chair, and looked heated and disappointed, saying, "No more iniquity for me. My children shall go to their church, and shall read their Bible and shall tread the path of truth and virtue."

At any time did lady Berkeley relate to you any circumstances respecting her history?—She did.

Have the goodness to repeat them.—About October, I cannot recollect to say in what year exactly, I think it must be about 1787.

The witness said, When I came into the parlour to shelter myself, I believe it was from rain, Miss Tudor was discharging a servant she had out of the country, and persuading this girl to return to her friends in the country, telling her she would pay her stage-coach if she would. She refused, saying, she liked to stay in London better. Upon which Miss Tudor asked me if I did not think the girl extremely obstinate; and that a girl with a good countenance, and dismissed from service without money, would be sure to fall a prey to some man or other. In this situation, said she, I was once myself; but having a friend of my mother's, whose name I recollected, and whose house I found out, very luckily was received with kindness; but that kindness did not last long, for he came to me and said, "Mary, you must not stay longer under my roof; I have lived in good esteem among my neighbours, and the young people will laugh at me if you continue, and the old people will despise me; therefore, child, you must go down to your friends at Gloucester." I said to her, "I hope that he did not turn you out without some money!" "No," she said, "he did not; he gave me a very handsome present; and with that present I quitted his house and went to my sister Ann

Farren, whom I found with a sore breast, two or three children extremely diseased and dirty, and a woman of the name of Sheffield, an old servant in the family, who came upon her necessitous situation to assist them. The first thing I did was to send for a surgeon to my sister; the next thing was to have the children cleaned and cloathed, and that dipped very deep into my present. I remunerated Mrs. Sheffield for her kindness, and then, disliking my situation under my sister, took up my little bundle, and marched to my sister Susan's. I took up the knocker; but recollecting that my mother had given me strict orders never to speak to my sister Susan any more, I laid it down again quietly, and took a turn to reflect upon my disobedience; but when I thought of returning to all that misery at my sister's—my sister screaming with pain, and the children almost famished with hunger,—I faced about, went to my sister Susan's once again; took up the knocker and gave a loud rap. Who should come to the door, but (as if it had been on purpose) my sister Susan herself, dressed out in all the paraphernalia of a fine lady going to the Opera! She took me in her arms, carried me into the parlour, and gave me refreshment; began to tear a great many valuable laces of 16*s.* a yard, to equip me for the Opera; and when I was so dressed I looked like a devil. I went to the Opera and was entertained with it, and at night returned again to my sister's, and there I found a table well spread; not knowing that my sister ever had any fortune. At table were lord Berkeley, sir Thomas Kipworth, I think a Mr. Marriott, and a Mr. Howorth: the evening went off very dull, and they soon left the place. The next night we went to the play in the same manner, and returned in the same manner, and with no other difference than a young barrister, whom I thought agreeable: and if I had been frequently with him should have liked him very much. When they went away I requested my sister to give me a cheerful evening that we might recount over our youthful stories; a day was fixed, and our supper was a roast fowl, sausages, and a bowl of punch. In the midst of our mirth a noise was heard in the passage, and in rushed two ruffians, one seizing my sister by the right hand, and the other by the left, trying to drag her out of the house in order to carry her to a spunging-house. She told me the men declared they would not quit Susan her sister unless they received a hundred guineas. She fainted away: then, when she came to herself she found lord Berkeley standing by her sister Susan, who was not there before. Miss Tudor fell upon her knees, and desired my lord Berkeley to liberate her sister; that she had no money herself to do it, and if he would do it, he might do whatever he would with her own person: he paid down one hundred guineas; the ruffians quitted their hold, and my lord carried off the lady.

In the conclusion, did the lady say any thing?—Yes; she said, "Mr. Chapeau I have been as much sold as any lamb that goes to the shambles."

In any confidential communication with lord Berkeley, did you

ever learn from his lordship whom he considered as the heir to his title or estate?—Yes, I have several times, twenty times; his brother George Berkeley.

Was the above the first confidential conversation you ever had with lady Berkeley?—I think it was the first and the last I ever had. I will give you a proof of lady Berkeley's artlessness; she is a very artless woman, and a woman who I think has been very ill used through life, for I think she has a great many good qualities. I saw her in Spring-gardens; now I shall surprise you more. I went to call on lord Berkeley in Spring-gardens; the eldest boy had been shut up by her, a good big boy, because he had been very insolent to his mother. When I came into the room, I asked Miss Tudor where master Berkeley was; she said he was shut up in her room within the drawing-room, which was a bed-chamber, and had been shut up for several hours without any victuals. I said, Ma'am, I think you do wrong, for the child will be ill; do liberate him (being confined so many hours). She went into the room, fetched the boy out, with a stick in one hand and the other hand upon his collar; she said, "Go and thank Mr. Chapeau for your liberation;" and she then added, keeping hold of him the while, "Now, you little dog, though I am not your father's wife, I will make you know through life I am your mother."

Can you swear positively to the words, that her ladyship declared herself not to be the wife of lord Berkeley?—She made use of those words that I have related.

Admiral Prescott stated, that on one occasion, when lord Berkeley and Miss Tudor had been quarrelling at Cranford, she left the room, and he said to lord Berkeley how sorry he was to see him so unhappy. His answer was "I am determined, Prescott, to put her away." "Shall I tell her so, my lord?" His answer was, "Yes, you may." I was going to London at that time with Miss Tudor; and in the carriage, after having left the house about ten minutes or something of that kind, I related the conversation that had passed between lord Berkeley and me, and told her I was extremely sorry to say to her that lord Berkeley was determined, if it went on, to part with her; and her answer was, "He dare not." She said no more.

The Marquis of Buckingham stated, that, about the year 1789, lord Berkeley informed him he had some illegitimate children by a woman with whom he was then living; and that he requested him to be their guardian: and that he had a faint recollection of lord Berkeley having said that he had paid some money to procure the possession of the lady.

Walter Meyers, a silversmith in Gloucester, proved, that in May 1785, lord Berkeley and the other officers of the Gloucester militia were accustomed to come to his shop, as he thought, more for the purpose of looking at the Miss Coles, who lived opposite, than buying of trinkets; that they were dressed like butchers' daughters, decently, but not finely.

John Guennett proved, that in Michaelmas 1785, he being a servant of Mrs. Turnour's, whom he

knew to be a kept-woman, was sent to conduct Mary Coles from the Gloucester stage to his mistress's house.

Maria Lumley proved, that about the year 1791 or -2, lord Berkeley told her he had pictures of his two eldest sons in the Exhibition, and that he said, "Would to God they were legitimate!"

In consequence of the decision of the house of lords, the four eldest sons of the late earl are passed over; and the title devolves upon the fifth son, who was the first born in wedlock, viz. Thomas Morton Fitzharding, now Earl of Berkeley, who is in his 15th year.

JUNE.

1st. *Plymouth.*—About three o'clock yesterday morning, an extraordinary phenomenon appeared at this place: the sea suddenly fell to the depth of from four to eight feet, and rose again in the same proportion, which continued at intervals until seven o'clock, during which period the merchant vessels in Catwater and Sutton Pool were observed to be greatly agitated, those in the former harbour dragging their anchors and drifting in various directions: two of them lost their bowsprits by running foul of each other during the great swell (one of which is the Busy revenue cutter), and others received damage, but not to any extent; those in Sutton Pool were afloat and aground in the short space of five minutes, the water falling and rising full eleven feet in that short period. In Hamoaze, at nine o'clock, the tide suddenly stopped at about half flood, and ebbed more than six inches, then flowing again a full hour; ebbed a second time in like manner, and afterwards rose to the usual time of high water. This extraordinary event at first caused some alarm among the spectators, some of whom remembered a similar phenomenon to have taken place at the time of the great and awful earthquake at Lisbon; and it is feared that some event of a like nature has occasioned this extraordinary phenomenon. The winds have for these last few days been very variable: on Wednesday it blew a gale from the S. W. and W. on the following day, a gale from the E., which ceased about twelve o'clock on Thursday night; and from that time to the event taking place, the winds were light and changeable.

2nd. The last Paris papers, after a warm panegyrie upon the discovery of vaccination, which it seems the young king of Rome has undergone, announce, that Dr. Jenner, to whom humanity is indebted for this blessing, has been elected a member of the French Institute.

Bohemia is over-run with companies of brigands, who lay the villages under contribution, and retire with their booty to the fastnesses of the mountains, where they can defy pursuit. The principal band comprises 300 select individuals, and its commander, Clugehausen, was lately an officer in the Austrian service: he is a man of tried courage and great enterprise.

Count Scharosch was lately murdered, on his estates in Hungary, by two of the principal do-

mestics, who, after firing the mansion, fled with a large booty to Bohemia. An ostentatious display of wealth, unsuitable to persons in their station of life, occasioned their apprehension; but as no evidence could be adduced against them, they were liberated. Subsequently, however, in clearing away the ruins of the mansion, the body of the count, which had been accidentally preserved from the fire, was found with such marks of violence, as left no doubt of his having been murdered. The two domestics were again apprehended, confessed their crime, and expiated it by an ignominious death.

5th. *The King's Birth Day.*—Yesterday his majesty completed his 73d year, whose birth-day, during his long reign, has never been omitted to be celebrated as a grand court and national festival, till yesterday. His majesty having enjoyed uninterrupted good health during these long series of years, except the different times he has been unfortunately afflicted in the way he is at present; and we believe all public rejoicings yesterday, so far as relates to government and court, were suspended, except the firing of the Park and Tower guns, keeping in view the day set apart for the purpose by the prince regent, and it is hoped, his majesty will be so far recovered by that time, as not to make a further postponement necessary; however, so far as related to individuals and public bodies, the day was celebrated in nearly the usual manner. The morning was ushered in with ringing of bells; several of the fire insurance office men, in new clothing, with their engines, bands of music, &c. paraded the streets of London.

The rear-guard on the parade in St. James's Park mounted in the morning with only an ordinary parade. None of the royal dukes were present. There was only one band instead of three, as is customary; the only difference was, that the privates and non-commissioned officers had new clothes upon the occasion.

The mail-coaches, drawn by beautiful horses, with new harness, and the coachmen and guards in new scarlet liveries, drew up before Carlton-house in the evening, from whence they went in procession to the post-office.

At six o'clock in the morning the gentlemen of Mr. Hommey's institution at Carleton, in compliment of his majesty's birth-day, fired, from a battery constructed by the pupils, a salute of twenty-one rounds, also ten vollies with their small arms.

The Illuminations.—The same display of loyalty was manifested by his majesty's tradesmen, &c. yesterday evening, as is usual on the birth day of our revered sovereign.

The subscription houses in St. James's-street, viz. White's, Brookes's, the Cocoa Tree, and Boodle's, were all brilliantly lighted up; the devices were G. R. a crown, star, and festoons of variegated lamps.

A female, named Roberts, who died lately at Bala, in Wales, was a singular instance of the vicissitudes of fortune. For nine years preceding June, 1809, she had received relief from the parish of

Llandervel. About that time, with the assistance of some friends, she commenced a suit in chancery, against the executors of Mr. Jones, an eminent brandy-merchant, of St. Mary's-hill, to whom she was first cousin, and next of kin. After the delay which cases of this kind are subject to, she obtained about six months ago a decree from the chancellor, which put her in possession of a moiety of the estate, amounting to upwards of 150,000*l.* !

The valuable living of Simonbourn, in Yorkshire, and the directory of Greenwich Hospital, now dividing under the sanction of parliament, will, upon the decease of the present incumbent, Dr. Scott (the Anti-Sejanus of the earl of Sandwich's naval administration) afford six rectories of 550*l.* each to that number of the senior chaplains of the royal navy.

In making some agricultural operations lately on the farm of Fiddy, in the parish of Skene, Scotland, an oak tree of most enormous size was discovered about two feet under the surface. The dimensions of the trunk are fully five feet diameter, and it seems to have been forty feet high. It is partly burnt at the root, and is supposed to have lain about 300 years. It is nearly in a state of petrifaction, and its weight and bulk are so great, that it will require to be blown in pieces before it can be removed.

Court of King's Bench.—Metcalf *v.* Shaw.—This was an action brought to recover the amount of a milliner's bill, for which, together with interest, a promissory note had been given by the defendant's wife. The defendant was a surgeon at Otley, near Leeds, and the articles were furnished to his wife. It was proved that another milliner was employed, with the knowledge of the husband; and lord Ellenborough was of opinion, that the promissory note by the wife shewed, that the plaintiff's furnishing of the goods was concealed from the husband, and that this was not a credit given to him.—Nonsuit.

Court Marshal, Chelsea. 6th. —Yesterday, the trial of Lieutenant Colonel Johnson, of the 102d, or New South Wales regiment, on a charge of mutiny and usurpation, terminated, after 13 days anxious investigation.—The court was composed of the following members:—

The honourable C. Manners Sutton, esq. judge advocate; lieutenant-general W. Keppell, president; lieutenant-generals, sir David Baird, Milner, Finch, D. M'Donald, and W. Dowdeswell; major-generals, Paget, and Kerr; colonels, Burnet, Fyers, Anson, O'Laughling, and F. W. Butler; lieutenant-colonels, lord Proby, and Paterson.

The following is a copy of the charge, to which the prisoner pleaded *Not Guilty.*

"That he, lieutenant-colonel George Johnson, did, on the 26th of January, 1808, at Sidney, in the colony of New South Wales, begin, excite, and join in a mutiny, by putting himself at the head of the New South Wales corps, then under his command, doing duty in the colony, and seizing, and causing to be seized and arrested, and imprisoning, and causing to be imprisoned, by

means of the above-mentioned military force, the person of William Bligh, esq. then captain-general and governor-in-chief of the territory of New South Wales."

The prosecutor, captain William Bligh, was, in the year 1806, appointed by his majesty to be governor over New South Wales, and all its dependencies. On his arrival at Sidney, according to his statement, he found the colony in a wretched and distressed state, in consequence of the recent overflow of the river Derwent, and likewise from the excessive use of spirituous liquors, which was indulged in to excess by all ranks of people, and more particularly by the officers of the 102d regiment, quartered in the settlement, who were greatly interested in the barter and traffic of that commodity to the people. At this period a settler, named M'Arthur, who had formerly been an officer of the 102d regiment, and who was represented by the governor to be discontented, in consequence of his restrictions upon the barter of spirits, was accused before the criminal court of the colony, which was composed of six of the officers of the 102d, and the judge advocate of the settlement, with seditious practices, in having refused to obey a warrant of the judge advocate issued against him, for violating one of the colonial regulations.

At that trial, Mr. M'Arthur objected to the judge advocate presiding, in consequence of his having a personal quarrel with him, and more particularly he objected to his presence, upon the established principles of British law, that no man could be prosecutor, judge, and juror, in his own case. The officers of the court took the part of Mr. M'Arthur, and refused to allow the judge advocate to preside. Governor Bligh, on hearing of this proceeding, summoned a bench of magistrates to take the matter into consideration; colonel Johnson, the then commanding officer at head quarters, was sent for from his house, four miles from Sidney, to be present at this meeting, but, in consequence of a fall he received from his chaise, he sent word to the governor that he could not attend. The magistrates, after a mature deliberation, came to a determination, at the suggestion of the governor, to summon the six officers to appear the next morning at the government-house, to answer for their conduct; and it was resolved to accuse them of treasonable practices, and, according to the answers they should give on their examination, either to commit them to prison, or dispose of them otherwise, according to the nature of circumstances. In the evening of this day (20th of January,) whilst the governor was sitting over his wine with one of the magistrates, he received information that the whole of the 102d regiment, with colonel Johnson at their head, were marching up to government-house, with band playing and colours flying. The governor, apprehending some serious attack upon his person, retired up stairs to the room where his papers were, in order to secure the most important, and to adopt such means to escape as presented themselves. The soldiers in the mean time surrounded

the house, and a party entered in search of the governor. After an hour and a half, they found his excellency concealed under a servant's bed, in a small room at the top of the house; they immediately secured him, and brought him down stairs to colonel Johnson. The colonel expressed his sorrow at being obliged to take such a step, but declared that he did it in pursuance of the wishes of the whole colony, who were discontented at the administration of his excellency, and had presented him a requisition to that effect. The governor was then ordered to remain in close confinement in the government-house, with a guard of six soldiers over his person, in which situation he was kept for a whole year, at the end of which period he got possession of his own ship, Porpoise, in which he remained cruizing in the South Sea until the arrival of governor M'Quarrie from England, who had orders to reinstate him in his authority for four-and-twenty hours, and to declare the acts of his opponents null and void. As soon as the governor was put in arrest, all the civil officers on the establishment were removed from their situations, and colonel Johnson appointed others in their stead, until his majesty's pleasure should be known.

On the part of colonel Johnson, the fact of his having put the governor under arrest was avowed, but alleged to be justified upon the ground of absolute necessity, in order to save his majesty's colony of New South Wales from actual destruction. To support this justification, a considerable number of witnesses were called, consisting chiefly of officers of the 102d regiment, some of the civil establishment, and a few of the most respectable settlers of the colony. The object of their testimony was to shew, that governor Bligh, by a series of the most tyrannical and oppressive measures, had reduced the colony to a state of discontent and dissatisfaction, approaching to absolute insurrection; that, by depriving the people of their houses, lands, and other property, without any pretence; that, by interfering with the proceedings of the courts of justice; that, by ordering persons, who had been acquitted of crimes alleged against them before the criminal court, to be tried again, and convicted by a bench of magistrates upon the very same charges; and that, by employing the most abandoned and disgraceful characters to be his counsellors and intimates, he had spread consternation and dismay amongst the inhabitants; that, by his language towards almost every individual, high and low, with whom he had any communication, he had rendered himself the object of unpopularity and execration.

All these witnesses denied the governor's allegation, respecting the barter of spirits, and they declared, that his restrictions in that respect formed no part of that discontent which prevailed through the colony. In this state of things, when the report reached the people that the governor had determined to put the six officers of the criminal court under arrest, upon a charge of treason, they burst forth into a phrenzy of

discontent and dissatisfaction; considering, as they did, the criminal court to be the only barrier left between them and the arbitrary conduct of the governor. Colonel Johnson being informed of governor Bligh's determination in respect of the criminal court, came to Sidney about five in the afternoon, although his arm was in a sling, and he was otherwise disabled in body. The moment he arrived at the barracks, the people assembled round him in crowds, demanding that he would immediately put the governor under arrest, and declaring that if he did not, an insurrection would break out in the colony, and that every drop of blood spilt on the occasion would be at his door. A requisition to this effect was drawn up by Mr. M'Arthur, and signed by several of the most respectable settlers and civil officers, and presented to colonel Johnson. Seeing with concern the impending danger that appeared to surround him, and firmly believing that an insurrection would break out, and that many innocent lives would be destroyed on the occasion, and that possibly the governor's life would be thus sacrificed, he determined, from motives of zeal for the public welfare, and a sense of what he conceived to be his duty, to adopt the measures so strongly urged by the inhabitants; and accordingly he put his excellency under arrest. After an able reply, on the part of governor Bligh, the whole of the proceedings closed.

8th. *Grand Review at Wimbledon.*—At twelve precisely, the firing of cannon announced the approach of his royal highness. At this signal the whole line shouldered, and the royal artillery, as well as the honourable artillery company, fired a salute of 21 guns each. So anxious were the soldiers, as well as the spectators, to hear of the prince regent's arrival, that the signal was received with the loudest acclamations of joy. Huzza! and the prince is coming! resounded from all parts of the heath.

At twenty minutes after twelve o'clock a second fire of cannon announced that his royal highness had entered the right, and in front of the first line. The whole line then presented arms, and the several bands struck up "God save the king." The drums beat, the colours were pointed to the ground, and the officers saluted. This juncture was an inestimable one. To view from the left the line presenting arms, the officers saluting, together with the position of the colours, and added to this, the effect of all the bands when playing one tune, and that composition being one every sentiment of which our hearts vibrated with enthusiasm, was indeed grand, and beyond all description.

The prince regent then proceeded from the right towards the left of the line; and to announce that his royal highness had commenced his review of the first line, there was a third discharge of cannon. The music of each regiment commenced playing at his royal highness's approach; but neither did the officers salute as the prince passed, nor were the colours dropped.

After his highness the prince of Conde had continued for about half an hour in converse with the prince, the duke of York joined his royal brother; and when the two royal brothers had joined each other, and appeared to be engaged in converse on the fine appearance of the troops, they were loudly huzza'd. Having passed in front of the first line, which was a completely straight one, and consisted of between 15 and 18,000 troops, his royal highness, together with the general officers, and those of his brothers who attended him, proceeded to pass in front of the second line. His royal highness, while passing in front of the several regiments, acknowledged, with the greatest urbanity, their attention and abilities, by taking off his hat to each of them.

The fourth time of firing cannon announced that his royal highness had passed along both lines, when he returned to the front of the first line. So soon as the prince had arrived at about the centre of the line, the fifth time of firing cannon gave the signal for a *feu-de-joie*, to be continued from the first to the second line. After these *feus-de-joie*, there were three English cheers given from one end of the lines to the other; and the music played, "God save the king."

His royal highness still continued in front of the first line, and after the *feu-de-joie*, the several regiments forming the lines wheeled off in division, and passed in review before the prince. First came a party of artillery, then followed the regulars, consisting of several detachments of the Coldstream guards. After which the several volunteer corps, then the London militia and the Tower hamlets, and the regular and volunteer cavalry closed the review.

The admirable manner in which the several regiments passed in review before the prince, deserves our warmest approbation. The firm step and regular march of the guards were particularly conspicuous, and struck every one with admiration. They were seen to move, it is true, but they marched in so firm a line, that they had more the appearance of a moving wall than of a marching body of men. The volunteers, too, marched excellently well.

After the various corps had passed before his royal highness in review, they filed off to some retired part of the common, and there regaled on such fare as had been provided for them by the liberality of their officers; after which they proceeded to their several homes.

The prince seemed to be highly gratified with all he saw; and did not leave the ground till about half past five o'clock. The number of troops reviewed was estimated at about 24,000.

Dublin, June 19.—Lord Louth was this day brought up in the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment, having been convicted in Trinity term upon a criminal information for abuse of his authority, and oppression as a magistrate in the year 1809, in issuing a warrant against —— Mathews, his tenant, the prosecutor, and having him arrested and committed to Dundalk gaol for

an alleged felony, of having cut timber upon his lordship's estate between sun-set and sun-rise.

Judge Day recited the evidence given on the trial, from which it appeared, that the prosecutor held under the defendant, since the year 1801, a piece of ground in the county of Louth, and was in the employment of his lordship as a labourer. No disagreement took place place between them, until the defendant took a fancy to about four acres of the prosecutor's land, which the latter refused to part with; and this drew down upon him the displeasure of his lordship, which manifested itself in several acts of oppression. In the month of December, 1809, the act for which the defendant was now before the court was committed. On a Monday in that month he summoned the prosecutor before him, for the alleged offence of cutting the timber; but the charge was not acted upon, and he was sent away, with orders to attend again on Saturday. His lordship, however, did not wait for the expiration of the time, but on the intermediate Thursday he went with a constable to the prosecutor's house, and arrested him upon the warrant. In vain did he implore his landlord's clemency, urging that his wife was despaired of in a fever, and that his child lay dead in the next apartment to her. In vain did he urge his innocence; for, after the most minute investigation, not a trace appeared to warrant the charge of cutting the trees, none having ever grown where they were alleged to have been cut. His lordship was inexorable, and, without either oath, information, or any document whatever to substantiate the charge, committed the prosecutor to prison for a felony, where he lay confined in a dungeon, as a felon, for twenty-four days, and was not delivered until the assizes, when he was discharged for want of prosecution. The defence set up by the defendant on his trial was error in judgment; but every circumstance tended to prove that his lordship was actuated by malicious motives, and that it was done in revenge, in consequence of the prosecutor's refusal to give up the four acres. The judge stated, that the court had taken a considerable time to mature their opinion of what the sentence ought to be, and thereby afforded the defendant an opportunity of making compensation to the prosecutor, which had been done; but that the reparation to the public for injury yet remained, and the court had decided as the sentence of his lordship, that he be imprisoned in Newgate for three calendar months.

The sum paid to the prosecutor is said to be 300*l.* besides costs.

Prince's Fête.—A most splendid fête was given by his royal highness the prince regent this evening, with a two-fold motive.—First, in honour of the birth-day of his august parent; and secondly, to benefit the numerous classes of British artists, who, by the illness of the sovereign, and the discontinuance of the accustomed splendour of the court, had been deprived of many advantages. The regent, therefore, feeling for their interests, re- 19th.

quested the attendance of his invited guests in habits of the manufacture of their native land. The company began to assemble at nine. The royal family, with the principal nobility and gentry, came early. The full bands of the three regiments of foot guards, and the prince regent's band in their full state uniforms, played alternately the most delightful marches, &c. The Grecian hall was adorned with shrubs, and an additional number of large lanthorns and patent lamps. The floor was carpeted; and two lines, composed of yeomen of the guard, the king's, the regent's, the queen's, and royal dukes' servants, in their grandest liveries, formed an avenue to the octagonal hall, where yeomen were also stationed, and which was decorated with antique draperies of scarlet trimmed with gold-colour, and tied up by gold-coloured cords and tassels. In the hall were also assembled to receive the company, generals Keppell and Turner, colonels Bloomfield, Thomas, and Tyrwhitt, together with lords Moira, Dundas, Keith, Heathfield, and Mount Edgecumbe. The prince entered the state rooms at a quarter past nine. He was dressed in a field-marshal's uniform, wearing the ribband and gorget of the order of the garter, and a diamond star. The duke of York was dressed in a military, and the duke of Clarence in a naval uniform. Just after the prince came in, the royal family of France arrived, and were received most graciously. Louis XVIII. appeared in the character of the comte de Lisle. During the evening, the prince regent passed from room to room, devoid of all ceremony, conversing with the utmost cheerfulness with his guests. The general amusement of the company for some time was perambulating the halls and apartments on the principal floor. The grand circular dining-room, in which the knights of the garter were recently entertained, excited particular admiration by its cupola, supported by columns of porphyry, and the superior elegance of the whole of its arrangements. The room in which the throne stands is hung with crimson velvet, with gold laces and fringes. The canopy of the throne is surmounted by golden helmets with lofty plumes of ostrich feathers, and underneath it stands the state chair. Crimson and gold stools are placed round the room. It contains pictures of the king, queen, prince regent, and duke of York. We have not space to give a description of the other different apartments on this floor, all of which are of the most magnificent kind. The ball-room floors were chalked in beautiful *arabesque* devices. In the centre of the largest were the initials G. III. R. It was divided for two sets of dancers by a crimson silk cord; but owing to the great number of persons, and the excessive heat of the weather, no dancing took place in this room; nor were the dancers numerous in the ball-room. The first dance was led off by earl Percy and lady F. Montague.—Supper was announced at two, when the company descended by the great staircase to the apartments below, and the temporary buildings on

the lawn. The room at the bottom of the staircase represented a bower, with a grotto, lined with a profusion of shrubs and flowers. The grand table extended the whole length of the conservatory, and across Carlton-house, to the length of 200 feet. Along the centre of the table, about six inches above the surface, a canal of pure water continued flowing from a silver fountain beautifully constructed at the head of the table. Its banks were covered with green moss and aquatic flowers; gold and silver fish swam and sported through the bubbling current, which produced a pleasing murmur where it fell, and formed a cascade at the outlet. At the head of the table, above the fountain, sat his royal highness the prince regent on a plain mahogany chair with a leather back. The most particular friends of the prince were arranged on each side. They were attended by sixty serviteurs; seven waited on the prince, besides six of the king's and six of the queen's footmen, in their state liveries, with one man in a complete suit of ancient armour. At the back of the prince's seat appeared *aureola* tables covered with crimson drapery; constructed to exhibit with the greatest effect a profusion of the most exquisitely wrought silver-gilt plate, consisting of fountains, tripods, epergnes, dishes, and other ornaments. Above the whole of this superb display appeared a royal crown, and his majesty's cypher, G. R., splendidly illumined. Behind the prince's chair was most skilfully disposed a side-board covered with gold vases, urns, massy salvers, &c., the whole surmounted by a Spanish urn taken from on board the "invincible armada." Adjoining to this were other tables running through the library and whole lower suit of rooms; the candelabras in which were so arranged, that the regent could distinctly see and be seen from one end to the other. The regent's table accommodated 122, including the royal dukes, the Bourbons, and principal nobility. On the right hand of the regent was the duchess of Angoulême, on the left the duchess of York, the princess Sophia of Gloucester, &c. From the library and room beyond, branched out two great lines of tables under canvass far into the gardens, each in the shape of a cross, all richly served with silver plate, and covered with the delicacies of the season. When the whole company was seated, there was a line of female beauty more richly adorned, and a blaze of jewellery more brilliant, than England ever probably displayed before. Four handsome marquees were pitched on the lawn of Carlton-house, with a *chevaux-de-frize* to prevent all intrusion: bands of music were stationed in the tents; and when dancing commenced, the gay throng stepped over floors chalked with mosaic devices, and moved through thickets of roses, geraniums, and other fragrant sweets, illumined by variegated lights that gleamed like stars through the foliage. The upper servants wore a costume of dark blue trimmed with broad gold lace: the others wore state liveries, The assistants out of livery were dressed uniformly in black suits

with white vests. The company did not separate till six in the morning. His royal highness was every where, and divided his attentions with the most polished address. The company comprised all the members of administration, the foreign ambassadors, the principal nobility and gentry in town, the most distinguished military and naval officers, the lord and lady mayoress, and the principal aldermen and magistrates.—The gentlemen wore court dresses and military and naval uniforms.—The ladies wore all new dresses of English manufacture, principally white satins, silks, lace, crape, and muslins, ornamented with silver: head-dress, ostrich feathers and diamonds.—For the gratification of the public at large, the magnificent preparations for the fête were permitted by the prince regent to remain; and many thousands were delighted by the sight; which, however, we are sorry to say, did not close without some serious accidents.

Fashionable Hoax.—A lady of high quality called one morning lately on an eminent vender of modes at the west-end of the town. The female merchant received her noble customer under such evident agitation of spirits, that the latter demanded the occasion of her concern; when the other, with well counterfeited grief and alarm, told her story; that she had received an assortment of prohibited goods, to the value of some thousand pounds; that an information had been lodged against her at the custom-house; that persons were in waiting to see that no parcels were sent out; and that the officers were coming to seize as soon as they could get the necessary warrants. She concluded, with imploring her noble customer to save her from utter ruin, by taking the dangerous package in her carriage to a place of safety, which she pointed out, and which her ladyship very graciously and condescendingly consented to do. Under the protection of a coronet the goods went perfectly safe to the place of their destination; but they might have gone equally safe in a hackney coach, from any interruption they would have met with from the custom-house; being in fact British manufactures, and the story of the afflicted dress-maker a mere invention to give a reputation to her goods. It may be observed the invention took; and the whole of the goods were sold in the course of a very few days, on the faith of this story that they were foreign. The above fact may, perhaps, serve to wean some of the ladies of fashion from their over-fondness for foreign commodities.

Admiralty Court, Doctors' Commons.—The Ship Fox.—22d. The judgment of the court in this important case was delivered yesterday morning; it had been delayed in consequence of an expected official communication of the revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, upon which the British orders in council were founded, as it was under those orders that the ship in question was captured.

The Fox sailed from Boston, in the United States, on a voyage to Cherburg; in the prosecution of which, she was captured, on the

15th of November last, by the Amethyst frigate, under the command of sir Michael Seymour. A claim was given by the owners as neutral subjects, and on the 30th of May last, the case came on for hearing.

It was contended, on behalf of the captors, that as the vessel was bound for a port in France, she was violating the British orders in council of the 26th of April, 1809, and under those orders was clearly liable to condemnation.

This was opposed by the claimants' counsel upon two grounds; first, that the orders in council had ceased to exist, because the French decrees, upon which they were grounded, had been revoked; and next, that if even those decrees should be considered as still in existence, the circumstances of equity which distinguished this case, would justify the court in relieving the claimants from the penalty imposed by the orders in council.

Judgment being moved for yesterday, sir W. Scott observed, he could not, in justice to the captors, further postpone the final judgment of the court. There was no evidence of revocation produced beyond that of the declaration made to America, of the grounds upon which France would consent to such an event, which were, that England should relinquish the rights her maritime superiority gave her, or that America should make herself respected. The general policy of England made it evident that she would never consent to a proposition depriving her of rights sanctioned by the acquiescence and general usage of Europe; and the other proposal was nothing less than requiring America to join France in a hostile confederacy against this country, which, from her conduct, was also evident had not taken place. The orders in council must, therefore, be considered as still existing; and the additional evidence promised not having been furnished, seemed still farther to support that conclusion. The learned judge, therefore, could not but consider it his duty to condemn the vessel, leaving it to an appeal to decide upon the matter of fact, should the additional evidence expected still be furnished.

The sentence of condemnation was accordingly pronounced in this case, and likewise in several others, similarly circumstanced, and founded upon the same principle.

Carlton House.—Yesterday the visitors to Carlton-house, admitted by tickets given by persons of his royal highness the prince regent's household, were supposed to have been between twenty and thirty thousand, all of them highly respectable. Some ladies fainted. At the entrance, several ladies lost their scarfs and mantles; cloaks, tippets, and other garments were torn off; some lost their shoes, and a variety of other ornaments were torn off and trod upon. 25th.

About twelve o'clock, the crowd was so extremely great round the gates where the company were admitted, and so much confusion was occasioned by carriages drawing up to the gates with company, that it was feared some accident would happen; and colonel

Bloomfield, with the greatest attention to humanity and regularity of exhibiting the prince regent's mansion, sent orders for a party of the life guards to attend in Pall-Mall, to regulate the carriages; they attended in a short time after, and the access to the gates was much improved. About the same time, Pall-Mall was so extremely thronged with people, that those retiring from Carlton-house by the entrance for chairs on levee days found it impossible to get out; the door was in consequence shut, and the company were let out by the entrance to Carlton-house from the park.

From the immense concourse who attended, it was found necessary to alter the mode of admission, by admitting a few hundreds at the gates, and then closing them, and they remained in the court-yard till they could be admitted into the house, the doors being occasionally shut, similar to the regulations adopted at the gates. This caused a great pressure on the steps against the entrance, which occasioned some ladies, elegantly dressed, to suffer great inconvenience. Lord Yarmouth very gallantly stood forward to their relief, and lifted them in at the windows of the great hall.

26th. *Carlton House.* — Yesterday being the last day the public were permitted to view the interior of Carlton-house, the crowd, from an early hour in the morning, was immense; and as the day advanced, the scene excited additional interest. Every precaution had been adopted to facilitate the entrance of the visitors. The horse guards paraded in front of the house, and were stationed at both ends of Pall-Mall, and the various streets leading from it. The press to gain admittance was so great, that early in the day several females fainted away; many lost their shoes, and endeavoured to extricate themselves from the crowd, but this was quite impossible. The gates were only opened at certain intervals; and when this was the case, the torrent was so rapid, that many people were taken off their feet, some with their backs towards the entrance, screaming to get out. The scene at last began to wear a still more serious aspect; when it was deemed expedient that some measure should be resorted to, to prevent farther mischief. Lord Yarmouth and the Duke of Glocester appeared, and announced to the public, that the gates would not be again opened: and that for the sake of preventing the loss of any lives, they had to express the strongest wish that the persons assembled would cease from endeavouring to gain admittance. This, however, had not the desired effect; as many, who probably were ignorant of what had happened, remained in the anxious hope of being admitted at last.

The greatest pressure to obtain admittance took place about half-past two o'clock. About one, the crowd in the inside of Carlton-house had accumulated so much, that it was found necessary to shut the gates. The line of carriages now extended the whole length of Pall-Mall, up to the very top of St. James's-street, and as there had been a complete stoppage for above half an hour

hundreds of ladies left their carriages, and hastened on foot towards Carlton-house. At this time ladies and gentlemen were seen coming out of the crowd covered with perspiration, and unable any longer to bear the pressure. Those who thus made their retreat in time will have to congratulate themselves on their superior prudence. Hitherto all was comparatively well, and the scene rather afforded amusement than excited alarm. But the case was most materially altered when the gate of entrance was next opened. It became exactly like some of those rushes at our theatre, which have sometimes produced such melancholy consequences. Those behind irresistibly pushed on those before, and of the number of delicate and helpless females who were present, some were thrown down, and, shocking to relate, literally trod upon by those behind, without the possibility of being extricated. When at last the crowd got inside Carlton-house gates, four females were found in a lifeless state, lying on their backs on the ground, with their clothes almost completely torn off. One young lady, elegantly attired, or rather who had been so, presented a shocking spectacle; she had been trodden on until her face was quite black from strangulation, and every part of her body bruised to such a degree, as to leave little hopes of her recovery: surgical assistance was immediately had, but her life was not expected to be saved. An elderly lady had her leg broken, and was carried away in a chair; and two others were also seriously hurt, but, on being bled, were restored to animation. One of them was able to walk home, the other was led by two men.

The situation of almost all the ladies who were involved in this terrible rush was truly deplorable: very few of them could leave Carlton-house until furnished with a fresh supply of clothes; they were to be seen all round the gardens, most of them without shoes or gowns; and many almost completely undressed, and their hair hanging about their shoulders. The crowd outside at one time literally carried away the horse guards for several paces, when the animals became restive to an alarming degree, rearing on their hind legs, and beating down all within their reach with their fore legs; several women were trodden under foot, and received considerable injury; and five or six men were so overcome that they fainted, and were carried off.

It is certainly a circumstance extremely to be regretted, that what was so generously intended for the gratification of the public, should have unexpectedly terminated in this most disagreeable manner, though it does not appear that any blame can attach any where.

Carlton-house will not be again open for visitors. An order to this effect was posted on the walls, by command of the prince regent, yesterday evening.

Cambridge.—Installation of the Duke of Glocester.— 29th. This day the ceremonial took place in the Senate-house. The hour of eleven o'clock was appointed for opening the doors to admit company. So early as nine

o'clock the town was crowded with elegantly dressed and beautiful women, hastening to the Senate-house. The crowd was so great, that the seats in a few minutes were completely filled. At twelve o'clock, the procession left Trinity College, and arrived at the Senate-house. His highness was met on the steps by the vice-chancellor. In the confusion occasioned by the rushing in of the company, considerable alarm was created: the heat became excessive, and it was suggested that the best way to remedy the inconvenience would be to break the windows: the hint was no sooner given than it was put in practice. The under graduates, with much alacrity, went to it, and the windows of the Senate were literally broken to pieces. When the procession entered the Senate-house, the band of music struck up an overture; and as soon as that was concluded, the audience testified their respect for his highness by a sentiment of applause, which lasted several minutes.

The vice-chancellor (Doctor Douglas) then addressed the assembly in a speech which was delivered in a tone which was inaudible in most parts of the Senate-house.

The senior proctor administered the usual oath of office, and then his highness was installed, taking his seat in the chair of state.—When this ceremony was gone through, the loudest bursts of applause succeeded, which did not subside for some minutes.—The public orator then delivered a Latin oration in praise of his highness.

After which, the duke addressed the Senate; and expressed the satisfaction which he felt for the honour just done him, in placing him at the head of an university always distinguished for its attachment to, and support of, the civil and religious rights of the state.

During the delivery of the speech, it was frequently interrupted by the loudest plaudits. An ode, written by Mr. Smythe, was then performed; and the procession returned to Trinity College, accompanied by an immense concourse of people. His highness was dressed in a black silk robe, richly embroidered with gold. On his head he wore a black velvet cap with a long gold tassel. A very sumptuous dinner was afterwards given to his highness at Trinity College. In the evening there was a concert at the Senate-house. His highness was present, and seemed highly gratified. After the concert, the visitors were treated with an exhibition of fire-works, in the walks of Trinity: and a cold collation was afterwards given by his highness to nearly 3000 visitors, among whom were, the marquis of Lansdowne, earl of Hardwicke, lord Erskine, the bishop of Bath and Wells, general Gascoigne, sir Sidney Smith, sir Vicary Gibbs, lord Palmerstone, &c. &c.

To this account of the proper ceremony of installation, we shall only add, that festivities on the occasion continued till Wednesday, ending with the ascent of Mr. Sadler in a balloon; and that upon the whole, the University of Cambridge seems to have

honoured her chancellor in a manner not less dignified and appropriate than that of her sister Oxford, in the installation of lord Grenville. It is somewhat singular, that in both these elections the ministerial candidate proved unsuccessful.

The following is the sentence of the court-martial in the case of lieutenant-colonel Johnson:

"*Horse-Guards, June* 29, 1811.

Court-Martial.—"The court having duly and maturely weighed and considered the whole of the evidence adduced on the prosecution, as well as what has been offered in defence, are of opinion, that lieutenant-colonel Johnson is guilty of the act of mutiny, as described in the charge, and do therefore sentence him to be cashiered.

"I am to acquaint you, that, under all the circumstances of this case, his royal highness was pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to acquiesce in the sentence of the court.

"I am further commanded to acquaint you, that in passing a sentence so inadequate to the enormity of the crime of which the prisoner has been found guilty, the court have apparently been actuated by a consideration of the circumstances of impropriety and oppression, which, by the evidence on the face of the proceedings, has so strongly marked the conduct of governor Bligh in the administration of the high office with which he was intrusted by his majesty. But although the prince regent admits the principle under which the court have allowed this consideration to act in mitigation of the punishment which the crime of mutiny would otherwise have suggested, yet no circumstances whatever can be received by his royal highness in full extenuation of an assumption of power so subversive of every principle of good order and discipline, as that under which lieutenant-colonel Johnson has been convicted.

"You will acquaint me with the day upon which the sentence is made known to the prisoner, lieutenant-colonel Johnson, as from that day he will cease to receive pay in his majesty's service.

(Signed)

"FREDERICK, commander-in-chief.

"Adjutant-general of the forces."

JULY.

Fire at Konigsberg.— 1st.
On the 14th of June, at one o'clock in the afternoon, a fire broke out in one of the warehouses, at the left side of the Hurenbrag (a bridge). A few minutes before, several people had passed that way, without perceiving the least symptoms of it; it however raged with the utmost violence in a few minutes, as the warehouse contained 400 tons of tar, and an immense quantity of oil, lately imported from Russia. The warehouse was locked at the time; the day-labourers having gone to their dinner, several passengers forced the doors open, but could render no assistance. The burning oil that was streaming out of the house set fire to the Ladeburg; and several barrels of oil, and bales of flax all in flames, that had been hove into the river, set fire to a vessel laden with oil

likewise, and caused its immediate destruction. The lives of several people on board of her were lost. The fire-engines were taken to the place as soon as possible, but without producing any effect; the flames spread so rapidly in all directions, that they communicated almost instantly to Arch-house and the public storehouses near the Hurenbrag. The mass of fire was so immense, the nourishment of the flames so great, that notwithstanding all the exertions employed, no engine could produce the least effect; several proposals were made to pull the houses down, but buildings of their size could not easily be brought to the ground; the whole of the houses situated near Bulwark of Kniepthorf became a prey to the flames, which from thence spread through Sadler-street, Klapper-wise, and Insel Vendig; thence even the suburb took fire. To increase this dreadful calamity, it happened that temporary warehouses for the annual fair had been erected there; they were pulled down with the utmost expedition, but not time enough to prevent some of them catching fire; the houses at the left hand side of the suburb coming from the Green bridge were also in flames, and from thence they spread to Frank-street as far as Schnurlingsdem. When the houses near the Green bridge were on fire, the city was in the utmost danger: the Bank, the Exchange, (built of wood,) and the Green Tower were already burning, but fortunately our exertions were more successful here. Had the flames spread beyond the Green bridge, the whole of the houses in Kniepthorf would have been reduced to ashes; in Frank-street the fire was subdued, at the house of Mr. Fallier, at Shumlingsdam; it was stopped at the middle of the street: a little farther several warehouses escaped. The houses towards Allstad and Kniepthorf were already exposed to the flames, but their entire destruction was prevented by exertions. In the suburbs towards Rhodische-street, at the left, the fire was not extinguished till next day, and the back buildings near Hospital-street were likewise on fire.

The number of dwelling-houses completely burnt down:

1 Suburb and different houses adjacent	93	
2 Ditto, back part	22	
3 Klapperwise and Insell Vendig	19	
4 Knock-street	10	—144
Warehouses		134
Total		278

The amount insured at the different fire-offices is nearly a million of rix-dollars. It is impossible to ascertain the cause of this calamity.

Yesterday morning a trial was made upon 'Change between a capital fire-engine belonging to the royal exchange assurance company, and an engine on a new construction, the invention of lord Stanhope. His lordship was present the whole time to witness their performance. That belonging to the royal exchange assurance company succeeded in throwing the water to the greatest distance, both in a perpendicular and horizontal direction; but it

could not be compared with lord Stanhope's as to the body of water thrown at one time.

5th. The Rev. Matthew Crowley, Professor of the Sacred Scriptures at the college of Maynooth, read his recantation in Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, and after divine service partook of the holy communion.

6th. The following is the official report of the state of his majesty's health, on Saturday the 6th inst. as presented to the privy council by the queen's council:

Windsor, July 6.

"We, the underwritten, &c. &c. do hereby declare and certify, that the state of his majesty's health, at the time of this our meeting, is not such as to enable his majesty to resume the personal exercise of his royal functions.

"That his majesty's bodily health is but little disordered.

"That, in consequence of an accession of mental disorder subsequent to our report of the 6th of April last, a change took place in the system of management, which had been previously adopted for his majesty's cure. His majesty's mental health is represented to us by all the physicians as greatly improved since the 6th of April. We are unable, however, to ascertain what would be the effects of an immediate recurrence to any system of management which should admit of as free an approach to his majesty's presence, as was allowed in a former period of his majesty's indisposition.

"Some of his majesty's physicians do not entertain hopes of his majesty's recovery quite so confident as those which they had expressed on the 6th of April. The persuasion of others of his majesty's physicians, that his majesty will completely recover, is not diminished; and they all appear to agree, that there is a considerable probability of his majesty's final recovery; and that neither his majesty's bodily health, nor his present symptoms, nor the effect which the disease has yet produced upon his majesty's faculties, afford any reason for thinking that his majesty will not ultimately recover.

(Signed)

"C. Cantuar.
"E. Ebor.
"Eldon. "E. Montrose.
"Ellenborough. "Winchilsea.
"W. Grant." "Aylesford.

A true copy.

"Chetwynd."

11th. An action was tried in the court of common pleas, brought by Mr. Fuller, apothecary, against the executors of the late duke of Queensberry, for professional attendance for seven years and a half, during which time he made him 9,240 visits, besides attending 1,700 nights. The damages were laid at 10,000*l*. Lord Yarmouth, Dr. Home, sir Henry Halford, and Dr. Ainslie, were called by Mr. sergeant Vaughan; and they deposed as to the reasonableness of the charge, considering the sacrifice of business which the plaintiff must have made on the duke's account. The first two witnesses further stated, that, in conversations with the duke of Queensberry, his grace said the plaintiff

should be paid by his executors; which was corroborated by Mr. Douglas's answer in chancery. Sir James Mansfield, but for the latter admissions, would not have held the action tenable in a court of justice, not considering an apothecary had any right to claim for attendance. Verdict for the plaintiff,—Damages 7,500*l.*

Robbery of the Glasgow Bank. 12th. —On Sunday night last, it was discovered that the office of the Paisley union bank company, Glasgow, had been entered by means of false keys, and robbed of Scotch bank notes, bank of England notes, and cash, to the amount of 20,000*l.* Suspicion falling upon three men, who for some days preceding had been seen in Glasgow, Mr. Campbell, an officer of the police at Edinburgh, and two of the gentlemen belonging to the bank, set off in pursuit of the robbers, who, as well as themselves, travelled in a post-chaise-and-four, and whom they traced to Darlington, and from thence followed them (the London road) to Welling in Hertfordshire, where they had left a portmanteau to be forwarded to a person in Tottenham-court-road; and then came on in a chaise-and-four to town; and were put down in Coventry-street, where all trace of them was then lost: but Mr. Campbell making application at the public office Bow-street, Lavender, Vickery, and Adkins, (three of the officers,) accompanied by Mr. Campbell, went to the house in Tottenham-court-road where the portmanteau had been directed to, and where they found a box containing a number of pick-locks, skeleton keys, and various other implements for house-breaking, and which, from being directed the same as the portmanteau, and as an innkeeper's ticket was also found there, they had no doubt had very recently been sent to town. The officers learning that the owner of this house was at present in the rules of the King's Bench prison, went the same night to his residence in the neighbourhood of St. George's Fields, where they apprehended a well-known character of the name of Hutton White, who a few months since escaped from one of the hulks at Woolwich. White, on the officers entering the house, was going to jump out at the one pair of stairs window; but Vickery, perceiving his intention, called out to him to desist, or he would shoot him—when he returned, and was secured without mischief. On searching the house, the identical portmanteau was found that had been forwarded from Welling, but which contained only wearing apparel. On the person of White were found 16 guineas, and some bank of England notes.

On Friday, White and the man of the house where he was taken, were examined before Mr. Read, at Bow-street, when Adkins, the governor of the house of correction, Cold BathFields, attended, and identified the person of White as having been convicted at the last summer assizes at Chester, for being at large within this kingdom before his former sentence of transportation was expired, and receiving a second sentence of transportation for life. White admitted the truth of this charge, though he denied any knowledge of the Glasgow

bank robbery. He and the other man were committed for further examination.

Extract of a Letter from Petworth.—"A few days since, a labouring man, engaged ploughing in a field at Bignor, near Petworth, found the plough obstructed by a heavy stone, when he obtained assistance and removed it: it is of marble, and beneath is a flight of steps of the same, leading to a large arched passage, where was discovered an entire Roman bath, with tesselated pavement, in perfect preservation. The bath is of an hexagonal form, surrounded with seats; in the centre is a metallic pipe; the bottom of the bath is about two feet below the pavement, and five feet wide; the tesselated floor represents various figures in dancing attitudes, most beautifully wrought. In digging further, they found a dolphin and various other antiquities of the most costly materials. It is supposed to be the remains of a Roman palace. A Roman road has also been discovered leading through the field, and supposed to extend much further; but it is not at present suffered to be explored. A gentleman in the vicinity has an ancient MS. which particularly speaks of this place, and many attempts had been made to discover it, before it was so fortunately accomplished by accident. In this manuscript many other curiosities are spoken of, which are expected to be discovered on a further exploration. A very considerable sum has been offered for the field on a speculation, but refused."

20th. *Execution.* — Yesterday morning, Richard Armitage and Charles Thomas, for forgery, formerly clerks in the Bank of England, suffered pursuant to their sentence, at the debtor's door of Newgate. About eight o'clock, Thomas made his appearance on the platform first, and seemed duly impressed with the awful fate that awaited him. He was attended by a Roman Catholic priest, and gave great attention to the clergyman; and in about five minutes afterwards, Armitage was brought out, having previously taken his last farewell of his wife and children in Newgate. He was attended in his last moments by the Ordinary of Newgate. In a short time after they were tied up they were launched into eternity. Armitage had been convicted of uttering a forged dividend warrant, and Thomas for forging a receipt for money with intent to defraud the Bank of England. The youthful appearance and genteel deportment of these unhappy culprits made a strong impression on the crowd assembled, which was immense.

Edinburgh.—Court of Sessions.—*Sir Francis Burdett* v. *Scott.*—Yesterday came before Lord Meadowbank, as Ordinary, in the Outer-house, a case in which Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. is pursuer, and Mr. Scott, a serjeant-at-law, and presently residing in Scotland, defender.

Mr. Jeffrey, as counsel for Sir Francis, stated this to be an action, brought at the instance of his client against the defender, for the recovery of 5000*l.* contained in a bond which he produced on the bar. A defence had been put in to this action, stating, that some years ago, Sir Francis Burdett

had, in consequence of a connection with a certain lady, granted a bond for 20,000*l.* to the defender, to be at his disposal, if a circumstance should arise out of the connection betwixt Sir Francis and the lady:—That this bond had been lodged or sequestrated in the hands of a respectable gentleman, and the defender had drawn the sum of 5000*l.* as in part of the amount:—That some time afterwards, Sir Francis becoming uneasy about his bond for such a large sum lying over, had made application to the defender, who delivered up the bond, and departed from the balance of 15,000*l.*; and had also granted the bond now sued for, for the 5000*l.* he had already drawn:—That on this bond being granted, the understanding was that it should be put into the hands of a Mr. Warren, a mutual friend; and if on the expiry of five years the child was alive, it should be delivered up to the defender; but if at the expiry of that time the child should be dead, it should be delivered to Sir Francis; that the bond was accordingly delivered to Mr. Warren, and that that gentleman had betrayed the trust reposed in him, by delivering the bond to Sir Francis, who now wished to follow it up with execution. This was the nature of the defence stated to this action, and which the learned counsel for the pursuer said was a false, unfounded fabrication, from beginning to end. His client, Sir Francis, denied the statement *in toto*, and never had since his marriage any such connection as that alluded to.

Here the Lord Ordinary interrupted Mr. Jeffrey, by saying, that if the statement given in the defence was true, the bond in this case was, by the law of Scotland, an *undelivered* document, upon which no action could follow.—This Mr. Warren had betrayed the trust, in delivering up the bond in question to Sir Francis Burdett before the expiry of the five years, and without the consent of the other party. His lordship was therefore of opinion, that before proceeding further, it would be proper to examine this Mr. Warren upon oath, as to the nature of this transaction, and as to the way and manner the bond in question had come into and gone out of his possession. His lordship was about to pronounce an interlocutor accordingly, when

Mr. Scott, the defender, rose from the bar, and stated, that his counsel, Mr. Clerk, upon whom he chiefly depended to state this case to his lordship, had been called away: he hoped, however, that his lordship, if he was inclined to offer an examination of Mr. Warren, would allow him (the defender) to examine other witnesses, to prove the nature of the trust which had been created in his person. That several respectable gentlemen were in readiness to come to Scotland to bear evidence. And in particular, that he, the defender, wished to examine Mr. Ballenden Ker, to whom Sir Francis had confessed the whole particulars of this business; that he, moreover, held in his possession written evidence, under Sir Francis's own hand, which he wished to lay before the court.

The Lord Ordinary having ex-

expressed his willingness to continue sitting until all the counsel on both sides should be disengaged, Mr. Clerk was afterwards heard at considerable length for the defendant; and his lordship appointed the defender to put into court a special condescendence of the facts he averred, and offered to prove, in support of his defence, and the way and manner in which he offered to prove them.

Bank Notes.—The amount of notes of the Bank of England in circulation on the 6th of July, 1811, as laid before parliament, was as follows:—

	L.
Bank notes of 5*l.* and upwards . . .	13,938,710
Bank post bills . .	938,360
Bank notes under 5*l.*	7,396,770
Total, . . .	22,323,840

The amount in circulation on the 13th of July, a week after, was as follows:—

	L.
Bank notes of 5*l.* and upwards . . .	15,969,300
Bank post bills, . .	1,007,390
Bank notes under 5*l.*	7,588,700
Total, . . .	23,565,390

Sunday morning, a great concourse of people assembled in Whitechapel, near the church, to witness the decision of a curious bet. A young gentleman, apparently not more than 20 years of age, slender and slight, but well proportioned, had undertaken to go 50 miles on foot against a pair of horses in a gentleman's carriage. The condition of the wager was, that the horses should stop to bait once only on the road. The start took place at eight o'clock, and the pedestrian reached Whitechapel Church soon after four in the afternoon, on his return, having been to the 25th mile-stone, and back within the interval. He was received by the multitude with triumphant acclamation. What became of his antagonists and the carriage, was not known, as they had long been out of sight of the winner.

A few weeks since, in ploughing up a field at Withington, six miles from Cheltenham, and two from Frogmill, the property of H. F. Brooke, Esq. a most beautiful tesselated pavement, more perfect than any hitherto found, was discovered. Mr. B. immediately made known the important discovery to Mr. Lysons and other gentlemen conversant in this branch of antiquity, who are now employed in collecting and examining these fine remains. The site of a villa, 150 feet in length, has been most accurately ascertained; seven different rooms have been clearly traced, and the pavements are enriched with drawings in the highest state of preservation, of Neptune, Orpheus, animals, birds, fishes, &c. An hippocaust, or sweating-room, with its flues, and several pillars of considerable magnitude, are to be seen. Whatever part of this interesting scene can be removed with safety, has been presented by Mr. Brooke to the British Museum.

26th. On Sunday last, Crib, the celebrated pugilist, arrived in Aberdeen, on a visit to a gentleman there. He is at present in training at Ury, the seat of Captain Barclay, preparatory to the great battle to be fought with

Molineux, on the 27th September, near Doncaster. On this match not less than 50,000*l.* are already betted; and Crib stakes 100 guineas of his own money on the issue. Betting, however, is at present equal. This celebrated boxer is at present the champion of England, having fought and gained the following pitched battles, besides many casual ones, in which he never was beat, viz. with George Maddox, Jan. 1805; Thomas Blake, Feb. 1805; Ikey Pig, May, 1805; Richmond, the black, Oct. 1805; James Belcher, 1807; Horton, May, 1808; Gregson, Oct. 1808; Belcher, Feb. 1809; and Molineux, Dec. 1810. Crib is now only thirty years of age.

Late on Wednesday night, or early on Thursday morning, the bank of Messrs. La Costa and Co. in Chertsey, was broken open, and robbed of Bank of England and other notes to the amount of upwards of 4000*l.* The robbery was not discovered till the clerks went to business on Thursday morning, and had occasion for the notes in the iron closet; at the same time they found that the book, containing the numbers of the notes, had been stolen, to prevent their being traced.

The robbers had entered the Bank by means of picklock keys, had opened five doors, and had fastened them again on their leaving, to prevent an early discovery.

An act of parliament, passed during the late session, empowers the incumbent of any living to borrow at 4 per cent. of commissioners appointed for that purpose, twice the amount of the next annual income of his living, for the purpose of improving or building a new parsonage-house. This sum, however, is to be paid by instalments in 20 years. Should the incumbent die before the whole is paid off, his successor is bound to discharge what remains. —Government have advanced 50,000*l.* expressly for the purpose of making these loans, which will not affect Queen Ann's bounty. All applications are to be made through the diocesan.

Tea.—It will give some idea of the consumption of tea in this kingdom, when it is known that the following is the amount calculated as sufficient for three months only:—

	lbs.
Bohea	300,000
Congou and Compoi, Souchong and Pekoe,	4,500,000
Singlo and Twankay .	850,000
Hyson Skin, ...	100,000
Hyson, ...	250,000
Including private trade,	6,000,000

So that we consume twenty-four millions of lbs. per annum.

Eccentric Character.—On the 23d ult, died, at Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, aged 83, Francis Bolton, pauper, of that place, one of the most eccentric characters perhaps ever known. He was born at Spofforth, in Yorkshire, and was said, in his youthful days, to be a remarkably handsome man, and the first person, as a farmer's servant, in that part of the country, who wore white stockings. His constant custom from his infancy, was to throw large quantities of cold water upon his head. The manner he performed this

was very singular; in the most inclement winter, he would go to some neighbouring pump, and fill his hat with water, and having drunk as much as he thought proper, he would put his hat on, and the contents would run down his body. His shirt, when washed, he would put on wet, and for the last twenty years of his life refused to lie on a bed; as a substitute for which he used wet straw, on which he used to lie without any covering but the clothes he put off; and during the winter season has many times been found frozen to the ground. When able he travelled the country as a beggar.

Salisbury.—Horrible Case.—Samuel Tucker was indicted for the wilful murder of Ann Tucker, his wife, at Bradford, in the county of Wilts. This was a case of the most atrocious kind. It appeared in evidence, that the prisoner, (who was originally a weaver, and has since practised medicine, and called himself Doctor Tucker,) many months since conceived the design of murdering his wife, on account of their disparity of ages, she being about 25 years older than himself. That in order to effect her death, he kept her continually confined in his house, without allowing any one to see her, from the 1st of last January till the day when she died, on the 8th of March last, allowing her only a small quantity of half-boiled potatoes and barley bread, and a little water. That he frequently left his house for two days together, during which she was locked up and without food; and that her room, by reason of non-admittance of air and certain offensive things left therein, was sufficient to create putridity. By this treatment she became so emaciated as to be unable to move out of her bed, during which time he still continued his ill treatment, and she was actually starved to death. The surgeon stated, that on examing the corpse, it was literally nothing but skin, bone, and muscle, every vestige of flesh having disappeared. The chief witnesses against the prisoner were people of the name of Byfield, who were the deceased's children by a former husband.

The prisoner, in his defence, stated, that his wife had a disgusting disorder in her bowels, which prevented him from associating with her, and that she had a voracious appetite, which could never be satisfied. The jury found him guilty, and the judge immediately passed upon him the awful sentence of the law, and ordered him for execution on Friday next, and his body to be delivered to a surgeon to be dissected. The prisoner appeared totally void of agitation during the whole trial, which lasted seven hours.

AUGUST.

2d. The brig Traveller, lately arrived at Liverpool from Sierra Leone, is perhaps the first vessel that ever reached Europe, entirely owned and navigated by negroes. This brig is owned and commanded by Paul Cuffee, the son of "Cuffee," a negroe slave imported into America. Her mate, and all her crew are negroes, or the immediate descen-

dants of negroes. Captain Cuffee is about fifty-six years of age; has a wife, (a negress), and six children, living at New Bedford, Massachusetts, of which state he is a citizen.

When Captain Cuffee's father, (who had acquired his freedom,) died, he left a family almost unprovided for; but he laboured hard to support them. He began trade in a small boat, and, after a while, almost by himself, built a larger vessel, in which he worked some years with assiduity. Having met a person wishing to impart some knowledge of navigation, his ideas were enlarged, and with his prospects he enlarged his efforts to succeed. Happily for him and his family, his mind received religious instruction from the Society of Friends, and he attached himself to that respectable body, adopted their dress and language, and is now a very respectable member of that community. When Mr. Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, fell into his hands, it awakened all the powers of his mind to a consideration of his origin, and the duties he owed to his people. With a view of benefiting the Africans, he made a voyage to Sierra Leone, and with the same object has come to England.

Capt. Cuffee is of an agreeable countenance, and his physiognomy truly interesting; he is both tall and stout, speaks English well, dresses in the Quaker style, in a drab-coloured suit, and wears a large flapped white hat. He is coming to London, to confer on his favourite topic with the directors of the African Institution.

York Assizes.—William Hodgson, aged 19, was charged with a criminal assault on Harriet Halliday, of Leeds.—Harriet Halliday, a pretty girl, about 16 years of age, stated, that in the month of April she lived as servant in the family of Mr. Cumming, glass and china-man, in Leeds. On Good Friday last, about seven o'clock in the evening, her mistress gave her leave to go and see her mother, who lives at Quarry-hill, in Leeds. On her return to her master's, she was accompanied by Mary Ravenscroft. When they arrived at the bottom of Quarry-hill, the prisoner came to her, and asked her if she was returning home; witness said she was: prisoner then put his arm round her waist; witness endeavoured to get from him, but could not, and she struck him a blow on the face; he in return gave her a blow on the side, saying "Knock for knock, but I will see thee home yet." He persisted in keeping his arm round her, and they walked towards her master's disputing all the way. After various attempts, which she stated, to get away from him, the prisoner at last took the witness in his arms, carried her into a stable, threw her upon some straw, and then proceeded to fasten the door of the stable. Witness said, she struggled and cried out as much as possible, but at last fainted away, and the prisoner accomplished his purpose. After an interval of about half an hour, a person came to the door with a light, when she renewed her entreaties to be permitted to go home; but the prisoner said, with 3d.

an oath, "They have found us out, but they shall not find thee, for I will kill thee in this place." The light had now approached nearer the door; the prisoner opened it, and as he pushed her out of the stable, he struck her on the face, and said, "Go to hell." Witness went home, and told her master in the morning what had happened, but did not state her ill treatment to the extent. Her mistress was unwell, and did not get up until noon. Witness did not tell her mistress until night, when she told her the whole of what had happened. Mr. Taylor, a surgeon, and Susan Bucksbury, his servant, said, that on hearing shrieks from a stable at the back of their house, Mr. Taylor said to her, he would see her righted. On the part of the prisoner two witnesses were called to impeach the testimony of the prosecutrix. J. Field, a sawyer, at Leeds, said, he was with the prisoner when he first accosted the young woman. Prisoner and she walked arm in arm, and sometimes with one arm round her waist; she made no resistance that the witness saw. Prisoner told her he was going to the stable; she replied she could not stop long, as her mistress expected her home by nine o'clock; prisoner and she crossed over Briggate; it was then very dark; she walked away, but witness won't say whether she was carried or not afterwards. Witness followed; never heard her make any resistance or noise; if there had been any, he could have heard it. The jury, after retiring an hour and a quarter, returned a verdict of guilty against the prisoner. When the verdict was recorded, the foreman of the jury recommended the prisoner to mercy. His lordship asked upon what ground? but the foreman was not prepared to state any.

The conviction of Hodgson has given rise to much discussion in the county, and particularly at Leeds. After sentence had been passed on the culprit, petitions for the mitigation of the sentence from hanging to transportation, were presented to the judge, by the prosecutrix, her master, and the witnesses who had given evidence for the prosecution.

Police. — Mock Parson. — On Monday morning application was made at the Bow-street Office, by a clergyman belonging to a man of war, for a warrant against a person calling himself the Reverend John Shepherd, for defrauding him of 30*l.* under the following circumstances: A short time since the applicant had leave of absence from his ship on account of ill health, and came to London for advice, and was living at the Northumberland coffee-house, Charing-cross, where the person complained against came, calling himself the Reverend John Shepherd. He told the landlord he was just come from the country, and wanted a bed, and his trunk would be brought there directly; he was accordingly shewn into a bed room. In a short time after a trunk was brought; the man who brought it the landlord knew to be a trunk-maker; and on enquiry learnt that there were no clothes in it, but that it was a new trunk he had just purchased, this caused a suspicion that he was a swindler, and the trunk-maker

insisted upon being paid: upon which Shepherd, with much confidence and address, went up to the applicant, who was sitting in the coffee-room, stating himself to be a clergyman just arrived from the country, and unfortunately without cash, and obtained a 1*l.* bank note from him. On the following morning, the landlord still suspecting Shepherd, went to him, and presented him his bill, apologizing by saying, it was his custom to have his bill paid daily by strangers. Shepherd appeared perfectly satisfied with such conduct, and said he was just going to call for it, and in a short time paid the amount. This, however, proved to be with the applicant's money, as he obtained 5*l.* from him under false pretences, applicant not being able to refuse a brother of the cloth. Shepherd contrived to get so intimate with the applicant, that he took him to Portsmouth with him, and introduced him as a clergyman among his connections there, who are extremely respectable. Shepherd at length contrived to get 30*l.* of his money, and left him. The applicant met him on Monday morning in London, and asked him for his money: he confessed he could not pay him, nor had he any prospect of doing so; he acknowledged he had done wrong, and said he intended to enlist for a soldier, and he should have the bounty money.

The applicant having discovered that he was an impostor, applied to Mr. Read, at the above office, when he not being able to make out the case of more than a debt, no warrant could be granted. In the afternoon of the same day, information was given at the same office by a gentleman against an impostor, a pretended clergyman, whom he had got acquainted with at a coffee-house, styling himself the Reverend Mr. John Tucker, Recorder of Exeter, and lately of Baliol and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. He always appeared during his acquaintance such a character as a clergyman ought to be; he had seen some of his sermons that he said he had written, and when he had called upon him he appeared very busily employed writing other sermons; and he had gone to church to hear him preach. He had obtained several sums of money from him, and this applicant had just ascertained that he was not a clergyman, and was a most gross impostor. From the description of his person, there was no doubt entertained but that he was the same man against whom information had been given by the clergyman of the man of war in the morning, but going by the names of Shepherd and Tucker. A warrant was issued against him, and Rivett having learned that he was about to enlist for a soldier, by diligent enquiries, and with the assistance of Colonel Robinson, at Pimlico, it was ascertained that he had enlisted into the 21st regiment of light dragoons, representing himself as a young gentleman of highly respectable family, and when it was known that he was enlisted he should be bought off. In consequence of this representation of himself, swearing him in was delayed, and he had been living at the expence of the serjeant, to the amount of upwards of 1*l.*

On Tuesday he was taken into

custody by Rivett, and in the evening of that day, underwent an examination before Mr. Nares. Previous to the commencement of the examination, the magistrate enquired for the prisoner, and, to his great surprise, found he was sitting close to him. He enquired if he was not a clergyman ?— he acknowledged he was not. The prisoner, with much presumption, continued to keep his seat, till Mr. Nares ordered him to stand ; when, on interrogatories being put to him, he frankly acknowledged that he had preached, married a number of couples, and executed the duties, in several churches of a clergyman.

Mr. Nares expressed his horror at the wickedness and mischief his conduct would occasion, as all the parties must be married over again. The above charges were then gone into, and he was committed for further examination.

Melancholy Accident. — On Monday se'nnight, a coroner's inquest was held on the body of Charles Skinner Matthews, Esq. A.M. second son of Colonel Matthews, of Belmont, Herefordshire, and late fellow of Downing College, Cambridge, who, whilst bathing in the Cam, on Saturday preceding, became entangled in the weeds, and was most unfortunately drowned. The superior talents of which this much lamented gentleman made an early display at Eton, carried him successfully through the usual course of academical competition at Cambridge, where he was much distinguished at Trinity College, by his excellent abilities, and great attainments in classical literature. The extent and variety of those attainments were subsequently still more strikingly displayed by his triumphant competition with many rival candidates of both universities for a fellowship of the new College of Downing, to which he was unanimously elected. He was only in the fourth year of his enjoyment of this envied distinction ; about to be called to the exercise of that profession (the law) to which he had early devoted himself, with the fairest prospects of extended reputation ; enjoying life, and rendering it valuable to others ; when the above fatal accident abruptly terminated his short but honourable career, at the early age of twenty-six.

Exeter Assizes. — Jane Cox was indicted for the wilful murder of John Trenanman, an infant, 16 months old, and Arthur Tucker, as an accessary before the fact. The latter is a respectable farmer, living at Hatherleigh, in this county, and the infant was his natural child. It appeared that Jane Cox had, on the 28th of June last, administered to the child a quantity of arsenic, by putting it into the child's hands, and which it put into its mouth and ate ; in consequence of which it died in about two hours. The prisoner, in her written confession, had implicated Tucker, as having persuaded her to do the fact ; and stated his having taken the arsenic from under the roof of a cottage and given it to her, and promised her a one pound note if she would administer it to the child. 10th.

The prisoner, Jane Cox, after a trial of seven hours, was convic-

ted, and ordered to be hanged on Monday next, and Tucker was acquitted. He called a great number of respectable witnesses, who all gave him a very high character.

Newry.—Tragical Catastrophe.—It is our melancholy task to record one of the most calamitous events that can be found in the local disasters of a country. On Sunday se'nnight two daughters, with a daughter-in-law and a grandson, of Mr. Macgowan, of Newry, went out to walk in the fields, where they picked a poisonous fungus, resembling a mushroom, of which they all most imprudently ate. They were instantly attacked with the horrible symptoms attendant on taking vegetable poison, and notwithstanding assistance from most eminent medical aid, they all fell a sacrifice to its virulence. The grandson died at eight o'clock, the daughter-in-law a quarter before eleven, on Thursday evening; the youngest daughter, of fifteen, a quarter before one, and the eldest at ten on the following morning.

A lady, in high dress, attended by a footman in livery, went on Thursday night into a box in the Haymarket theatre, and begged pardon for intrusion, as the box she had engaged was occupied by a genteel party, whom she did not wish to displease. She was politely accommodated, and after the first act, conversed ingeniously as to its incidents with one of the ladies in the box. At the end of the second act she attached herself to the other lady, who was fascinated with the brilliancy of her remarks. The fair stranger was observed never to move her arms, and to be considerably advanced in pregnancy. The third act commenced, when she pretended to be seized with the fits of the mother, which brought to her aid the two ladies, and a gentleman; she soon, however, recovered, and refusing to be escorted home, ordered her footman to call for a coach. The ladies soon after wished to know the hour, but their watches were gone. As she never moved her arms, there was reason to believe that she had false ones, and pregnancy was assumed by the aid of a bolster. The alarm was given, but the Bow-street runners were unsuccessful in discovering her.

Warwick Assizes.—John Oughton and Charles Lee were indicted for the wilful murder of Richard Whitton, at Kenilworth, about twenty years ago.

Mr. Clarke addressed the jury.—The subject of this trial was the death of a young man at Kenilworth, in this county, in the month of October, 1790. He was found floating on the water, lifeless: at the time it was not known who it was that caused his death, but there appeared to be many marks of violence on his body. During 20 years nothing had transpired to throw any light on the mysterious circumstances attending the death of this unfortunate person, till about eight or nine months ago, when Lee, who had been tried for an offence and sent to the hulks, in a conversation with a fellow convict gave the particulars of the whole affair. Oughton was in consequence taken into custody as an accomplice; and they were now to take their

trial, on suspicion of the above murder.

Mrs. Elizabeth Burbridge formerly lived at Kenilworth. She knew the deceased, Richard Whitton, before he was married; he was a young man. She knew both the prisoners, Oughton and Lee; they were both living at Kenilworth. The last time she saw Whitton was the night before he was found dead: she thought it was about twenty years ago. Deceased overtook witness as she was at Kenilworth, the night before, about nine o'clock; they walked near Washbrook-bridge. Deceased had hold of her hand, but he slipped behind her. There was an orchard near the bridge where he slipped behind her; she walked slowly on expecting him to follow. She heard him call; he said, "Stop, Barnes," (her maiden name) two or three times: he called in a whispering tone of voice, not very loud; she looked back, and saw him stooping down, this was near Lee's house. She heard deceased run over the bridge, she walked over the bridge after him, towards Lee's house, after which she saw no more of him.

Sarah Smith lived at Kenilworth in the year 1790. She remembered the time when Whitton was found drowned. The evening before, she was going to Mr. Dunn's, the brother of her master, about eight o'clock; it was a very moonlight night. When she got opposite to Mr. Lyttleton's, she saw a man come over the Hallybone-stile, as it is called; the man was running very fast towards Mr. Lyttleton's factory; she knew him to be Charles Lee—he was dressed in a light coloured coat, with sleeves darker than the body; his waistcoat was unbuttoned; his stockings were ungartered and slipped down. When he met her, she said, "Hallo, Lee!" He held up his hand clenched, and said "Hold your tongue, and don't speak a word." He did not stop at all, but ran on all the way very fast. Witness stopped and looked after him, to see where he went, but lost sight of him against Mr. Lyttleton's factory. She went on till she came to a small wooden bridge in Mill-end; when she heard a great noise in the water, but did not see any thing. The next morning she saw the prisoner, Charles Lee, she said to him, "Lee, where was you going in such a hurry last night, when I met you?" He said, "I'll be d—d if you met me—I was not away from home after seven o'clock last night." She was quite certain Lee was the man she met.

Mr. Matthew Wilcox was a surgeon, living at Kenilworth in the year 1790; he remembered being called in to examine the body of young Whitton, when he had been taken out of the water two or three days: from the examination of the body, he judged that the deceased had been strangled.

John Woodcock, esq. was coroner on the body of Richard Whitton. He received the deposition of Mr. Ridges, a surgeon of Kenilworth, but who is since deceased, and who examined the body together with the last witness [The examination was then read]; by which it appeared to be his opinion, that the deceased was partly strangled before he was thrown into the water.

The next witness called was John Clayton, a convict on board

the hulks. He knows the prisoner Lee; he saw him on board the hulks at Langston-harbour near Portsmouth. It was some time in January last he was with Lee, and had conversation with him respecting Whitton. About this time a newspaper fell into his hands respecting the death of Mr. Whitton, and that a man of the name of Oughton had been taken up for the murder. He told Lee of the circumstance: previous to which, he asked Lee if he knew a man of the name of Oughton. He said he did. Lee then told the circumstances of the case: "I and Oughton went to get apples in Whitton's father's orchard. I left Oughton to watch, while I went to the apple-tree; Oughton saw Whitton coming, and called out to me, he was after us. Oughton ran across a small meadow, and Whitton after him. When I saw them run, I dropped down from the apple-tree, and followed them across the meadow. Oughton leaped at the mill-dam, and jumped into it. When I got to the edge of the mill-dam, Whitton and Oughton were struggling in the water. Oughton called out to me, if you do not assist me he will drown me; he is too strong for me. I ran up, and jumped on the top of Whitton in the mill-dam. Soon after, Oughton and I left the deceased in the dam."

His lordship then asked the prisoner Lee, what he had to say in his defence: to which the prisoner replied, "My lord, I have nothing to say, but hope you will spare my life."

Mr. baron Thompson then addressed the jury. He requested they would dismiss from their minds any circumstances they had heard related, or any thing they had seen in print, respecting this transaction, against the prisoner Charles Lee. With respect to Oughton, his lordship observed, that there was no evidence whatever to criminate him. After recapitulating the evidence with much perspicuity, his lordship closed by saying, it would be the safest way to find the prisoner Lee guilty of manslaughter.

The jury consulted for about five minutes, and returned a verdict against Lee,—Guilty of manslaughter, and an acquittal in favour of Oughton.

12th. The following extraordinary fact is recorded in a country paper. Mr. Langley, an attorney in Bath, undertook to ride his black mare, seven years old, 100 miles in 12 successive hours. The original bet was 300 guineas to 100 guineas, that he did not accomplish it. At half past six on Wednesday evening Mr. Langley started, and completed his undertaking in one hour and ten minutes within the stipulated time. Neither the horse nor the rider appeared to be exhausted or distressed, although it rained incessantly during the last 40 miles.

A remarkable instance of that fatal forgetfulness which frequently leads to the detection of crimes, was afforded in the Criminal Court at Lincoln, on Tuesday se'nnight. On the trial of the Baxters for robbing the mail, the principal clerk of Messrs. Ellison's bank deposed that C. Baxter came to him with a 100*l.* bill (stolen from Mr. Young), which

he wished discounted. The witness, suspecting that all was not right, hinted that perhaps it had been taken out of the Wragby mail, which had been robbed. The man, with astonishing simplicity, replied, "Why, how is that possible? There were no bills in that mail." He was, in consequence of this unguarded speech, apprehended, convicted and condemned!

Arrest of the Catholic Delegates in Dublin.—This morning Messrs. Taaffe and Kirwan were arrested under a warrant from Lord Chief Justice Downes, for acting as Delegates; and Mr. Sourlog, Doctors Breen and Bourke, for acting as Electors of Delegates to the Catholic Committee, were also arrested, and the whole of these gentlemen were brought in custody to the house of the Lord Chief Justice, in Merrion-square, where they respectively gave bail to stand their trial for the alleged offence; these proceedings have occasioned a very great sensation in town, and it is said, a Privy Council will be assembled to-morrow.

It is mentioned in a German paper, that some robbers lately made their way into the sepulchral vault of the church in the Chateau of Brunswick; they carried off the gold lace and fringes which ornament the coffins of the ancient dukes; they also took away four silver vases, in which were preserved the hearts of some of those sovereigns. On the following day some of their remains were found thrown about the ground in the area of the mansion.

Cricket Match. — On Monday last, the return match between the one arm and one leg pensioners of Greenwich Hospital for 1000 guineas, was finally decided at Montpelier Gardens in favour of the one armed players, by 40 runs. This match was extremely well contested. The first and second innings were played on the 8th and 15th inst., and was postponed for the third day, in consequence of the wet weather being so much to the disadvantage of the one legged side, who several times lost or broke their timbers, which disaster befel three of them on Monday last. As soon as the match was decided, the victors were conveyed home to Greenwich in a triumphal car, with the usual trophies of rejoicing and exultation. The gardens were well attended each day, and the company highly diverted with the sport.

Insolvent Debtors. — 20th.
Surrey Special Sessions.— The Baron De Weichter, a Danish nobleman, was this day opposed, under the 36th clause of the act, for having obtained goods under false pretences.

Mr. Lawes, counsel for the opposing creditor, stated, that the prisoner came into this country in May, 1808, and from his rank soon became intimate with the first families in the kingdom. Amongst others with whom he became acquainted, was the Marquis of Hertford, at whose table he often sat, and who introduced him to Monsieur de Ton, a gentleman well known in the political circles of London. To this gentleman the baron represented himself as a person employed by the Danish government to enter into a negociation with the English cabinet, for the purpose of concluding a treaty of alliance. This representation

Monsieur de Ton fully credited, from the nature of the baron's introduction. In March, 1809, the prisoner begged Monsieur De Ton to introduce him to a silversmith who could supply him with a service of plate, which he wished to purchase, in order that he might support the appearance his diplomatic situation required. Monsieur De Ton, without hesitation, introduced him to Messrs. Smith and Co. of Burton-street, as a person of rank, who wished to give them a handsome order: an introduction for which these gentlemen felt themselves peculiarly grateful. The baron immediately gave directions for the manufacture of plate of the value of 1400*l.* half of which he desired might be got ready without delay, promising at the same time that he would, on the delivery of the articles, pay for them by a bill at three months, on the discharge of which, and not till then, the remaining half of the order was to be put in hand. This proposition appeared so extremely fair, that Messrs. Smith at once agreed to it, and immediately put the articles in hand. In a few days, however, the baron called again at their house, and appeared extremely anxious to have the whole of the order completed forthwith, alleging, as his reason for this hurry, that he was desirous of making a display adequate to the importance of the situation he held. Messrs. Smith expressed a desire to comply with his wishes, and used the greatest expedition in completing the order. Notwithstanding all their activity, however, they were too tardy for the baron, who, under pretence of giving large dinners, took away himself a pair of massive silver candlesticks, and other things of considerable value. When the order was about one-half completed, Mr. Smith began to entertain some suspicions of the respectability of his customer, and under this impression called at his house in Baker-street; where, instead of finding, as he expected, an establishment of servants, he only saw a man and woman of mean appearance, and a house not one-fourth part furnished. In despite of this circumstance, however, upon consultation with his partner, and on considering the nature of the baron's introduction, he continued to send in plate till the quantity so sent amounted to 1200*l.* In the month of July, some other circumstances took place which induced him to call again at the baron's house, and demand a view of the plate. Upon this occasion the baron was ill in bed, and on being asked for the plate, he said it was locked up in a chest, the key of which he had, but was so unwell that he could not then go to it. This answer only increased the suspicions of Mr. Smith, and he declared he would not leave the house until he saw it. The prisoner then confessed that he had pawned it, and a writ was shortly afterwards issued for his arrest; and on enquiry it turned out that he had sold the pair of candlesticks first mentioned to Mr. Sherbourne, of the Strand, to whom he represented that he had received them from an old lady, who had been presented with them by a young gentleman, for whom she procured a place in the War Office. This story Mr.

Sherbourne believed, and gave him nine guineas for the pair. He also told Mr. Sherbourne, that he had a great variety of other plate, which he was desirous of selling. The remainder of the plate, it was discovered, had been pawned at a pawnbroker's, in Frith-street, Soho, for 600*l.* These circumstances led to new investigations, and it finally appeared that the prisoner had made a false representation altogether, having no connection whatever with the Danish government. Monsieur De Ton, however, stated, that he had heard from the Duke de Chartres, that the prisoner had been employed as ambassador for the Danish Government in the Circles of the Rhine; that the royal family of France were indebted to him in a considerable sum; and that he was a nobleman of high respectability in his own country.

Mr. Nolan entered into an ingenious defence of the prisoner, contending that, from the circles in which he had been in the habit of moving, as well as from the rank he held upon former occasions, it was not to be supposed he had any intention to commit a fraud. In addition to this, no proof had been adduced that the baron was not in truth what he represented himself to be, namely, a person employed by the Danish government. It might be said, that if he was so employed, it became him to bring proofs of the fact; but when the unfortunate state of the continent was considered, and the injury which would be sustained by the Danish government, were such a disclosure to take place, from the tyranny of France, he hoped the court would admit that his client would not be authorized in resting his defence on such a ground. Supposing then the existence of some negociation, which was not improbable, it might fairly be concluded that the baron had obtained the plate with a view to meet existing exigencies, with the full intention of paying the debt he incurred, which he would be fully enabled to do from the presents that were at all times attendant on the conclusion of a negotiation; and this being the case, was it fair or liberal to apply the 36th clause to his unfortunate situation?

Mr. Serjeant Onslow, although he admitted the ingenuity of the learned counsel's argument, could not admit its justice. He was of opinion that the baron had obtained the goods under false pretences, with a view to dispose of them; and not, as he had represented, to support his dignity as an ambassador. With these sentiments, he did not think him entitled to the benefit of the act, and therefore ordered him to be remanded.

The baron is at least seventy years of age. and although considerably broken down by adversity, bears the stamp of dignity in his person.

A peasant of the name of J. Angely, was convicted at Mentz, on the 10th ult. along with a woman with whom he cohabited, of having murdered ten persons during the last thirteen months. It appeared by the evidence, that the criminal was a wood-cutter, and resided six miles distant from the city. Being idle, and desirous of subsisting without labour, he

determined to rob all single travellers who passed through a neighbouring wood; for this purpose he used to conceal himself in a high tree, and take deliberate aim at his victim: if he fell, he descended to finish his work, and after plundering, buried the body; if, on the contrary, he missed his aim, or the person, though wounded, attempted to escape, he gave a signal to a dog which he had trained, and which effectually prevented that design. The number of persons who had suddenly disappeared while journeying through the wood, gave rise to suspicion, and led to the apprehension of Angely and the woman, both of whom, struck with remorse, made a full confession of their guilt. Angely and the woman, were executed on the 12th, and the dog was shot by order of the magistrates.

The embankment at Tre-Madock, in Caernarvonshire, by which several thousand acres have been rescued from the sea, is now completed. This great work has been accomplished by Mr. Madocks, M.P. for Boston.

A law-suit of a curious nature, though not unprecedented in literary annals, is now pending in Paris: it is an action for damages brought by M. Bouvet, of the Imperial Academy, against the conductors of the *Journal de l'Empire*, for having in a critique on a Latin poem, written by him on the birth of the King of Rome, declared that his metre was false, his lines full of barbarisms, and that on the whole he was an indifferent poet. M. Bouvet, who is a schoolmaster, declares that his reputation as a man of letters is affected, and lays his damages at a considerable sum.

Poisoning Horses.—Police Office, Marlborough-street.—It will be recollected that certain horses which were to have run at the last Spring Meeting at Newmarket, and upon which considerable bets were pending, under an expectation that they would eventually beat those horses which were expected to be opposed to them, were poisoned. Suspicion fell upon several persons, and it was shrewdly imagined that the authors of the base and diabolical deed were individuals of no unimportant consideration in society; and that, although meaner agents were employed for the barbarous deed, the emoluments arising from it were to fall into the pockets of men of certain note. How far ingenious investigation has discovered any proof of this, does not publicly appear; but it seems there was evidence enough for a grand jury of the county of Cambridge to find a true bill against Daniel Dawson, for an offence of this extraordinary nature.

The bill having been found, Thomas Foy got the warrant for his speedy apprehension; and that officer, with his accustomed assiduity and zeal, found Dawson at Brighton, and brought him immediately up to town. Yesterday he was brought up before Mr. Conant, and was fully committed for trial.

East Indies. — Bombay, June 24th.—Kitson v. *Sterling.* When the cause was called on in the Recorder's Court, the defendant and his wife took their seats near his counsel. The Recorder, Sir Jas.

Mackintosh, intimated to the defendant the propriety of Mrs. S's. absence; and advised her to retire into an adjoining apartment. The defendant, however, said, that he could not dispense with her attendance; that it was as much her cause as his; and that he also required her assistance in taking notes, as he himself was deaf. The sequel of the cause, however, shewed that this was a mere pretext, and explained the reason of his reluctance to suffer her to leave him for a moment. She was suffered to stay.

Mr. Woodhouse, for the complainant stated, that this was a suit in equity brought to set aside a bond for 20,000 rupees, executed by the complainant in favour of the defendant's wife, on the ground of its having been extorted from him by fear and without consideration. The complainant and the defendant married two sisters, the daughters of a Mr. West, of that place, the former in July, and the latter in October, 1809; from which time till the 7th of December, the families of the complainant and the defendant had constantly visited each other on the kindest and most cordial terms. On the 7th of December, the defendant set up a charge against the plaintiff of having taken unlawful liberties with his (the defendant's) wife previous to her marriage, and at length, by a succession of threats, induced the plaintiff to sign the bond in question.

Mr. West, jun., brother to Mrs. Kitson and Mrs. Sterling, gave evidence to shew the impossibility that the liberties alleged could have been taken with his sister on the day mentioned, as he being in the house, not far from his sister at the time, must have known it. It appeared by the testimony of other witnesses, that the defendant had charged several other persons with taking improper liberties with his wife, and had endeavoured by threats to extort money from them.

Mr. Advocate General, for defendant, was proceeding to address the court, when the honourable the Recorder observed, that he had admitted the evidence of a charge of criminal connection with Mrs. Sterling having been made by the defendant against several persons, but that he admitted it with some hesitation; because the frequency of such charges undoubtedly afforded the strongest presumption of their falsehood in the particular case before the court; that as this evidence had been received, the defendant would be allowed to rebut the presumption, by proving the truth or even the probability of these charges in the case of three officers, against whom they had been made, and that any reasonable time would be granted to him for preparing that proof, on condition of his immediately specifying the times and places of these supposed offences. The defendant appearing unable to satisfy this last condition, no answer was made on his part to the Recorder's proposal.

Sir James Mackintosh then observed, that he now conceived it to be his duty to ascertain whether certain horrible suspicions, which had haunted his mind during the whole day, were or were not well founded. He called upon Mrs. S. to

leave the side of her husband and come up to the bench; on which, Mr. Advocate Meneral (counsel for the defendant) observed, that he hoped his lordship was now about to do what he had long wished, though from his situation he felt a difficulty in suggesting it—to ascertain whether Mrs. S. acted under the influence of terror and violence, and to apprize her, if she did, that by swearing the peace against her husband, she would acquire the protection of the law.

The Recorder then put several questions to this poor young woman; but she was in such a state of indescribable weakness and agitation, as to be unable to give any coherent answers. He then enquired whether her mother was near, and being informed that she was in one of the adjoining apartments, he desired Mrs. S. to go to her mother for a short time, that under her soothing care, she might recover presence of mind enough to give an intelligible account of her real condition. At the mention of the word "mother," she started, and said, "My mother! I dare not see my mother!" She was asked why? She answered, "My husband forbade me to see my mother."

The Recorder said to her, "What sort of husband can he be who forbids you to see your mother? Can his purpose be good? Can you be bound to obey such a prohibition?" She faintly repeated, "I dare not go!"

Sir James Mackintosh then turned to the defendant's counsel, and said, that if the defendant did not wish that the court should think him capable of any atrocity, he must withdraw this unnatural prohibition. The defendant muttered a hurried and reluctant consent. His poor wife leapt from the bench with all the eagerness of joy. The Recorder led her to the apartment where her mother was, into whose arms she rushed, and crying out, 'Oh my mother!' she fainted. The Recorder returned in a few minutes, and said, that though the unfortunate young woman had not yet recovered her serenity of mind; though she was still influenced either by dread, or by the remains of affection for her unworthy husband, she had already disclosed enough; for she confessed that the present, and all the other charges of a similar nature, some of which she had sanctioned upon oath *were false*. The Recorder then desired to know whether the defendant had any defence to make?

Mr. Advocate General, evidently much affected, in common with the whole of a most crowded court, said, that unless the court should itself think it unsafe to act under the influence of feelings so strongly excited as those of every person present were, and should on that ground postpone the farther consideration of the case, he felt himself bound to say, that he had nothing to offer which he could oppose, with any hope of success, to what had appeared against his client.

The court decreed according to the prayer of the bill with costs. The Recorder expressed his regret that the honourable uniform of his country should still be disgraced by remaining on the defendant's shoulders, and that he was not standing as a criminal in-

stead of appearing as a defendant.

In the course of an hour, when the young woman had recovered, and felt assured of the kindness of her family, and the protection of the law, she swore that she was in fear of death from her husband, and a warrant was accordingly issued to imprison him, till he should find sufficient sureties to keep the peace.

Tithes.—At the Sussex assizes, at Lewes, a cause of considerable importance to all persons interested in the payment of tithes, and which excited great interest in the county, came on to be heard before the lord chief baron. It was an action brought by a farmer against the impropriator, for not taking away his tithes when set out; and the principal question was, whether the parson was bound to take the tithe-lamb when it was fit to live without the dam, whether the farmer weaned his own lambs or not? In this case, the farmer did not wean his own lambs; but, after setting out the parson's tithe, returned the nine parts to the ewes to fatten for sale. The cause being called on, and the plaintiff's counsel having stated his case, the judge recommended a reference, which was acceded to by all parties; his lordship first declaring the law of the case, namely—that the lambs are weanable when they can thrive on the same food that the dam subsists on, and that the farmer is bound to treat the parson's lamb in the same manner that he treats his own. This doctrine gives the parson the right to the tenth fatted lamb, and establishes a criterion upon the subject of tithe-lambs, which can never be productive of litigation, inasmuch as the time of tithing is rendered certain, and the farmer has his option to wean his lambs or not.

At the Taunton assizes, Betty Townsend, aged 77, considered by the superstitious as a witch, and whose outward appearance would certainly seem to such persons an undeniable proof of their suspicions, was tried for obtaining money from a child under the following circumstances:—

The prosecutor, Jacob Poole, a poor labouring man, residing in a hamlet of Taunton, in which parish the prisoner also resided, had been in the habit of sending his daughter, aged about 13, with apples in a basket to market. About Jan. 24 last, the old woman met with the little girl, and asked to see what she had in her basket; which having examined, she said to her, "Hast got any money?" The child said she had none. "Then get some for me," said the old woman, "and bring it to me at the Castle door (a tavern in Taunton) or I will kill thee!" The child terrified to an extreme at such a threat from a witch, procured 2*s.* and carried it to her; when the old woman said, "'Tis a good turn thou hast got it, or else I would have made thee die by inches." This was repeated seven times within five months; when Poole (the father) going to the shop of Mr. Bruford, a druggist, in Taunton, to pay a little bill which he owed for medicine, found no less than seven different charges against him for money lent; and on inquiry found that different small sums of 2*s.* 2*s.* 6*d.* 5*s.* &c. had been borrowed by the girl in her father's name, for the purpose, as she said, of going to

market, but carried as a peace-offering to the old woman. The whole was now discovered; and Poole's wife and another woman took the girl with them to the prisoner's house, and interrogated her as to the facts. She admitted a knowledge of the girl, but, on being reprehended for her conduct, raved and swore that if they dared to accuse her, she would make them "die by inches."—"No," said Mrs. Poole, who appears to have thought that she knew much better how to deal with a witch than her daughter, "that thee shalt not; I'll hinder that;" and, taking a pin from her clothes, scratched the witch from her elbows to her wrist, in three places, to *draw her blood*,—a process believed to be of unfailing efficacy as an antidote to witchcraft. The idea of this wicked woman's power has had such an effect on the mind of the girl, that she is now reduced to such a state of debility as to be scarcely able to take any sustenance. The jury found the prisoner *Guilty;* and the judge observed, that only her extreme old age prevented him from pronouncing on her the severest sentence the law would allow. She was sentenced to pay a fine of 1*s.* and to be kept to hard labour in the House of Correction for six calendar months.

31st. Professor Von Feinagle, of Baden, gave in the month of June, at the Royal Institution, a public experiment of the efficacy of his *method of facilitating and assisting memory.* The managers of the institution, in consequence of the application of the committee of literature and science, granted permission for this public display of the art, without, however, making themselves in any way responsible as to its character. The exhibition took place before an assembly of several hundred ladies and gentlemen, who were astonished and delighted with the result of the experiment. Four children, two boys, and two girls, all under 14 years of age, had been put under Mr. Feinagle's care but two or three days before: he had one of the girls but an hour and a half; and the longest tuition that any of them had received was but four hours and a half.—One of them repeated Goldsmith's Hermit backward and forward, and stated the stanza, the line, and the order of any remarkable word required of him.—One little girl answered to questions in the chronology of the Roman emperors; and another multiplied, without slate or paper, *two* sums of *eight* figures by *eight*, and declared that she had not previously been taught arithmetic.—A boy determined the geographical situation, in degrees and minutes, of fifty different cities; and on a planisphere chalked out on a board, marked down the true situation of places named to him.—Mr. Fincher, of the institution, also recited the mineralogical tables of Hauy, the second part of which he had taught himself on Mr. Feinagle's system, together with the first part of Brisson's Ornithologic System.

Asia.—The nabob of Oude lately gave a grand hunt, to which a number of European officers were invited, and in the course of which not fewer than twenty large tigers, which had long in-

fested the country, and committed great depredations, were destroyed. Some elephants were, however, wounded in this diversion, and two or three of the hunters killed. An European gentleman (Mr. Collett) was dangerously wounded.

SEPTEMBER.

In all the towns situated on the borders of the great forests of Germany, associations are forming for the apprehension of robbers. It is ascertained that the bands which infest Wetteravia, the Odenwald, and the Spessart, have communication with each other; and the troop which infests the forest of Thuringa is divided into thirty-two detachments, the lowest of which is computed at sixteen individuals. The booty they have made during the last three years is computed at a million sterling. Rendered daring by long impunity, these brigands venture into many towns in the open day, and purchase their provisions, without the civil authorities, whom they have impressed with the greatest dread, making any attempt to apprehend them. The citizens who enter into the above association engage by an oath to denounce all who have any private correspondence with these pests of society, and to use every effort to apprehend and bring them to justice.

5th. A Madras paper mentions a very singular rencontre, which deserved to be made public in that part of the world, as shewing the enterprize and ferocity of the tiger in a field of action that hitherto had been thought secure from his attack. The crew of the Kedgeree Dawk boat, while at anchor near Saugor, in seven fathoms and an eighth, were alarmed by the noise of a tiger swimming towards them. He approached the boat, and having got so near as to reach it with his claws, attempted to get on board, from which he was prevented more by the height of the gunwale above the water, than by any opposition from the crew, who were too much alarmed to exert themselves with effect. The tiger continued, according to the report of the boat's crew, upwards of forty minutes alongside, frequently renewing his attempts to climb on board. The marks of his claws were distinctly visible on the planks above the copper.

6th. A Bombay paper of March 2, contains the following paragraph:

"The sixth drawing was held on Monday last, when No. 1170 came up a prize of Sicca rupees, one hundred thousand. This fortunate number belongs to a Hindoo, of the name of Pulwan Sing, who for many years earned a precarious livelihood by providing groups of dancing girls for the opulent Bengalese, during the Doorgah Poojah and other festivals. Pulwan Sing is the sole proprietor of the ticket: he bore the sudden stroke of good fortune, by which he was raised in an instant from indigence to a state of affluence beyond his most sanguine dreams, with all the composure of a practical philosopher."

A subsequent paper says, "Pulwan Sing, the proprietor of the

fortunate ticket 1170, drawn a prize of a lack of rupees, terminated this life on Sunday last, in consequence of a fall from a horse, which he purchased a few days before, out of the proceeds of the lottery."

10th. *Maniac.*—A most interesting looking female, about 18 years of age, dressed in a style of fashionable elegance, attracted the attention of several persons yesterday morning in Bond-street, by the singularity of her demeanor. She held in her hand a beautiful work-basket, in which were small bundles of straw, which she exposed for sale to the passengers, asking them, at the same time, if they would buy any matches. So extraordinary a circumstance soon drew a crowd round her, who continued to listen to her ravings for some time, and many from curiosity purchased her little bundles, for which she returned the most grateful acknowledgments. At length, an elderly gentleman, in great agitation, forced his way through the throng, and catching the female in his arms, he was for a moment lost in the greatest anguish. Several gentlemen offered their assistance, and a coach being procured, the unfortunate maniac was placed in it. To this she made no resistance, but continued crying her matches. She was driven to the house from which she had wandered, in Baker-street.

12th. *Sorcery.*—On the 25th of January last, L. Rolassey, Jean Pairson, Etienne Morler, and Jean Dupen, of the commune Joux, complained, that on the 6th of that month, Claude Griffe circulated a report, that on that day he had seen them dance round a fire and a table, on which were a quantity of bottles and glasses of wine, in the midst of which was placed a gilt chair, in which was the Devil, who presided over the dance. They complained that these reports injured their characters and commerce; that their children even dared not to go to the public schools, nor into the streets, being hooted and pelted by other children. The complainants conclude that Griffe should be required to contradict his assertion, and pay a certain sum to each of them, by way of compensation. The tribunal of the police of Ile-sur-le-Serein discharged the parties out of court, the charge of sorcery being too contemptible to occupy the attention of the court.

The Procureur-General, Merlin, required, *ex officio*, the revocation of this decision. "Nothing (said the magistrate) would be more proper than the judgment of the tribunal of Ile-sur-le Serein, if reason were the guide of the multitude—but it is not. That the people give easy credit to the charge of sorcery, is proved by numerous facts. Hence, to accuse an individual of sorcery, is to injure him in the opinion of the multitude—consequently it is committing a punishable offence."

The court being of opinion that the imputation of sorcery was a grievous injury done to the complainants; that, by its being credited, it might mislead the opinion of the people, disturb the public repose, and occasion fatal consequences; and that, by refusing to decide upon a demand of re-

paration, the tribunal of police of the canton of Ile-sur-le-Serein had violated the 471st article of the penal code, annul the said judgment.

Old Bailey.—Yesterday the Old Bailey Sessions commenced before Mr. Justice Heath, Mr. Justice Bayley, the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and City Officer.

Robert Roberts was indicted for breaking out of the House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields, while imprisoned there, by virtue of three different warrants under the hand of Nathaniel Conant, Esq. one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex, and escaping therefrom without the licence of Aris, the jailor of the said House of Correction, to whose custody he had been committed.

Mr. Conant proved the warrants for the commitment and detention of the prisoner to have been granted by him, and to bear his signature.

Mr. Knapp, for the prisoner, took an objection that two, at least, of the warrants were on suspicion, and that as to the other, the guilt of the prisoner had never been attempted to be substantiated.

Mr. Justice Bayley, who tried the case, was clearly of opinion that the guilt of the prisoner, as to some one of the offences for which he stood committed, must be proved before he could be convicted of a crime in breaking out of custody.—The jury accordingly found him Not Guilty.

Previous to the trial, we understand Roberts was desirous of pleading guilty, and for that purpose had written and sent to Mr. Aris the following confession and narrative of his escape; but Mr. Aris deemed it proper to have all the facts brought before the public, in the hope that the minutest investigation would have taken place on the trial:—

"I consider it but justice due to Mr. Aris to give a statement of the circumstances connected with my escape from his custody, and in which neither himself nor any of his family had, directly or indirectly, any concern; and to the truth of which, independent of my confession, so many corroborations can be adduced, as to every unprejudiced mind must be completely satisfactory. After I had planned, in conjunction with Taylor (then and still a prisoner in the House of Correction), the manner in which I was to regain my liberty, he proposed Smith as a fit person to unlock my door, from the circumstance of his cell being next to one that was always open. I accordingly procured William Folkard to employ a person to make the keys: the impression of the large one was taken on soap, and I sent out a padlock, of which there were several in an adjoining cell to mine, as a pattern of the remainder. These, when made, were brought to the jail by Folkard, and through the contrivance of a servant in the prison (not one of Mr. Aris's family), and whose name I must beg to be excused at present from mentioning, as I do not wish to injure him, nor is it necessary for Mr. Aris's exculpation. This person permitted me to be alone with Folkard in the office, and the parcel containing the keys,

and likewise an iron hook, were concealed in my clothes. Smith had provided himself with a poker to break through the wall, and had informed me, by the medium of Taylor, he supposed he could be with me by one o'clook in the morning, and I placed the keys behind a spout, in the empty cell, ready for him. A few days before the attempt was to be made, I wrote to Folkard to provide a rope ladder, and to be ready with two friends on the Tuesday morning at one o'clock, to throw it over the wall, on my giving a signal for that purpose. I did not receive an answer from him till the following afternoon, and which answer was brought me by the before-mentioned servant, and in which Folkard merely said he would, with two others, be at the place at the time appointed. About a quarter before one o'clock Smith had broke out of his cell, and unlocked my door, and we remained together till the clock struck, and then went through the body of the prison. About twenty yards from the west-side of the main gate was the spot appointed for Folkard and friends to be at, and the signal was throwing a stone over. Immediately on getting to the wall I made the signal, but to no purpose, and continued at intervals to repeat it till near three o'clock in the morning, and at last found it was by our own exertions alone we could expect to get away. We first tried with the padlock-key to undo the padlock which fastened the ladders in the yard, in the hopes of placing them against the wall, but our key would not accomplish it, and Smith tied many small pieces of rope together, of which there was a quantity in the yard; and having made a sufficient length to reach from the top of the wall to the ground, he fastened the hook I had provided to the end of the rope. I then climbed up the iron bars, and got upon the lodge, and attempted to throw my hook and rope over the wall, but it would not hold. I then ascended to the top of the wall by the assistance of the projecting stones which are in the side of the main gate, and my ascension was facilitated by two or three nails which were in the wall. I had taken the rope with me, and when at the top, put the hook in a cramp-iron which fastens the stone coping, and let the rope down to Smith, who, having climbed the lodge, pulled himself up to the top. We then shifted a few yards, that we might descend on the grass plot in case the rope broke. I let myself down first, but lacerated my hands greatly, and was followed by Smith, to whom I gave a *5l.* note, and at the same time told him to go on board a man of war and hide himself, for that a reward would be offered for our apprehension, and then parted with him. I was desired by Folkard, when he gave me the keys, to be sure to bring them away with me if I succeeded, to prevent the discovery of his having caused them to be made, and that the blame might fall upon Mr. Aris, who, consequently, would be supposed to have let me out. When I found I was not likely to be succoured from without, according to promise, with the rope ladder, I stuck the largest one in

the dirt, where it was found, and assisted Smith in tying the rope together, and, my anxiety was so great, I did not think of the key till I had got to the top of the wall, and was then afraid to descend, as it was getting day-light and we might be discovered, and I could not call to Smith to bring it for fear of awaking the turnkeys, so was obliged to leave it. The padlock-key I had in my pocket, which I put under the step of a door in the second or third street I came to, and which, I have no doubt, I could find at this day. Immediately I found myself at liberty, I went to Folkard's and knocked him up; he was surprised to see me; wondered how I had cleared the wall, and informed me he was at the place appointed before one o'clock, with the ladder, and two persons to assist him, but that one of them was alarmed, and communicating his fears to the others, they went away, fearing, if found under the wall at that unseasonable hour with the rope, they should be taken into custody. I can, by four people (independent of Folkard,) who saw me the day I escaped, prove in what state my hands were.

"These I do most solemnly declare are the facts of my escape; and could it be possible for me, at this time, to be taken to the House of Correction, I would forfeit my life if I did not ascend to the top of the wall, in the same place as I did before, without the assistance of any thing, in ten minutes. I am actuated by no other motive in detailing this, than to remove from a much-injured individual the odium, and supposed knowledge and confederacy with my escape, which has hitherto been attached to him, and that the public in general, and more especially the gentlemen of the county of Middlesex, may, at last, do him that justice which has been denied him; and I think it proper likewise to state, that, since my re-apprehension, I have been visited by many gentlemen, who have questioned me relative to my escape, to whom I have invariably declared the truth, as here stated, and acquitted Mr. Aris, and all his family, of any knowledge or connivance in it. It is proper for me to mention, that during the time I was in his custody I never had more than forty pounds in my possession. No hope, promise, or expectation, has been held out to me to write this; and my narrative will be the more credited, when I declare, that soon after I was retaken, and when I expected nothing but an ignominious death, I have always declared as here related, and should any further elucidation be necessary, I am most ready to communicate it.

ROBERT ROBERTS.

"*State-side, Newgate, Sep. 2,* 1811."

Considerable alarm was excited on Tuesday last 14th. in the neighbourhood of St. James's-square, in consequence of the sudden departure from their dens of two royal hunting tigers, which were lately sent over to this country as a present to the Duke of Norfolk, and were deposited in the stables belonging to his grace. It appeared that they had broken the door of the den, and made

their escape into the hay-loft over the stables; but being soon discovered, a domestic of the Duke's was dispatched to the menagerie at Exeter 'Change, to hire two of the quadruped keepers to attend, and, if possible, to secure the animals, which was at length effected, after two days' incessant labour.

Taunton.—About the beginning of the present year, Phineas Adams, a private in the first Somerset militia, applied for surgical aid, in consequence of an ulcerated wound in his arm. On examination it appearing that the ulcer was occasioned by his own contrivance, and that consequently he would not be discharged, he deserted from his regiment. Upon his apprehension, he was committed to the gaol at Wilton, where he was attended by a medical gentleman, in consequence of a wound which he then exhibited on his leg, which there is much reason to suppose was artificially produced. On the 24th of April last, he fell down a flight of steps, and was taken up with the blood oozing from his ears. Being conveyed to bed, he appeared to have suffered no material injury; but, in a day or two afterwards, he observed to the medical gentleman who attended him, that he thought he was getting deaf. Believing this to be a new stratagem to accomplish his purpose, the medical gentleman asked him in a low tone of voice, "Are you very deaf?" To which the man replied, "Yes, very deaf." Intimation was then given him, that his object was understood, and would of course be defeated. Immediately after this, Adams fell into a state of profound insensibility, and has so remained down to the present period—a space of nearly three months. From that time, the sustenance he received has been very slight, consisting entirely of tea, broths, and occasionally of small portions of bread and butter. On the 24th of April the accident happened; on the 25th his pulse was very hard, and indicated inflammation of the brain, upon which he was bled, and the symptoms abated. The following day, in consequence of his pulse increasing, he was again bled; from which period he has remained in his present state. His head and back have been blistered, without producing any sensible effect; and strong electrical shocks have produced no bodily sensation. His pulse is generally regular, but wants tone. The pupil of his eye is in a slight degree dilated, and his respiration is easy; nor has it been interrupted from the commencement. Every mode of arousing him from the insensible state in which he lies has entirely failed. Snuff has been thrust up his nostrils, and pungent salts applied, neither of which have produced any other effect than that of a secretion from his eyes. On Sunday the 14th, it was determined to try on him the nitrous oxyd gas; the operation of which is known to occasion so extraordinary a degree of mental and bodily excitation. The tube affixed to the bladder, containing the gas, was applied to the man's mouth; but his teeth were so firmly closed, that all efforts to open them proved fruitless. His nostrils and lips were then compressed, and every means taken

to prevent his inhaling any air but the gaseous fluid. This attempt was persevered in, until his pulse became interrupted, evidently from his desisting to breathe, and no effect in consequence resulted from the experiment. The man now remains in the same state of total insensibility.

25th. A short time ago Phineas Adams, whose age was no more than 18, on the 6th of June last, was removed from the gaol in which he then was, to the parish of Bickenhall, a small village, seven miles from Taunton. His parents residing at that place, but being unable to receive him in their own habitation, Adams was lodged in the poor-house, a small cottage adjoining the church-yard. In this situation he continued to lie without exhibiting the least evidence of an improving condition. When any of his limbs were raised, they fell with the leaden weight of total inanimation; his eyes were closed, and his countenance evinced the paleness of death, though divested of any of the concomitant symptoms of approaching dissolution. His respiration continued free, and his pulse maintained its character of a healthful tone. The sustenance he received was entirely that of eggs diluted with wine, and occasionally with tea, which he sucked in through his teeth: all attempts, forcible as some of them were, to compel him to open his mouth having been repeatedly tried in vain: and various experiments were again made to excite sensation without effect, particularly that of thrusting pins under his finger-nails.

In this hopeless condition, he was visited by Mr. Welch, surgeon, of Taunton, who suggested the propriety of performing the operation of *scalping* the patient, with a view to ascertain whether the fall, to which the illness was attributed, might not have produced a depression of the brain. The proposal was communicated to the parents of Adams, who expressed their willingness that the experiment should be made. Accordingly, at the time appointed, the surgeon accompanied Adams's father to the bed-side of his son, and there, in the presence of several respectable persons, described to both the young man's parents the nature and precise course of operation about to be performed. Old Adams then shaved his son's head. The incisions were made, the scalp drawn up, and the head examined, during all which time the young man manifested no audible symptom of pain, or sensibility of suffering whatever, until the application of an instrument, with which the head was scraped in a particular part, and then, and once only, he uttered a groan.

No beneficial result appearing from this experiment, and as his case seemed absolutely remediless, application was made to his regiment for his discharge.

On Tuesday, August 20th, the discharge arrived, and was taken over to Bickenhall by the serjeant. On the Tuesday following, the 27th, old Adams brought his son down stairs in his arms; and on the 28th, he again brought him

down, the son still remaining insensible. Next night (the 29th), he was seen sitting in the poor-house, with a gun in his hand, conversing with his father; and on Friday, the 30th, (our readers will participate with us in the complete astonishment excited by the fact) he was at Mr. Palmer's, a farmer, at Thurlbear, two miles from Bickenhall, cutting spars, carrying reed up a ladder, and assisting his father in thatching a rick! On the next day, the 31st, he was in the barn of Mr. Cozens, of Bickenhall, with a dick in his hand, killing mice; and on Sunday, the 1st instant, Mr. Cozens himself met him in a neighbouring copse, gathering nuts.

On the morning of Friday, the 30th, young Adams walked into the cottage of Martha Cozens, who lives next door, and adjoining to the poor-house. She expressed great surprise at the suddenness of his recovery, and asked him, how he was able to undergo so much suffering? To which he answered, that he had no recollection of having experienced any. She then asked him, if he did not recollect feeling any pain when the surgeon was scraping his head? To which he replied, "that he perfectly recollected that."

The extraordinary rapidity of this young man's recovery, after obtaining his discharge from his regiment, having excited, in combination with the other circumstances which we formerly stated, an opinion that imposition had been practised, some of the neighbours reported that a press-gang was coming for him. This, it is supposed, having reached his ears, he absconded, and not a syllable has been heard of him since.

Old Adams was himself formerly in the military service, and effected his discharge by counterfeiting illness, though not of that description which has been assumed by his son. The opinion is very general, that he has assisted his son in his artifice, and that food has been secretly conveyed to him. Under this impression, however, it it necessary to state, that the father was denied all access to him for several days while he was in gaol.

On Wednesday last it was discovered by a female servant to her Majesty, that the several presses in Buckingham-house, which contained her Majesty's court and other most valuable dresses, had been opened, and the contents, amounting in value to 2,000*l.* had been stolen therefrom. Her Majesty's wardrobe had been kept in St. James's-palace previously to the late fire, at which time it was removed to Buckingham-house. It was usual for the female domestic who had the care of the contents of the presses to inspect them once a year; but from the King's illness they had not been wanted, and consequently they were not opened until last Wednesday, when it was found the dresses were gone; but the papers which contained them were left, and a baize which covers the whole was carefully placed over the papers, &c.

19th. It is stated in a Westmoreland paper, that a sister of the late Captain Cook has resided many years in Pack-horse yard, Stramongate, Kendal. Her

name is Agnes Harker; she is the widow of Simon Harker, and is now at the advanced age of 88. She displays a quick discernment, has a good flow of spirits, and a retentive memory. She has had 10 children, but they have all left her except the youngest daughter. Their manual employment is spinning and knitting worsted stockings, which affords them but a scanty subsistence.

20th. *From the Abeille Du Nord, of Aug. 27.*—"The Editor of this paper, having imprudently inserted in the papers, Nos. 51, 66, and 67, an anecdote taken from works published a considerable time back, and which do not belong to the history of the present time, which is the object of this paper, makes known, that in consequence of this indiscretion, it has been imposed as a punishment by the police, and enjoined by the supreme authority, that he must abstain from inserting anecdotes, drawn even from the history of times past, calculated to offend governments on friendly terms with that of Denmark." Such is the state of the press on the continent!

23d. *Clerkenwell Sessions.*—*The Sham Parson.*—Robert Ackerley Taylor, the pretended vicar of Hertford, stood indicted for fraudulently obtaining from Major John Cartwright the sum of two pounds, on the 12th of February last, under false and fraudulent pretences.

It appeared, from the evidence of Major Cartwright, that the prisoner came to him on the day above stated, and presented him with a letter of introduction from Sir Francis Burdett, (who, it appears, was equally imposed on), stating the bearer to be the Rev. Mr. Taylor, vicar of Hertford, who wished to be introduced to him on particular business. The prisoner was shewn into the room where the major was sitting in conversation with a gentleman; but the prisoner desired a private audience of the major, which being granted, the prisoner signified that the object of his visit was to solicit aid for an unfortunate gentlewoman at Hertford, whose husband had lately died, leaving his widow and children in very indigent circumstances. The house and furniture of this poor gentlewoman was stated to have been seized for a debt of 100*l.* and must be sold, and she and her orphans turned into the street, unless the amount of her debt could be paid. The prisoner said, that he, commiserating her hard case, had undertaken to solicit a subscription for her relief; that Mr. Plumer, of Hertfordshire, had humanely contributed 20*l.* and Mr. Brand the like sum; that Sir Francis Burdett had also contributed very liberally, but had desired the sum he gave and his name might be kept a secret. Major Cartwright, not doubting the truth of this plausible story, presented the prisoner with a two-pound bank note towards the subscription.

On returning to the first room, the prisoner joined in conversation with the major and his friend upon a variety of topics; and amongst others, upon parliamentary reform and clerical affairs, upon which latter he took occasion to mention his own labours in the vineyard of the gospel. He

then took his leave. Some time afterwards, Major Cartwright learned from various quarters, that he was a common impostor, who had levied similar contributions upon several of his acquaintances; that he was a prisoner in the King's Bench, and had actually come out of that place upon a day rule on the very morning on which he had practised this notable manœuvre. The major, upon discovery of this fact, was determined to punish the impostor; and, as a first step, lodged a detainer against him at the prison gate for forty shillings. On the 25th of July following, the major received a letter from the prisoner, expressing his contrition for having improperly obtained from him the sum in question: but earnestly entreating that he would not follow up the step which he had taken with any severity towards an unfortunate gentleman, to whom any such severity would be totally ruinous; that he was thoroughly sensible of his error, felt the greatest contrition, was determined for the future to persevere in the paths of rectitude, and to maintain most strictly the *mens sibi conscia recti*, &c. &c.

A person who was in the Bench at the same time with the prisoner, proved his hand-writing on these two letters.

The prisoner, after apologizing that his embarrassed circumstances debarred him of the means of retaining counsel, undertook to cross-examine Major Cartwright; which he did in a style of insolence rarely paralleled at any bar, even towards the vilest witness. He interrogated Major Cartwright whether he had not tampered with him about parliamentary reform, and endeavoured to lure him by pecuniary offers to exert his influence at Hertford in the cause; to which the major answered decidedly in the negative. He asked the major what was the number of the note that he pretended to have given him; and what was the name of the woman for whom he was accused of soliciting charity? But the answers he received by no means assisted his purpose. He then charged the major with having sworn falsely, and wished of all things to examine Mr. Walker (the gentleman who was at Major Cartwright's when the prisoner was,) Mr. Brand, and Mr. Plumer. These gentlemen's names were called, but none of them were in attendance.

The prisoner being now called on for his defence, had no witnesses either to facts or character: but addressed the court and jury in a short speech. He again lamented his incapacity to employ a counsel; but he felt that he was standing before a British court and jury, where the accused, as well as the accuser, was sure of a fair and impartial hearing. The charge this day brought against him, false and unfounded as it was, proceeded from a man who had offered him 800*l.* if he would exert his influence in his native county in the cause of parliamentary reform; and he might have had thousands from him and his party, if he would only have consented to lend himself to their purposes; but he rejected their overtures with scorn, because he was convinced that their true ob-

ject was to overturn church and state. He was himself, it was true, an embarrassed man, and had been three years and a half a prisoner for debt. He felt that he was a degraded man, and still more deeply degraded by having his name coupled with that of Major Cartwright and his associates. He had nothing more to offer, but to cast himself upon the commiseration of the court and jury.

The jury without a minute's hesitation found the prisoner *Guilty*.

He was sentenced to transportation for seven years.

Middlesex Sessions.—On Tuesday, Richard Andrews, and Alexander Hall, were tried for obtaining, upon false pretences, the sum of 13*l.* 5*s.*, from Isaac Kendall, of St. Clement's Church-yard, on the 12th of February last.

From the statement of Mr. Alley, for the prosecution, and the evidence adduced, the following is a brief display of the circumstances:—On the 12th of February last, the prisoners came to the house of the prosecutor, who keeps the St. Clement's Coffee-house, in St. Clement's Church-yard. They ordered dinner; after which, and their desert and wine, they called for the bill, which was sent in; and Hall presented in payment a check upon the bank of Messrs. Drummond and Co., Charing-cross. Some objections having been made to the check by Mr. Kendall, for some informality in the wording, Mr. Andrews, whose check it was, in favour of Hall, immediately looked at it, and acknowledged and apologized for the error, adding, he would immediately draw another; and, taking out his check-book, immediately wrote one for the like sum, and gave it to the prosecutor, who, having known Hall for about a year before, called him aside, and asked him whether all was right; to which Hall answered, "Oh, most certainly; Mr. Andrews is a man of the first respectability:" upon which the prosecutor gave Hall the difference in change. On the following morning, Mr. Kendall sent the check for payment to the banker's, but was not a little surprised on being told, the drawer had kept no cash there for five years past. Mr. Kendall found he was duped, and never afterwards saw the prisoners till they were in custody for another offence.

A clerk from the house of Drummond and Co. proved that the prisoner Andrews had no cash account there since the year 1805, but a balance of 3*s.* 6*d.* which he had not drawn.

The prisoners adduced no evidence whatever, and the jury found both *Guilty*.

They were next put on their trial for a similar fraud of 30*l.* upon Mr. Brandall, of the Artichoke tavern, Blackwall, on the 12th of August last. To this indictment Andrews at first had pleaded guilty, but afterwards withdrew his plea, and proposed to take his trial.

The circumstances of this case were as follows:—The prisoners came to the house of Mr. Brandall on the day above stated, and desired him to prepare a turtle dinner for a party of twenty gentlemen on the following Thurs-

day; for which they agreed to pay him a guinea per head, exclusively of wine. They then ordered a small dinner for themselves; and when the cloth was removed, they requested the prosecutor to sit down with them, and take a glass of wine. Andrews then told him he expected a letter from a gentleman of the Tower on particular business, which would be brought under cover to him the prosecutor, and requested he would take care of it for him. Shortly afterwards came a messenger with a letter, and on opening the envelope, Mr. Brandall found one addressed to Richard Andrews, Esq., which he gave to that prisoner; who, on reading it, exclaimed, with an air of easy unconcern—"I don't think I have so much change about me; Hall, have you any money? Here's my friend has just closed his bargain, and has not quite money enough to complete the purchase, but writes to me for *30l.*" Hall took out his pocket-book, and said, "I have only a 10*l.* note about me, and here it is."—"That's unlucky," replied Andrews, "for I believe I have only a 10*l.* note about me, and that wont make enough: What am I to do? It is too far, and too late, now to send to my bankers. Oh! perhaps, Mr. Brandall, you could accommodate me with change for a check; I only want *30l.* I'd give you a check on my bankers, Cocks and Biddulph, for *50l.* and you can keep the *20l.* towards my dinner bill on Thursday." Mr. Brandall, anxious to accommodate so good a customer, flew to give him the change; and had a few glasses of wine and a pleasant joke or two in return for his kindness. The guests took their departure with great affability, repeating their injunctions about the excellence of the next Thursday's banquet, and promising to be good customers if they liked his treatment. The host of the Artichoke put his whole stock of politeness into requisition, made them half a dozen of his lowest and best bows, and accompanied them to their carriage door. But they forgot to keep their Thursday's appointment; nor did it appear to Mr. Brandall quite necessary to prepare the turtle feast; for on going next morning to Messrs. Cocks and Biddulph's for the amount of the check, he learned that Mr. Andrews had kept no cash there for three years; and that he closed his connection there by overdrawing his account for *3l.*

The prisoners offered no evidence in this case, and were found *Guilty.*

The court immediately sentenced them, for the first offence, to six month's imprisonment; and for the second, to transportation for seven years.

Boxing.—The long expected battle betwixt the formidable champion Crib, and the powerful Molineux, which has long been the first consideration amongst the sporting world, took place on Saturday, at Thissleton Gap, in the county of Rutland, eight miles from Grantham, bordering on three other counties. A 25 feet stage was erected in a stubble ground, without the slightest interruption, and before twelve o'clock several thousands of persons had collected, the one- 30th.

fourth of whom were nobility and gentry from the surrounding country. Not a bed could be had within twenty miles of the seat of action on Friday night. Very little preface is necessary with respect to the biography of the combatants; Crib having been known to possess science inferior to none, and courage superior to any one on the boxing list. Molineux fought this formidable champion a hard battle of thirty-nine rounds in fifty-five minutes a few months since; and victory in that combat was so long doubtful, that the Moor was backed even in the latter part of the fight. This was a most obstinate and sanguinary combat, the equal to which record can scarcely furnish. The black's prowess was regarded by Crib's friends with a jealousy which excited considerable national prejudice against him; and although the task of a second combat was regarded with anxiety by the fistic amateurs, inasmuch as the laurels of a British champion were in danger of being wrested from him by a Baltimore man of colour, yet a challenge was sent Crib, which he was bound to accept, although he had publickly declined fighting. Neither of the men weighed so much by nearly a stone as in the last combat; Crib having fought this battle thirteen stone five or six pounds, and Molineux something more than thirteen stone. Captain Barclay, by a science of training peculiar to himself, had reduced Crib from upwards of sixteen stone to his present weight, by *Scotch living*; but he had still kept his stamina pure. Molineux had not to boast of *patrician* patronage, and consequently his training was left principally to himself; and although he has conducted himself steadily, yet the want of that sort of countenance, which gives men confidence, subjected him often to despondency not favourable to training. From this circumstance alone may be attributed the immense odds, which were three to one on Crib, and six to four about the first knock down. The combatants mounted the stage at twelve o'clock, and at eighteen minutes past, having viewed each other with significant glances, they prepared for combat. Gully and Joe Ward seconded Crib, and Richmond and Bill Gibbons honoured Molineux by their aid.

THE SET-TO.

Round 1. Sparring for one minute, when Crib made play, right and left. The right-handed blow told slightly on the body of the Moor, who returned it slightly on the head. A rally followed, in which three blows were exchanged, when the black was knocked down by a hit on the throat. The blows were not at length to do much execution, and the knock-down was not clean. Betting as at setting-to.

2. Crib shewed first blood from the mouth at setting-to. A dreadful rally, by mutual consent, was commenced, and Crib put in a good body hit with the right hand, when Molineux returned it on the head with the left flush. Each fought at half-arm for superiority, and hits, in number about six, were exchanged with

force. Closing followed, when Crib was thrown in a trial of strength.—Five to two on Crib.

3. Crib's right eye was nearly closed in the last rally, and another here followed of a sanguinary nature, after sparring for wind, in which the black was deficient. Crib put in a dreadful doubler in the body of the Moor, but although he was hit away, he kept his legs, and renewed the rally with a fury which excited alarm amongst the cognoscenti. Crib in the rally hit right and left at the body and head, and the Moor fought at the head alone; and was so successful with the left hand, that he planted some dexterous flush hits, and Crib bled profusely, and was damaged in both eyes. The rally lasted a minute and a half, and in a close Crib was thrown a heavy fall. To an ordinary spectator, the Moor was winning the fight in a hurry; but the champion's tried game made him yet a favourite, although it reduced the odds from seven to four.

4. Crib's head was much disfigured, and the black's wind was treacherous. The former bled from every organ; but he smiled, renewed the rally with heroism never excelled, and hits in abundance were exchanged, Crib still fighting at the body mark with his right hand, and the Moor at the head. Crib fell with a slight hit, and manifested first weakness. —Betting as in the last round.

5. Rallying was renewed by Molineux, and the execution on both sides was terrific. The Moor had the best of the rally, and Crib fell from a blow, and received another in falling, which excited murmurs and applause from the partisans of the combatants; but on reference to the umpires, it was decided fair, Crib's hands being at liberty.

6. The black, fatigued by want of wind, lounged right and left, but he was avoided, and he made a good stop of Crib's right hand. Crib put in a destructive right-handed blow at his body mark, which doubled him up, and he got away pitifully distressed. He appeared frantic on renewing a rally, anxious to go in, but alarmed at the consequences; and no dancing master ever cut capers more amusing to Crib's friends. He hit short, and was abroad. Crib followed him round the stage, and did astonishing execution, and floored him with a blow at great length. This round brought the odds five to one on Crib.

7. Molineux ran in on a rally intemperately, and did some execution; but Crib hit him several blows, as violent as can be figured, about the neck and jugular; and after a rally of one minute, the Moor fell from hurts and weakness.

8. Molineux, in the forlorn hope, again rallied at ill-judged distance, and after Crib had again nobbed him, he got his head under the left arm, and fibbed until the Moor fell.—No takers of odds.

The battle may be here considered as terminated. In the next round Crib broke his antagonist's jaw; and at the close of the 11th round, Molineux being unable to stand, victory was announced in a Scotch reel by Gully and Crib, accompanied by shouts of applause.

Molineux was carried out of the ring senseless and speechless, and is constantly attended by a surgeon. He has suffered most about the left side, and the jugular vein; but he is considered out of danger. Crib is blind, but he has received no body hit; and on being joked with after the fight, about his captivating appearance, he observed he would sooner go through such another fight, than go through another training up the Highlands of Scotland, after his patron and trainer Captain Barclay. Crib will benefit 400*l.* by this victory.

OCTOBER.

2nd. On this evening, about seven o'clock, as Mr. Wylde, a farmer, of Sundridge-place, was returning from Croydon fair, in a horse and chaise, accompanied by his son and grandson, they were stopped near the top of Westherham hill, by a single foot-pad, who demanded their money. Mr. Wylde replied, "My friend, you are too late, for I have paid all my money away in the purchase of some oxen at the fair." The robber presented a pistol at the time he stopped them. Mr. Wylde, however, gave him all the money he had at the time, which was only a few shillings; with which the villain expressed himself much dissatisfied. He insisted upon having more from them, and said he was sure it was not all they had got. The villain keeping his pistol presented at Mr. Wyld's head, Mr. W. turned it from his head with his whip; but while he was doing this the robber, without any threat or notice, immediately discharged it, and the contents lodged in Mr. W's breast and head, and caused instant death. He expired in his son's arms, without a groan. There were seven slugs in the pistol; two of them loged in his head, and five in his side and breast. Mr. W's son is about the age of 19, and his grandson 11 years.

Dublin.—A very extraordinary circumstance occurred lately in the principal Roman Catholic chapel of Kilkenny. One of the priests was delivering a sermon on the intercession of the Virgin, when a young priest, who was present, stood up and publicly contradicted the doctrine; exclaiming to the preacher, that he was misleading the people, for that Christ was the only intercessor; and warning the people not to believe the doctrine which they then heard. Much confusion, as might indeed have been expected, immediately arose, and the interruptor was seized and hurried into the sacristy. At this strange scene upwards of twelve hundred persons were present.

Breaking open the Privy-Council Office.—A few nights since, the Privy-Council Office was broken open. The office-keeper was alarmed by a noise in the upper part of the office, which awoke him; he got a light immediately, and went up stairs, and discovered that some person or persons had entered by a window which had been opened by the parties from the back premises leading from the ruins of an old house in Downing-street, which was pulled down some time since for the purpose

of enlarging the East India Board Office. That plan has been abandoned, and the Privy-Council Office is now where the East India Board used to be held. The robbers decamped without stealing any thing, on hearing the office-keeper stirring.

5th. His Majesty's ship Sabrina, which is just arrived at Portsmouth, was the ship that first discovered, in June last, the island that sprung up from the bottom of the main ocean, about a league from St. Michael's, one of the western islands. When first the Sabrina discovered this wonder, she thought, by the smoke ascending, it was two ships engaging, and made sail towards it till she discovered her mistake; the sea round it was agitated in a most wonderful manner, and the water almost hot; she sent her boat on shore on this new-found island, but found it smoking, and so excessively hot they could not tarry; they took possession of it, hoisted their colours, which they left flying there, and baptized the island after their ship's name, Sabrina. It appears in some parts from 60 to 400 feet high above the surface of the water, and round it (it is about two miles long, and half a mile wide) is 40 fathoms of water. What is more surprising, there is a large creek or reservoir that leads into it, in form of a horse-shoe, sufficient to contain 8 or 10 sail of the line, in which the water appeared as boiling.

Mr. J———, on whose premises a very valuable collection of Roman antiquities was a short time since discovered, died on Sunday last with the gout in his stomach. His property, which amounts to between three and four hundred thousand pounds, he gained many years since by some very successful contracts in saltpetre. Never having been married, he has bequeathed the whole of his immense fortune, with the exception of a few trifling legacies, to his nephew, but upon this sole and express condition, that he shall cause his body, after being inclosed in a leaden coffin, to be deposited in a small room, built by the deceased during his life-time, on the top of a melting-house. In failure of this injunction, the whole property is willed to be added to the funds of Rowland Hill's Chapel. His nephew does not intend losing the bequest on the score of non-compliance. He has already caused the chamber to be fitted up with black cloth, and the funeral is to take place on Monday next, when the body will be deposited agreeably to the injunctions of his uncle's will.

Valencia de Alcantara, Oct. 10.—Jose Pedrazuela, a native of Brunette, and late a resident at Madrid, was yesterday executed, for having arrogated the office of Royal Commissioner, and condemned 13 persons to barbarous deaths, without authority or trial. His wife, a native of Madrid, also suffered the punishment of strangulation, as an accomplice in the horrible crimes of her husband.

The trial of these criminals, which took place on the 7th, excited a great deal of interest in the inhabitants of this city. At nine in the morning a court-mar-

tial, appointed by the General-in-Chief of the fifth army, was held in the Town-hall, which was also attended by a concourse of the principal people of this kingdom. The crimes proved against Pedrazuela were 13 assassinations, perpetrated by him under the assumed title of Royal Commissioner from our government. Scarcely had he announced himself in that character, in the town of Ladrada, when he was blindly obeyed by the guerilla parties of the district, and by its inhabitants. He began his functions by condemning the first three prisoners that were brought before him, without a hearing, without examination, or cognizance of their crimes. These had their throats cut with a razor; and the rest, except one who was shot, were knocked on the head with the but-end of a musket. These barbarous scenes were perpetrated at night; and though the executioners alone were witnesses, yet they excited more general terror than any legitimate punishments. It was commonly reported, that Pedrazuela had sacrificed more than 60 victims in this way, during a period of three months; and the inhabitants endangered their lives by breathing even a whisper against the despotic will of the Royal Commissary. This man figured like a little sovereign; and under the mask of patriotism, concealed designs which the sword of justice has cut short in their origin. His wife participated in all his brutal atrocities; and some of the witnesses represented her as even more hateful than her husband. The sentence of the court was, that Pedrazuela should be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and that his wife should be strangled.

Loss of the Pomone Frigate.—This frigate had just arrived from the Mediterranean, when, on this night, she struck upon the Needle Rocks, off the Isle of Wight, and instantly filled with water. Fortunately there was little wind at the time, and therefore pilot-boats from Yarmouth, and the boats of the Tisiphone, were enabled to go off to the assistance of the crew, by which means all of them were saved. It is feared that the Pomone, which was a very fine frigate, will be entirely lost. She brought dispatches from Cagliari, which are said to be of considerable importance. 14th.

Sir Harford Jones, our late ambassador to Persia, came in her, having been succeeded at the Persian Court by Sir Gore Ouseley.

Extraordinary Robbery.—The following are the particulars of a late robbery at Portsmouth, which, for audacity and effrontery, exceeds all parallel in the history of thieving within our knowledge. It was committed by a man whose first offence this is supposed to be, and who has thereby brought disgrace upon a family of consequence and the highest respectability. On Sunday evening se'nnight, the Hon. Mr. Crofton, the person accused, who had been lodging at the Crown Inn, at Portsmouth, for about a fortnight previous to his sailing for India, where he was going out as an aide-de-camp to a general, joined the company of Mr. Bradbury,

the celebrated clown, who had lately arrived at Portsmouth from Plymouth, and two gentlemen, to supper in the coffee-room. Mr. Bradbury is in possession of a very curious and valuable snuff-box, which is made in the shape of a large hunting watch, which Mr. Bradbury is not a little vain of, and always takes care to sport it in company, and his vanity is not a little flattered by strangers noticing and admiring it: he accordingly handed it round to this party, by whom it was as usual admired. Mr. Crofton particularly noticed it. They broke up about twelve o'clock, when Bradbury left the house, and went to the Blue Posts Inn, where he lodged. In a short time after he missed his box, and went back to the Crown to enquire for it. He saw the porter, who told him he had not heard of such an article being found; if he had left it there, it would be taken care of; and also told him that all the gentlemen whom he had supped with were gone to bed. With this account Bradbury left the house, entertaining no doubt he should have his box in the morning. The first thing in the morning he set off for the Crown Inn, to recover his box; in his way there, he met Mr. Crofton, to whom he communicated the loss of his box.—Mr. Crofton denied any knowledge of it, and at the same time informed Bradbury, as an extraordinary circumstance, that his bed-room had been robbed of his gold watch, chain, and seals, in the course of the night, and he was then on his way to a Jew's in that town, a silversmith and a watchmaker, to desire him, in case such articles were offered to him for sale, to stop the person, and give notice to him. Bradbury was much astonished at this account, and began to entertain doubts as to the safety of his box, he having hitherto concluded that he had either left it on the supper-table, or some of the gentlemen whom he was in company with having put it into their pockets out of a frolic to tease him; however, when he got to the Crown Inn, the gentlemen he had supped with pledged their honour they did not know any thing of the box; the same pledge was given by Mr. Crofton, when he met him. All the servants declared most solemnly they had not seen it. As soon as this enquiry had finished, it was discovered that Lieutenant Lloyd's room had been robbed of bank-notes to the amount of 32*l.*; Lieutenant Prowis, of his Majesty ship Hamadryad, of a gold watch chain and two seals; the purser of the Regulus, of a silver watch, gold chain, and two gold seals. All these gentlemen's rooms were on the second floor, where Mr. Crofton's room was. These discoveries excited considerable alarm throughout the house, and in some degree in the town. A proposition was made for the parties to stand search; but the purser of the Regulus, who had been robbed, declared that no man should search him or his trunks; in consequence no searching took place. Mr. Crofton took advantage of this, and had the audacity to charge him in the public room with being the robber. The purser repented of his rash refusal to be searched, but

accounted for it at the moment, feeling extremely indignant at being robbed of his property, and then to be suspected of being the robber. The house was a scene of confusion the whole day. On the Monday, printed bills were issued, offering rewards for the recovery of the property, and the detection of the thieves. Mr. Crofton was the most violent about the loss of his watch, and insinuating suspicions against respectable characters. Nothing being discovered during that day, on the Tuesday Mr. Hanmer, the landlord of the Crown Inn, being greatly alarmed for the character and respectability of his house, on hearing that Mr. Graham the magistrate, belonging to the Bow-street Office, was in the town, applied to him, who wrote off for Rivett, the officer, to come down. The officer arrived there on Thursday morning, and on seeing Bradbury at the door of the Crown Inn, hailed him as an old acquaintance, and asked if he had *been done;* he acknowledged that he had. Rivett proceeded into the bar with Bradbury to Mr. Hanmer, the landlord, when Rivett was put in possession of every particular respecting the business; Bradbury expressing his suspicion of Mr. Crofton. At that instant they saw Mr. Crofton walking in the street, and called him in: the landlord introduced Rivett to him, and told him the officer was come to investigate the alarming robberies that had been committed in his house. Mr. Crofton however knew Rivett had been sent for, therefore expressed no surprise, but on the contrary appeared glad to see him, and hoped he would be able to detect the thief, and recover him his valuable watch again. Rivett proposed that he should search the trunks and the house generally, which was agreed to most cordially by all; the officer then observed, that as Mr. Crofton appeared to be going further in a hurry, he would begin with him first, which would prevent his being detained, which Mr. Crofton immediately assented to without any hesitation, and instantly delivered up the keys of his trunks and boxes which he was going to take with him to India: he accompanied the officer to his room, Bradbury and others being admitted as spectators. Rivett made a particular search, without being able to find any thing of a suspicious nature; he then addressed Mr. Crofton in a respectful manner, observing that the most unpleasant part of his duty to be performed was to search his person. Till this he had appeared as unconcerned and in as high spirits as any other person; he then, however, appeared much confused, and changed colour. Rivett was proceeding to search him as a matter of course, when he requested that every body would leave the room, except the officer and Bradbury, which request was complied with; he then slipped Bradbury's box into his hand, asking forgiveness, begging him to spare his life, and went down on his knees and entreated for mercy: this was all done in an instant. Rivett did not allow Bradbury to keep his box, called Mr. Crofton the thief, and proceeded to search him by force, and found the whole of the property

that had been stolen in the house. Rivett not conceiving he had got the whole of the bank-notes, asked him where the remainder was, when he pointed to a pocket-book which was under the foot of the bed, and while Rivett loosened him and was in the act of stooping down to pick it up, Mr. Crofton caught up a pen-knife and was detected in the act of of cutting his throat, with as much force as is used with an unsharpened knife. Rivett and Bradbury seized an arm each, and forced the knife from him, but he appeared so determined on his own destruction, that he twisted his head about in different ways to make the wound larger. He bled most profusely; a shirt and other linen was applied to stop the bleeding. An alarm was given, doctors called for, and there were about a dozen ships' surgeons, in the course of a few minutes, in the room, who, after taking a slight view of the wound, said the jugular vein was cut, and he would die in a short time. This, however, proved to be an erroneous opinion. To prevent Mr. Crofton from making the wound larger, by twisting his head about, he was braced up with linen round his neck so tight, that he could not move it. A surgeon of the town, with two assistants, came afterwards, and after seeing the wound, gave it as their opinion it was possible for him to recover, and by the assistance of some soldiers holding him, they dressed the wound. His clothes were then cut off, and he was carried down stairs into a larger room. During this operation, he coughed violently, but whether naturally, or by design to make his wound worse, was not ascertained; however, it had the effect of setting it a bleeding again, and the dressing was obliged to be repeated.

The circumstance of Mr. Crofton being guilty of such acts, his brother Captain Crofton and respectable family being known at the house and in the town, collected a considerable mob about the house, so much so, that the military were called out to regulate them.—Two men sat up with Mr. Crofton all night.

On Friday morning the depositions of the witnesses were taken before the mayor, and Mr. Crofton was committed.

Cambridge.—Yesterday morning, between three and four o'clock, a fire was discovered in some apartments in the centre of the south side of Emmanuel College. The gentleman in whose rooms the fire is supposed to have originated was awoke by a strong smell of burning, and upon opening his bedroom door, the flames burst in upon him, and he with difficulty saved his life by jumping out of the window into the garden; his face and hands were dreadfully burnt. All his furniture, books, and money, amounting to upwards of 120*l.* in notes, were instantly consumed. The alarm was immediately given, and several engines speedily arrived, but the flames had proceeded considerably in their devastating progress ere they could be got to play with effect. Happily there was no wind, or in all probability the whole of the college must have been destroyed. The picture gallery, master's lodge, and library,

16th.

†

remain uninjured. The fire, after having spread from the centre of the building to both extremities, was, by the great exertion used, got under by about nine o'clock. We are sorry to state, that nearly the whole of the south building has been consumed, and exhibits a most melancholy appearance, being the mere shell of 12 sets of elegant apartments, chiefly the residence of Fellows and Fellow-Commoners. Some of the furniture was luckily rescued, together with the papers belonging to the University in the possession of the Registrary, whose apartments were in that part of the college. No lives were lost during the dreadful confusion occasioned by the fire, though several persons were much hurt. The loss sustained by this calamitous event is estimated at little short of 20,000*l.*

18th. *Curious Case.* At the Quarter Sessions for the borough of Leeds, on Monday last, John Burnley, weaver, of Beeston, was brought before the court on a charge of deserting his family, and leaving them chargeable to the township. When he was placed at the bar, he was interrogated in the following terms:

Court. What reason have you to assign for deserting your family, and leaving them chargeable to the township?

Prisoner. I was called by the Word of God so to do.

Court. Where have you lived since, and what have you done?

Prisoner. I have lived at Pot-ovens, near Wakefield, and have worked at my business as a weaver.

Court. What can you earn a week upon an average?

Prisoner. From 18 to 20 shillings per week.

Court. And how do you dispose of it?

Prisoner. After supplying my own necessities, I distribute the rest among my poor neighbours.

Court. But should not your wife, and children be the first objects of your care and bounty?

Prisoner. No; unless they are in greater distress than all others.

Court. The Scripture which you profess to follow, says, speaking of the relation of man and wife, that they shall be one flesh; of course you are under as great an obligation to maintain her as yourself.

Prisoner. The Scripture saith, Whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder; but God never joined me and my wife together.

Court. Who then did?

Prisoner. I have told you who *did not*, you may easily judge who did.

Court. We suppose you are as much joined together as any other married people are.

Prisoner. My family are now no more to me than any other persons.

Court. The laws of your country require that you should maintain your family, and if you neglect or refuse to do it, you become liable to a serious punishment.

Prisoner. I am willing to suffer all you think proper to inflict; I expect to suffer persecution, for the Scripture says, Those that will live godly in Jesus Christ, must endure persecution. I re-

gard the laws of God only, and do not regard any other laws.

Court. You seem to have read the Scriptures to very little profit, or you would not have failed in so plain a duty as that of providing for your own household.

Prisoner. The Scripture commands me to love my neighbour as myself, and I cannot do that if I suffer him to want when I have the power to relieve him. My wife and children have all changes of raiment, but I see many others that are half naked. Should I not, therefore, clothe these rather than expend my money on my family?

Court. But your family cannot live upon their raiment; they require also victuals.

Prisoner. They are able to provide for their own maintenance, and the gospel requires me to forsake father and mother, wife and children. Indeed it was contrary to the gospel for me to take a wife, and I sinned in so doing.

Court. Have you any friends here?

Prisoner. I have only one friend, who is above.

Court. Is there any person here who knows you?

Prisoner. Mr. Banks knows me.

Mr. Banks being called upon, stated, that he should suppose, from the recent conduct of the prisoner, that his mind was not in a sane state. Formerly he was an industrious man; of late, he understood that he had read the Bible with uncommon assiduity and fervency. He would absent himself whole days together, and retire into woods and fields for the purpose of reading it. After some time spent in this manner, he went away from his family, and refused to contribute to their support. His family contrived to carry on the business, and he bought of them what pieces they made. He understood that what the prisoner had said of giving away his earnings to objects of distress was correct.

The court made another attempt to convince this deluded man of the impropriety of his conduct, but without the least effect; he replied to all their reasonings by quoting appropriated texts of Scripture. Nor would he even promise to permit his employer to pay to his family the small sum of five shillings weekly. He dared not, he said, make any promises or engagements of any kind. Nor was the attempt to work upon his feelings more successful; his fanaticism had apparently rooted from his heart all the tender charities of domestic life. When it was intimated to him that one of his children was in a decline, he seemed perfectly unmoved; nor did the tears of his wife, who implored him only to assist in paying the debts before he went away, in the least affect him. He coldly replied, that the landlord might distress for the rent.

The court asked some questions of the overseers as to the affairs of the family, the answers to which the writer of this did not hear; but they confirmed what Mr. Banks had said as to the manner in which he disposed of his surplus earnings, and expressed an opinion that no benefit was likely to result from sending him again

to the house of Correction. After some consultation with the bench, the Recorder addressed him to the following effect:

John Burnley, the court are disposed to deal leniently with you, in hopes that better consideration will remove the delusion you labour under. For this purpose I would advise you to read your Bible with still greater attention, and ask the advice of some intelligent friends, particularly the minister you attend upon. I would also beg of you seriously to consider, that all the rest of the world think it their duty to provide, in the first place, for their families; and you surely cannot suppose that they are all neglecting the care of their souls, and in the road to eternal destruction. This consideration should induce you to distrust your own judgment, and if you have any humility, and humility is a Christian virtue, you would conclude that it is more probable that you should be mistaken than that all the rest of mankind should be wrong. Your wife has already expressed her wish that no severity should be used towards you. Influenced by these considerations, the court has ordered that you should be discharged.

Prisoner. The Scripture saith, that darkness covers the earth, and gross darkness the people. And again, in another place, that the whole world lieth in wickedness. I know that the way of duty is in the path of suffering; but it is the path which our Leader trod, and we must follow his steps.

Curious Robbery. A few days ago, the house of a widow woman, at Coulton Common, near Whitkirk, was entered in the day, while she and all the family were in the fields cutting beans, and robbed to the amount of 8*l.* in notes, and 7*s.* 6*d.* in silver. On her return home, and discovering the theft, she proclaimed aloud through the village her intention of applying to a neighbouring caster or conjurer, in order to mark the offender in the cheek with the figure of the devil. The terrified wretch, dreading the effects of this threat, returned all the notes, and 6*s.* of the silver, in the night, and placed it on a short post before the door, where the poor woman found it in the morning, to her great satisfaction.

The person who robbed and murdered Mr. Wylde, was taken on Sunday morning in the Mint, in the Borough; he was afterwards taken to Westerham, and is to be examined before John Ward, Esq. He is supposed to be the same person that robbed and murdered Mr. Humphries, of Hiver Castle, about two years since, as he was returning from Westerham market. He wore an oil-case over his hat, and had on the same clothes when he was taken. He left his place in the neighbourhood of Westerham the morning of the day he committed the horrid deed, and told his mistress he had no money or victuals, and she gave him two shillings, his master having gone to Croydon fair. When he arrived at Westerham, about two o'clock yesterday, in the custody of two Bow-street officers, the son of the deceased was returning from the funeral of his father, and was shewn into the room of the George Inn, and

identified him as the man who shot his father.

Bow-street.—An extraordinary discovery of property took place on Monday, by Mr. Young, the watch-maker, in the Strand, who had taken an account of his stock last May, when he missed a gold watch of the value of fifty guineas, which Mr. Young was confident he had not sold, as he always booked every watch that was disposed of; but how it had been lost he could not account for. On Monday morning two men went to his shop, and asked him if he would purchase a watch; he replied he was not in the habit of purchasing watches from strangers, however, he would look at it; and on examining the watch, it proved to be the valuable watch which had been missed. He asked where they had got it; one of them answered, from his wife, and she told him she had got it from Newgate; the other man said he had merely accompanied his friend to sell the watch, and had advised him to take it to the maker, as no doubt he would give more for it than any body else. Mr. Young conceiving it to be a very plausible tale, and that they would not have taken the watch to him for sale if they had stolen it, did not attempt to detain them, only took their names and address; but said he should keep the watch, except they could make a good title to it, and for this purpose appointed them to attend at the above office on Tuesday evening, which they accordingly did, and also one of their wives, who acknowledged that she gave the watch to her husband to sell, having received it from a young man of the name of Simpkin, who was under sentence of transportation in Newgate. No other title being offered by the parties to the watch, Mr. Young considered himself justified in retaining it.

There are several remarkable stories of swallows acting in concert, in order to perform offices, for which the unaided exertions of individuals were inadequate. The following instance of the wonderful intelligence of these birds, we are informed, is authentic. At a house in the neighbourhood of Bo'ness, part of a swallow's nest, which had last summer been insecurely constructed, in the corner of a window, gave way, and left the young birds, with which it happened to be filled, in a very perilous situation. The danger, however, was but of short duration. In a few hours after the catastrophe, about a dozen swallows came to the relief of the distressed parents; and falling vigorously to work, completely repaired the argillaceous habitation in the course of the afternoon.

A singular circumstance occurred lately at the Bank. A man was brought there from a country town, under a charge of passing forged bank notes. He had been searched, and a note supposed to be forged was found on him, in addition to one which he had paid to a tradesman. On the notes being shewn to the clerk whose business it was to examine them, he laid them on a table before him; upon which the accused person took them up, and saying, "Gentlemen, I am confident the notes are good," thrust them both in his mouth. In his endeavour to swallow them he pretended to

be nearly choked; and such an effect had the danger to which his life appeared to be exposed on the feelings of the persons near him, that one of them hastened to bring him a glass of water. This he eagerly swallowed, and turning to the astonished clerks, said "Gentlemen, I thank, you; I am now very well." There was no longer any question about his detention, and as he walked into Threadneedle-street, he met a Bow-street officer, who recognized in him an old acquaintance. "What are you doing here," said the officer. "I was suddenly taken ill, and was in great danger; but being carried in here, the gentlemen of the bank have kindly relieved me!"

30th A man who holds a small farm near St. Alban's, and who has ever been looked upon as a most eccentric being, made his entrée into the latter place on Saturday last, in the following manner, viz. mounted on a small car, which was actually *drawn by four large hogs*. He entered the town at a brisk trot, amidst the acclamations of hundreds, who were soon drawn together to witness this strange spectacle. After making the tour of the market-place three or four times, he came into the Woolpack-yard, had his swinish cattle regularly unharnessed, and taken into a stable together, where they were regaled with a trough full of beans and wash. They remained about two hours in the town, during which time he dispatched his business as usual in the market, when they were again put to, and driven home again, multitudes cheering him to the very end of the place. This man has only had these animals under training six months, and it is really truly surprising to what a high state of docility he has brought them. A gentleman on the spot offered him 50*l.* for the concern, as it stood, but it was refused.

NOVEMBER.

The following story of female courage is related in a foreign journal of the 2d instant. Yesterday afternoon, two robbers, taking advantage of the occasion when people were at church, got into a detached house, situate between Vasiore and Vantoux, two villages near Metz. They got over a hedge, and were making their arrangements for breaking in the door of the house, when a little girl, ten years of age, who was the only person remaining in the house, having perceived them from a window, ascended to the garret, in order to call for assistance, and afterwards placed herself in another window over the door. She then raised with difficulty a pick-axe, and let it fall, but the ruffians evaded the blow; and arming themselves with the pick-axe, burst open the door. The girl, by no means disconcerted at this, seized two pistols, which the proprietor of the house had left in his cabinet, and killed on the spot the first robber who presented himself. The other took to flight, and diligent search is making after him.

3d. A few months since, a man who was employed in getting stone out of a quarry at Cleeve Prior, near Evesham, discovered two large earthen pots, which on examination he found

contained a quantity of coin. He was of course greatly overjoyed at the discovery; but, having got possession of the idea that the lord of the manor would lay claim to the treasure, he refused to tell the quantity of pieces he had found: however, he has sold a few, which are in the hands of some gentlemen of Evesham and the neighbourhood. They prove to be gold and silver coins of several Roman emperors. The gold coins are of the emperor Valerian, one of the Valentinians, Gratian, and Theodosius. It is scarcely possible to imagine their excellent state of preservation; they appear as if they had just been issued from the mint, not the minutest mark being obliterated, though from 14 to 1500 years have elapsed since they were coined: and, what is very interesting to the antiquarian, counterfeits were discovered among them, executed in a most excellent manner, being copper plated with gold. The silver coins are those of Constantius, Julian, Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius: these were not in so good a state of preservation as the gold. The execution of these coins is of course not very good; the art of cutting the dies being at that period very much on the decline. The man has acknowledged that he found 100 of the gold ones; the silver ones most probably greatly exceeded that number.

The following is a particular account of the circumstances attending the murder of Mr. Snell, of Bovey:—On Tuesday last, six French officers, who were on their parole at Okehampton, escaped from that town, accompanied by an English guide. Having crossed Dartmoor, on Thursday afternoon, they came near Bovey Tracey, where meeting with a woman they enquired if there was any other road than through the town: being answered in the negative, they made a halt. The woman communicated the particulars to some of the towns-people, and four men went in pursuit of them: when they were discovered, three of them surrendered and were secured: but the other three, with the guide, made off, and were followed by two of the men. The first that came up with them was Mr. Christopher Snell; when the guide instantly turning round, with a dagger stabbed him to the heart, and he expired on the spot. Lord Clifford, soon after ordered a troop of yeomanry cavalry to go in pursuit of them. The three who surrendered were examined by the Rev. Mr. Barrington, a justice of the peace at Chudleigh, and committed to Devon county gaol. On Sunday night another prisoner was brought in, and after an examination before a magistrate, on Monday morning, he was committed to prison. The same evening a fifth was taken at Benbury, and brought to Exeter; and since which, we understand, the sixth has been apprehended: so that the guide only has evaded his pursuers. A coroner's inquest sat on the body of Mr. Snell, and brought in a verdict of wilful murder against the guide and the three Frenchmen who accompanied him.

7th. A very singular and shocking circumstance took place in York-street, Commercial-road, London, on Tuesday last.

Early in the afternoon, a Mr. Brown met his death in a very mysterious manner. He was seen by several neighbours about half-past 3 o'clock on the same day as well as usual, and was found dead before four. A surgeon was sent for, but not till he was dead, who found him with his head hanging over the feet of the bed, with his extremities cold, and being informed he died of a fit, he went away without a particular examination. Coming again about an hour after, he more closely examined him, when he perceived a deep impression round the neck, as if occasioned by a small cord, which led him to conclude the deceased had been strangled. In consequence of this, a jury was called to investigate the matter; the coronor and jurymen met on Thursday, at Mr. Butler's, Duke of York, York-street, Commercial Road, and after viewing the body, and examining the witnesses, unanimously brought in their verdict — *Murdered by some person or persons unknown.*

An account of the reduction of the national debt, from August 1, 1786, to Nov. 1, 1811:—

Redeemed by the sinking fund	£ 184,503,382
Transferred by land tax redeemed	23,874,262
Ditto by life annuities purchased	1,536,682
On account of Great Britain	209,914,326
Ditto of Ireland	8,735,659
Ditto of Imperial loan	1,219,518
Ditto of loan to Portugal	92,534
Total	£ 219,962,037

The sum to be expended in the ensuing quarter is 3,415,531*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*

The commissioners for liquidating the national debt laid out 75,260*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* this day, which they will repeat every transfer day this quarter, in the purchase of consols or redueed. At the present price the purchase will be about 117,000*l.* stock per day.

Tryce Oakey, the midshipman, who was sentenced by a court martial to suffer death, for striking Captain Collier, of his Majesty's ship Cyane, was removed from the Gladiator to the Royal William, to suffer the penalty of the law. He was attended in his religious devotions by the Rev. Mr. Davies, who spent the whole of the evening with him, and returned to him early in the morning. At nine o'clock he administered the sacrament to him, which Oakey received with becoming feeling and seriousness; but, prior to this, he had requested permission to be allowed to live until Monday, which was communicated to the commander-in-chief by telegraphic signal; whose reply was, that the sentence must be put into immediate execution. Oakey remained at prayers until 11 o'clock, when he was told that the fatal hour was come. A boat from every ship at the port was now in attendance round the Royal William, under the awful expectation of momentarily seeing the victim to the law suspended above them. The prisoner proceeded upon deck, attended by the chaplain, and walked forward to the forecastle, with his arms secured, holding a Bible and Testament. The avenues to the fore- 10th.

castle were lined by the marines of the ship under arms. Captain Hall followed the prisoner, accompanied by all the officers of the ship, and read the sentence of the court martial. Oakey thought himself now, as did every spectator, on the brink of the two worlds, when Captain Hall took a letter from his pocket, and read, which contained the Prince Regent's gracious condescension to the prayer of Captain Collier, that Oakey's life might be spared, but to be transported for life. Not a ray of hope remained with the prisoner; nor was it in the apprehension of any one that a transmutation of his sentence was to be communicated to him. Therefore, when this sudden and unexpected sentence reached his ears, he burst into tears, and fell upon his knees, expressing himself as well as he was able, in terms full of gratitude. There was not an officer or man who witnessed the affecting scene that could repress his tears.

A society has lately been established, with the express approbation of the Prince Regent, entitled, "The National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church." The Archbishop of Canterbury is the president; the Archbishop of York, the bishops of both provinces, and ten temporal peers or privy counsellors, are the vice-presidents. A committee of sixteen (in addition to the president and vice-presidents, who are members *ex-officio*), is appointed to direct the affairs of the society.

The universities of Oxford and Cambridge have voted the sum of 500*l.* each from the University chests, to this society.

Drury Lane Theatre. — The committee for rebuilding this theatre having completed their arrangements, Mr. Whitbread, their chairman, waited upon the Prince Regent at Carlton House, and laid their final resolutions and plan before his Royal Highness, which were honoured with his warmest approbation. The sum required, and already subscribed, is 400,000*l.* out of which 40,000*l.* is made applicable to the purchase of the old patent interest, viz. 20,000*l.* to Mr. Sheridan, who resigns all interest whatever in the property; and the other 20,000*l.* in equal portions between Mrs. Linley, Mrs. Richardson, and Mr. T. Sheridan. The old renters and other creditors accept of 25 per cent. in full of their respective demands; and the duke of Bedford absolves the property of his claim amounting to 12,000*l.* The remainder of the sum subscribed is deemed competent to the completion of the work. The committee have decided in favour of the plan of Mr. Benjamin Wyatt, who is appointed architect; and have entered into a contract with Mr. Rowles, builder, who has displayed his ability in the erection of a new Mint, and other public structures. He has engaged, under a bond of 20,000*l.* to perfect the theatre on or before Oct. 1, 1812, at an estimate of 112,500*l.*

21st. The trial of Dr. Sheridan came on this day, in the court of king's bench. The attorney-general, in a long speech, remarked upon the tenour and tendency of the resolutions of the

aggregate meeting of catholics 9th July last, of which Dr. Sheridan was the chairman; and after explaining the intent of the convention act, concluded by showing the applicability of its provisions to the case of the traverser, Dr. S.—Shepherd and Macdonald, officers sent by the magistrates to attend the meeting, were severally examined. The former stated the two first resolutions passed at the meeting, and that he took minutes of them at the time, and made a written report; both which were afterwards delivered to the magistrates, and which he had again seen ten days before the trial. The latter had also taken minutes, which had been delivered to the magistrates. But neither of these witnesses could swear to the exact terms of the second resolution, which was said to appoint five persons as representatives. Captain Huddleston, late of the 46th regiment, an English gentleman was next examined; and detailed the resolutions of the meeting of July 9th last, which, he admitted, were in writing; but it was insisted, that, being in writing, parole evidence could not in the first instance be entertained of their nature; and that the crown must previously show that it was impossible to produce the written resolutions; and that Mr. Hay, the secretary of the catholics, ought to have been summoned to produce these resolutions. He then detailed the proceedings of the general committee of the 9th of July, upon the relevancy of which to the prosecution the court postponed their opinion. The court adjourned till next day; when Dr. Sheridan was acquitted. The circumstances attending the delivery of the verdict are thus described by a person present.

"It is impossible, indeed language sinks under the effort, to describe the anxiety manifested while the jury were in their room. Although it was nine o'clock at night, yet the hall of the four courts, the court of King's Bench, all the avenues leading to the courts, the very attic windows at the top of the courts, were crowded with people.

"When it was announced that the jury had agreed to their verdict, after an hour and a half's deliberation, there was a deep silence for a minute. Mr. Byrne, the clerk of the crown, then called over the names of the jury; they having answered, Mr. Geale, the foreman, handed down the issue —*Not Guilty.*

"The word was scarcely pronounced, when a peal of huzzaing and shouting rung through the court and galleries, and shook the very judicial bench. It was caught by the anxious auditors in the hall. The Judges attempted to speak—the officers attempted to act—the enthusiasm deafened and destroyed every attempt. The Judges waited for some minutes, and the Chief Justice attempted to address the court, but he could not be heard; nothing could be heard but the loud, the overwhelming torrent of popular enthusiasm. As the jurors passed through the hall, they were greeted with waving of hats and clapping of hands. Sheriff Robert Harty was received with the most unbounded tumults of approbation and applause."

A dreadful explosion took place yesterday morning, about 11 o'clock, at the powder mills at Waltham Abbey. The concussion was distinctly felt in and round the metropolis, particularly in several parts of the city, and more sensibly in Southwark, at Stepney, Hackney, Blackwall, and Blackheath. At Stepney, we understand that a mirror of plate-glass was broken by the shock; at Hackney, several panes of glass were forced in; and at Blackwall, the windows throughout a whole street were shattered. Near the New-road, Mary-le-bone, also, several of the houses were much shaken, and the labourers who were excavating in Mary-le-bone Park felt the ground shake where they were at work. Several persons are stated to have been killed at Waltham Abbey, and much mischief done by the explosion.

24th. On Friday a committee of the privy council met at the council office, Whitehall, for the purpose of examining the witnesses against the persons who were brought from on board the tender on Thursday, and committed to Newgate that night, on a charge of having been found in the service of the enemy when the Isle of France was captured. The privy counsellors present were the lord president, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Yorke, earl of Liverpool, viscount Melville, sir William Wynne, the chief baron, sir William Scott, the master of the rolls, sir James Mansfield, &c. The attorney and solicitor generals attended. After some deliberation the investigation of the charges was not gone into. These men are said to be Irishmen. They are all athletic, good-looking young men.

A Fatal Hoax.—Some person who has thought proper to shew his or her ingenuity at the expence of their orthography, last night sent a variety of tradesmen with articles to a house upon the Adelphi Terrace. The hoax, a very clumsy one, was soon discovered, and the poor tradesmen had to carry back their articles to the shops from whence they brought them, most of them a long distance. One of them, however, missing his step at the top of the area stone stairs, fell down with his burthen, and fractured his skull. He died in half an hour afterwards. The hoaxer will no doubt have some *pleasant* feelings at the *success* of his attempt.

A man, named Webster, was last week committed to Norwich gaol, for attempting the life of Jemima Hardingham. The prisoner had paid his addresses to the above young woman, and being slighted by her, took an opportunity, when they were alone, to throw her down and cut her throat. Imagining her death to be certain, from the profuse bleeding which followed, he attempted his own life in like manner; but neither the wound which he inflicted on himself, nor that on the young woman, is likely to prove fatal.

Court of King's Bench.— 25th. *The King* v. *Davenport Sedley.*—The defendant in this case was brought up to receive the judgment of the court, having been convicted of a conspiracy along with Henry Meyer and

John Sedley, the defendant D. Sedley's son, to defraud, and having, in consequence, actually defrauded the Marquis of Headfort of acceptances to the amount of upwards of 3000*l.* by representing the persons to whom the acceptances were given as being in a great mercantile business, and capable of making loans or advances of money to a large amount; whereas, in fact, they were low and despicable characters, in no mercantile employment, and incapable of making pecuniary advances to any amount, being themselves needy and insolvent persons.

The sentence of the court, in the whole circumstances of the case, was, that the defendant be imprisoned in his Majesty's jail of Newgate for two years, and that he do once, during that period, stand in and upon the pillory for one hour, between the hours of twelve and one in the day, in the Old Bailey, opposite to the door of Newgate.

29th. *Murder.*—A most atrocious and unprovoked murder was committed at Fowey, in the evening of the 25th instant, on the body of Israel Foulach Valentine, a young man of the Jewish persuasion, who was found drowned near the quay, with his jaw-bone broken, head fractured, and pockets turned inside out. A jury being summoned to investigate the circumstances attending this event, which were rather mysterious, after sitting ten hours, brought in a verdict, "drowned by William Wyatt, innkeeper of Fowey," who was accordingly committed to Bodmin jail. The prisoner was late a publican of some repute in Fowey, and the deceased seems to have been enticed thither by Wyatt's pretending that he knew a person who had some *buttons* (a cant word for guineas) to dispose of. A few evenings after the poor young man's arrival there, Wyatt and himself were seen walking together on the fatal quay, from whence the latter appears to have been precipitated into the water by the former, as two sailors in a merchant vessel lying near the spot gave evidence on the inquest, that they heard the deceased exclaim, most probably as he was falling, "Oh Mr. Wyatt! oh Mr. Wyatt!" in a tone of agony. It is supposed that Wyatt must have leapt into the water at the same time, and kept the deceased under until life was extinguished, in order that he might be enabled to rob him, without molestation, of a considerable sum, known to be in his pockets when he left the inn. On Wyatt's return to the inn after committing the murder, another Jew who had accompanied Valentine to Fowey, became very uneasy at his friend's absence, and intimating his anxiety, Wyatt exclaimed unguardedly, "What, have you not heard that he is drowned?" This expression, evidently dictated by the suggestions of a guilty mind, naturally excited suspicion, and enquiries being set on foot, it was soon discovered that Wyatt had not only been seen on the quay with the deceased, but also loitering about his stable at an untimely hour, on the night when the crime was committed. On

searching the premises on the 27th, the sum of 260*l.* in notes was found concealed in a dung-heap near the stable door, which converted suspicion of the prisoner's guilt into certainty. As a further corroboration of it, in the prisoner's waistcoat-pocket was found the identical letter he had written to Valentine inviting him down, together with a Hebrew letter to the deceased. The unfortunate Valentine's body was conveyed to Plymouth.

30th. *Riots at Nottingham.*—For some time past the wholesale hosiers, who have stocking-weaving establishments in the county of Nottingham, have been obliged to curtail their hands; this produced considerable discontent among the workmen. Their riotous spirit, was, however, increased by the trade having brought into use a certain wide frame for the manufacture of stockings and gaiters, which was a considerable saving in manual labour, tending still farther to the decrease of the hands employed. On Sunday se'nnight last, this being generally known, a number of weavers assembled at different places in the vicinity of Nottingham, and commenced their career of outrage by forcibly entering the houses of such persons as used particular frames.

A letter dated Nottingham, the 14th instant, communicates, that the lace-hands in particular were in a very distressed situation, and under the necessity of applying for parochial relief. A master weaver, at Bullwell, having been threatened by the rioters, on hearing they intended to attack his property, on the Monday evening armed all his men to defend his frames, and barricadoed his house. Being thus in his garrison, he waited the attack of the enemy, who appeared, and demanded admittance, or a surrender of the frames. The master would agree to neither, and was immediately fired upon; several shots were then exchanged, and one of the rioters was shot dead: he was a weaver from Arnold, and at the time he paid the forfeit of his life, he was in the act of tearing down the window-shutters to obtain entrance by force. The rest of the mob retired with the slain body, but soon returned with redoubled strength. They broke open the door, and would have put the whole family to death had they not escaped by the back door. They then proceeded to gut the house, and consumed every thing that would burn.

On Tuesday the outrages of the mob were continued: they attacked a carrier who was bringing five wide frames from Sutton, belonging to Maltby and Brewett, that had been in use a length of time at Basford. The iron work they broke to pieces, and with the wood-work they made a fire in the street.

Other letters state, that the frames which first excited the resentment of the mob, belonged to Messrs. Watson and Nelson, and produced twenty-four dozen gaiters in one week, at 4*s.* per dozen working, which was considered an extraordinary quantity.

In the afternoon of Tuesday, the rioters proceeded towards Sutton to continue their outrages there; and that evening they de-

stroyed the frames of the principal weavers.

On Wednesday morning the rioters assembled in open day, and again repaired to Sutton, where they destroyed in all fifty-three frames and a corn-mill. Having strength, and meeting with no effectual opposition for want of military aid, they grew bolder, and changed the frame-breaking employment into more violent proceedings, and now swore vengeance against wide frames, millers, corn-dealers, &c.

On Thursday similar proceedings were continued; and all remonstrances from the magistrates having failed to restrain them, it was high time to think of decisive measures; many of the most active were already in custody, but this had no weight with those at large. The military were called out, but did not exceed thirty men, who were dismounted dragoons. The sheriff the same day issued orders for calling out the *posse comitatis*, and the 1st and 2d regiments of local militia; and a farther aid was required of government by a special messenger sent to town for that purpose, who reached the office of the home department about three o'clock on Friday morning.

By farther information from Nottingham, to an early hour yesterday morning (Sunday), we learn, that the town was restored to a state of perfect tranquillity, the local militia having been assembled, and two troops of volunteer cavalry, with a detachment of the Queen's Bays, having taken up their quarters in the town. The rioters never got to an alarming height in the town, though the neighbourhood was threatened with more serious consequences.

We give this article as the first account of a series of riots among the stocking manufacturers in that part of the kingdom, which became so serious as to excite the attention of government, and were by no means suppressed at the close of the year. The rioters, whose great object seems to have been the demolition of frames detrimental to their usual course of employ, proceeded with a caution and regularity that denoted a systematic plan, and rendered ineffectual the exertions of power to defeat their measures, and bring them to justice.

Mr. White, proprietor of the Independent Whig, was tried for a libel, in publishing a paper reflecting on the distribution of honorary medals in the army. The jury, after remaining in the box for four hours, at five o'clock delivered a verdict in writing, in the following words: "The jury find the defendant guilty of printing and publishing the libel, through the medium of his agent; but, on account of his peculiar situation, earnestly recommend him to mercy." Mr. Lowten, the clerk of the court, objected to this verdict, unless he might consider it as guilty. This appeared contrary to the idea of the jury; and after retiring for about ten minutes, they returned with a verdict of Not Guilty.

A Self-created King.—A late Philadelphia journal contains a singular account of Mr. Lambert, mariner, of Salem, Massachusetts State, having taken possession, with two associates, of Tristan d'Acunha, Inaccessible, and

Nightingale islands, in the Western Ocean. Mr. Lambert, in a proclamation, Feb. 4, declares his intention of founding a settlement there; and says, that as they have never been claimed by any power, he shall from the above date constitute himself the sole proprietor of those islands, not by right of conquest or discovery, but by the rational and *sure* principles of absolute occupancy. The general denomination of the islands has been altered by him to that of the Islands of Refreshment. The reason which he assigns for this undertaking is the hope of a future competency for his family, and a relief from embarrassments by which he has hitherto been afflicted. It is Mr. Lambert's intention to pay the strictest attention to husbandry, and to supply ships which shall come to him, with all the articles of the island at a cheap rate. He has likewise adopted a standard flag for the island. He and his people are to be bound in the course of traffic and intercourse with any other people, by the principles of hospitality and good fellowship and the laws of nations; at the same time reserving for himself the power of deviating from these laws whenever particular contracts or other engagements should interfere. The editor of the Philadelphia journal says that, notwithstanding the eccentricity of Mr. Lambert, he, no doubt, will establish a very useful settlement. He was conveyed to the island from Rio Janeiro on the 1st of January; and in 34 days he had cleared about 50 acres of land, and planted various kinds of seeds, some of which, as well as the coffee-tree and sugar-cane, were furnished him by the American minister at Rio Janeiro.

Ireland.—At the late Cork assizes, Maurice Noonan stood indicted for a burglary and attempt to rob the house of sir J. Purcell, at Highfort, on the night of 11th of March last. The trial excited considerable interest, and every body seemed anxious to hear the narration of a transaction, in which on one side though the guilt exhibited may but too frequently be equalled, the courage, intrepidity, and coolness displayed on the other have never been exceeded, and seldom indeed have they been matched, in the history of human resolution.

Sir J. Purcell, the first witness called, said, that on the night of the 11th March last, about one o'clock, and after he had retired to bed, he heard some noise outside the window of his parlour. He slept on the ground-floor, in a room immediately adjoining the parlour. There was a door from one room into the other; but this having been found inconvenient, and there being another passage from the bed-chamber more accommodating, it was nailed up, and some of the furniture of the parlour put against it. Shortly after sir John heard the noise in front of his house, the windows of the parlour were dashed in, and the noise occasioned by the feet of the robbers leaping from the windows down upon the parlour, appeared to denote a gang not less than fourteen in number, as it struck him. He immediately got out of bed; and the first determination he took being to make resistance, it was with no small

mortification that he reflected upon the unarmed condition in which he was placed, being destitute of a single weapon of the ordinary sort. In this state he spent little time in deliberation; as it almost immediately occurred to him, that having supped in the bed-chamber on that night, a knife had been left behind by accident, and he instantly proceeded to grope in the dark for this weapon, which happily he found before the door leading from the parlour into the bed-chamber had been broke open. While he stood in calm but resolute expectation that the progress of the robbers would soon lead them to his bed-chamber, he heard the furniture which had been placed against the nailed-up door expeditiously displaced, and immediately afterwards this door was burst open. The moon shone with great brightness; and when this door was thrown open, the light streaming in through three large windows in the parlour, afforded sir John a view that might have made an intrepid spirit not a little apprehensive. His bed-room was darkened to excess, in consequence of the shutters of the windows, as well as the curtains, being closed; and thus, while he stood enveloped in darkness, he saw standing before him, by the brightness of the moon-light, a body of men, all armed, and of those who were in the van of the gang he observed that a few were blackened. Armed only with his case-knife, and aided only by a dauntless heart, he took his station by the side of the door, and in a moment after, one of the villains entered from the parlour into the dark room. Instantly upon advancing, sir John plunged the knife at him, the point of which entered under the right arm, and in a line with the nipple; and so home was the blow sent, that the knife passed into the robber's body, until sir John's hand stopped its further progress. Upon receiving this thrust, the villain reeled back into the parlour, crying out blasphemously that he was killed: shortly after, another advanced, who was received in a similar manner, and who also staggered back into the parlour, crying out that he was wounded. A voice from the outside gave orders to fire into the dark room; upon which a man stepped forward with a short gun in his hand, which had the butt broken off at the small, and which had a piece of cord tied round the barrel and stock near the swell. As this fellow stood in the act to fire, sir John had the amazing coolness to look at his intended murderer; and without betraying any audible emotion whatever, that might point out the exact spot which he was standing in, he calmly calculated his own safety from the shot which was preparing for him. He saw that the contents of the piece were likely to pass close to his breast, without menacing him with at least any serious wound, and in this state of firm and manly expectation he stood without flinching until the piece was fired, and its contents harmlessly lodged in the wall. It was loaded with a brace of bullets and three slugs. As soon as the robber fired, sir John made a pass at him with the knife, and wounded him in the

arm, which he repeated again in a moment with similar effect: and, as the others had done, the villain, upon being wounded, retired, exclaiming that he was wounded. The robbers immediately rushed forward from the parlour into the dark room, and then it was that sir John's mind recognized the deepest sense of danger, not to be oppressed by it, however, but to surmount it. He thought that the chance of preserving his own life was over, and he resolved to sell that life still dearer to his intended murderers, than even what they had already paid for the attempt to deprive him of it. He did not lose a moment after the villains had entered the room, to act with the determination he had so instantaneously adopted; he struck at the fourth fellow with his knife, and wounded him; and at the same instant he received a blow on the head, and found himself grappled with. He shortened his hold of the knife, and stabbed repeatedly at the fellow with whom he found himself engaged. The floor being slippery, from the blood of the wounded men, sir John and his adversary both fell; and while they were on the ground, sir John, thinking that his thrusts with the knife, though made with all his force, did not seem to produce the decisive effect which they had in the beginning of the conflict, he examined the point of his weapon with his finger, and found that the blade of it had been bent near the point. As he lay struggling on the ground, he endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to straighten the curvature of the knife; but while one hand was employed in this attempt, he perceived that the grasp of his adversary was losing its constraint and pressure, and in a moment or two after he found himself entirely released from it: —the limbs of the robber were in fact by this time unnerved by death. Sir John found that this fellow had a sword in his hand, and this he immediately seized, and gave several blows with it, his knife being no longer serviceable. At length the robbers, finding so many of their party had been killed or wounded, employed themselves in removing the bodies; and sir John took this opportunity of retiring into a place a little apart from the house, where he remained for a short time. They dragged their companions into the parlour; and having placed chairs with the backs upwards, by means of those they lifted the bodies out of the window, and afterwards took them away. When the robbers retired, sir John returned to the house, and called up a man-servant from his bed, who, during this long and bloody conflict, had not appeared, and had consequently received from his master warm and loud upbraiding for his cowardice. Sir John then placed his daughter-in-law and grand-child, who were his only inmates, in places of safety, and took such precautions as circumstances pointed out till the day-light appeared. The next day, the alarm having been given, search was made after the robbers; and sir John having gone to the house of the prisoner, Maurice Noonan, upon searching, he found concealed under his bed the identical short gun with which one of the robbers had fired

at him. Noonan was immediately secured, and sent to gaol; and upon being visited by sir John Purcell, he acknowledged that sir John "had like to do for him," and was proceeding to show (until sir John prevented him) the wounds he had received from the knife in his arm.

An accomplice, John Daniel Sullivan, deposed, that he was one of the party that met at Noonan's house to rob Highfort-house; that they were nine in number, and had arms; that the prisoner was one of the number, and that he carried a small gun. Upon the gun being produced in court with which sir John Purcell had been fired at, the witness said it was that with which the prisoner was armed the night of the attack. Witness said, he did not go into Mr. Purcell's house; that two men were killed and three severely wounded, out of the nine of which the party consisted. He said he was induced to come forward and give evidence, upon hearing that two men named Cushing, who were innocent, were accused of being of the party that attacked sir John Purcell's house. He said he did not hear that informations had been sworn against him before he delivered himself into custody. The witness stood a long and rigorous examination by Mr. O'Connell; but none of the facts seemed to be shaken, though every use was made of the guilty character of the witness. The prisoner made no defence; and judge Mayne then proceeded to charge the jury in a manner the most copious and perspicuous, and at the same time earnestly exacting for the prisoner whatever could be expected from a junction of the purest humanity with justice. He commended with due approbation the bravery and presence of mind displayed through a conflict so unequal and so bloody by sir John Purcell. The jury, after a few minutes, returned their verdict—Guilty.

DECEMBER.

1st. The attention of the people of Berlin has lately been very much occupied by a tragical adventure of M. Kleist, the celebrated Prussian poet, and Madame Vogel. The reports which were at first circulated with regard to the cause of this unfortunate affair have been strongly contradicted by the family of the lady; and it has been particularly denied that love was in any respect the cause of it. Madame Vogel, it is said, had suffered long under an incurable disorder; her physicians had declared her death inevitable; she herself formed a resolution to put a period to her existence. M. Kleist, the poet, and a friend of her family, had also long determined to kill himself. These two unhappy beings having confidentially communicated to each other their horrible resolution, resolved to carry it into effect at the same time. They repaired to the inn at Wilhemstedt, between Berlin and Potsdam, on the border of the Sacred Lake. For one night and one day they were preparing themselves for death, by putting up prayers, singing, drinking a number of bottles of wine and rum, and last of all by taking about

sixteen cups of coffee. They wrote a letter to M. Vogel, to announce to him the resolution they had taken, and to beg him to come as speedily as possible, for the purpose of seeing their remains interred. The letter was sent to Berlin by express. This done, they repaired to the banks of the Sacred Lake, where they sat down opposite to each other. M. Kleist took a loaded pistol, and shot Madame Vogel through the heart, who fell back dead; he then re-loaded the pistol, and shot himself through the head. Soon after M. Vogel arrived, and found them both dead. The public are far from admiring, or even of approving, this act of insanity.

An apology for this suicide, by M. Peguilhen, Counsellor at War, has excited unanimous indignation among all who have the principles either of religion or morality. The Censorship has been blamed for having permitted the circulation of an account of this tragedy, in which the suicide and the murder were represented as sublime acts. Some have even gone so far as to express a wish to see M. Peguilhen punished, for having, as a public functionary, preached up such principles. The husband has also been blamed for having given *eclât* to a catastrophe over which it would have been better to draw the thickest veil.

Berlin.—Colonel Mantzen, of the Prussian Hussars, having been stripped at the gaming-table of all his property, even to his watch and the rings he wore, returned home. Next day he disposed of his commission, and having offered marriage to a respectable female whom he had seduced, a clergyman was sent for, and the ceremony performed. He then retired to a private room, and while some friends were felicitating the bride on her good fortune, the report of a pistol announced the catastrophe that had taken place. The company hastened to the room; but the Colonel was no more. On the table was a letter to his wife, mentioning the cause of his death, and enclosing the amount of the sale of his commission.

Loss of the Saldanah.—Rathmilton, Dec. 6, "His 14th. Majesty's ship Saldanah, Captain the Hon. W. Pakenham, sailed from Cork on the 19th of November, to relieve his Majesty's ship Endymion, off Lough Swilley. Having reached that harbour, she, with the Endymion and Talbot, sailed on the 30th, with an intention, it is said, of proceeding to the westward. On the 3d of December it blew very hard from the north-westward; the wind continued to increase till the 4th; and in the evening and night of that day it blew the most dreadful hurricane that the inhabitants of this part of the country ever recollect. At about ten o'clock at night, through the darkness and the storm, a light was seen from the signal-towers passing rapidly up the harbour, the gale then blowing nearly right in. This light was, it is supposed, on board the Saldanah; but this is only conjecture, for when the daylight discovered the ship, (a complete wreck in Ballyna Stoker-bay, on the west-side of the harbour), every soul on board had already perished, and all the cir-

cumstances of her calamitous loss thus perished with her. It is stated in some of the accounts, that the ship first struck on some rocks near the entrance of the harbour, and that the wind drove and the tide floated her to the distant place where the wreck came ashore; but this also can only be conjecture; and whether well-founded or otherwise, is now of little consequence."

The Saldanah was a new frigate, and one of the finest in our navy. She had probably near three hundred souls on board.

Court of Arches, Doctors' Commons.—Watson and Watson, v. *Faremouth and others.*—This was a proceeding originally instituted in the Episcopal Court at Exeter, but appealed from thence by Mr. John Faremouth, and Mr. and Mrs. Dewer, of Darlington, in Devonshire, to annul the marriage of Mr. Samuel Watson, of Highweek, in Devonshire, with Catherine Kingwell, his present wife, on the ground of affinity, she being the sister of his former wife. Considerable property is given by the will of Mr. Watson's deceased mother to the parties promoting the suit, in the event of her son's death without lawful issue. As he has none but by his last marriage, their object in the present suit was, to obtain a sentence declaratory of the invalidity of that fact; thereby illegitimatizing the children, and enabling themselves to lay claim to the estate.

The evidence in support of the application to the court for this purpose consisted of the usual registers, proving the relationship and the first marriage; but there was none to prove the precise fact of the second marriage, farther than the cohabitation of the parties in the character of man and wife, reputation, and their mutual acknowledgments of their being so, and the baptism of their children as such.

On the part of Mr. and Mrs. Watson, therefore, several objections were urged as to the slight nature of the proof; which, it was contended, was not sufficient to justify the court in the injury the children's interests must sustain by the desired sentence being granted; and though the court, upon the admission of the pleadings, had held that the proof of the second marriage by reputation, cohabitation, &c. would be sufficient, though unaccompanied with the proof by register; yet the present evidence did not comply even with that requisition. Upon these grounds it was hoped the suit would be dismissed.

On the part of Mr. Faremouth, and Mr. and Mrs. Dewer, it was contended, that the evidence did not justify the inference drawn from it on the other side; that the circumstances of the case were such as to preclude very strong evidence from being obtained; but that what was adduced was more than sufficient to satisfy the court of the existence of the facts, and the consequent right of the parties to the remedy they required.

Sir John Nicholl recapitulated the evidence, which he thought fully established the facts, as far as the parties possibly could. He was the more disposed to consider it sufficient, from the consideration that the opposite parties had not made any attempt to offer evi-

dence in disproof of it. There was, besides, the admission of Mr. Watson of the fact of the second marriage; who also said he had consulted four ministers, who told him there was no harm in it, but it was contrary to law. In this part of the case it was important to the public, as well as the individuals concerned; for, if an impression had gone abroad that an incestuous marriage, or a cohabitation, under the colour of marriage, of such a nature as the present, was not criminal, it was high time that impression should be destroyed. The court, therefore, could not but think, that the proof of the facts, with the corroborations adduced, accompanied by the declarations of the party himself, was sufficient to justify a sentence declaratory of the illegality of the marriage, if any such had, in fact, taken place. The court felt the more fortified in this decision, by the reflection, that this was an incestuous cohabitation that ought to be put an end to: that, if no fact of marriage had taken place no person could be injured by that fact being declared illegal, null, and void: and if it had, the court was then only discharging the duty it owed both to the other parties in the cause, and to the public. The marriage, therefore, if in fact had, was accordingly pronounced null and void.

9th. *Murders.* — About 12 o'clock on Saturday night, Mr. Marr, who keeps a lace and pelisse-warehouse, at No. 29, Ratcliffe-highway, sent his female servant to purchase some oysters for supper, whilst he was shutting up the shop-windows. On her return she rang the bell repeatedly without any person coming to the door. This alarmed her, and she communicated her fears to Mr. Murray, the adjoining neighbour, who obtained admission by the back way; and on entering the warehouse, he beheld a spectacle, which so petrified him with horror, that it was with difficulty he could make known the sad catastrophe which had befallen the whole of this unfortunate family. Mr. Marr was found lying near the window, dead, with his skull broken. His wife, who, it would seem, had come to his relief from below stairs, on hearing a scuffle, had been met by the villains at the top of the stairs, where she was found deprived of life; her head was too shockingly mangled for description. The shop-boy, to all appearance, had made more resistance than the rest, or else they had not made so sure of their blow; for the counter, which extends the whole length of the warehouse, was found bespattered with his blood and brains from one end of it to the other; and the body of the unfortunate youth lay prostrate on the floor, weltering in his gore. Nor did the work of the blood-thirsty villains stop here. Even a child in the cradle, only four months old, found, in its infancy, innocence, and incapacity of impeaching them, no protection from their barbarous hands. It was discovered dead in the cradle. Such refined cruelty is hardly surpassed in the annals of human depravity. The monsters left behind them a shipwright's large mallet, its head weighing from two to three pounds, and its handle about three feet long; a ripping chisel; and a wooden mallet

about four inches square, with a handle of about eighteen inches: the ripping chisel is also about eighteen inches long, made of iron, and is such as is generally used for ripping sheathing from off ships. The murderers did not procure one shilling's worth of property. Mr. Marr had in his pocket from four to five pounds: and in a drawer up stairs was 152*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* besides some loose money in the till, every farthing of which has been found.

On Tuesday an inquest was held on the bodies.

Margaret Jewel, the servant maid, stated, that when she went out on Saturday night, within a few minutes of twelve, by her mistress's direction, she received from her master, who was busy behind the counter, a 1*l.* note. On going out she turned to the left, to go to the shop of a person named Taylor, for oysters. That shop, was, however, shut; and as she returned again she passed the window of her master's shop, and saw him still behind the counter. She then went to St. John's Hill to pay a bill due to a baker, who was also shut up. She then proceeded to several places to purchase oysters, but found none open.—"Finding I could not get the oysters, I returned again to the door of my master's house; I found it closely shut up, and no light to be seen; I think I was out twenty minutes: I rang the bell and no one answered; I rang repeatedly. Whilst I was at the door the watchman went by on the other side of the way, with a person in charge; I certainly heard some one coming down stairs, who I thought was my master coming to let me in; I am certain I heard the child cry very low; I rang again and knocked at the door with my foot repeatedly, when a man came up to the door and insulted me; I thought I would wait till the watchman came, which he shortly did, and called the hour of one. The watchman knocked and rang the bell, and called Mr. Marr, through the key-hole; Mr. Murray, the next door neighbour, then came out, and said there was a strong light backwards; Mr. Murray went backwards, while another watchman who had joined the first made an alarm; Mr. Murray got into the house backwards, and opened the street door, when the watchman and myself entered."—[Here the girl was so much affected that she fainted.]

John Murray—"I am a pawnbroker, residing at No. 30, Ratcliffe-highway, next to the house of the deceased Mr. Marr. About ten minutes after 12 o'clock on Sunday morning last, I was sitting at supper with my family, when I heard a noise in Mr. Marr's house, which appeared to be on the shop floor, and resembled the pulling of a chair, and the sound of a voice, as if proceeding from the fear of correction, like a boy's, or a woman's. This all occurred in about a minute's space. A little before one, I heard a ringing at Mr. Marr's bell; I went to the door, and found the watchman and the girl. I went to the back of the house and called out, "Mr. Marr!" three or four different times; no answer was made, and I came again to the front of the house, I saw a light at the back of the one

pair; I told the watchman to ring louder, and that I would endeavour to get into the house by the back-door; I went to the back of the house, and threw myself over the fence, and finding the yard door open, immediately proceeded to the landing place of the first floor, where I found a candle burning; seeing the two doors open where Mr. Marr used to sleep, I called out 'Marr, Marr, your window shutters are not fastened,' but nobody answered me, and on account of its being the bed-room, I did not go in: with the candle I went through the shop to the front door, to let the watchman in; when I got to the door, at the foot of the stairs which led into the shop, I saw the boy, James, lying dead on the floor, just within that door, and within six feet of the foot of the stairs; his head was bleeding, and his brains were visible; going on further towards the shop door I saw Mrs. Marr lying dead close to the street door, with her face downwards, and her feet against the door, and her head bleeding very much. I immediately opened the door and let the watchman and several others in. I then began to look for Mr. Marr, whom I found lying dead behind the counter, with his head very near the window; his face was downwards, and he was bleeding very much about the head; while I was standing by the body of Mr. Marr, the servant and others came out of the kitchen and said the child in the cradle was dead. Soon after I went down into the kitchen, and saw the child in the cradle, bleeding about the mouth and throat. Soon after which one of the police officers shewed me a large maul bloody. Mr. Marr came into the house the latter end of April. He seemed to be about the age of 24; Mrs. Marr about the same age, and the child about 14 weeks. The whole family consisted of the four who were murdered besides the servant girl."

The jury retired for a short time, and brought in their verdict of "Wilful Murder against some person or persons unknown, on each of the bodies."

Court of King's Bench. 14th.
—*Faulder* v. *Silk.*—This was an action upon an annuity bond, conditioned for the payment of 500*l.* per annum. The defendant was the executor of the late T. C. Jervoise, Esq. The plaintiff was a lady with whom he had cohabited, and the action was defended on the ground that the late Mr. C. Jervoise was not sane at the time he executed the bond, which was dated on the 28th of July, 1808. Miss Faulder, the plaintiff, had lived several years with Jervoise; but shortly before the bond in question was executed, they had parted, and the bond was meant as a provision for her.

On the part of the plaintiff it was admitted that Mr. Jervoise was a man of great eccentricities; but Dr. Murray, who was present at the time of executing the bond, declared that at that time he was perfectly sane, and though an eccentric man, he appeared a person of great good sense.

Mr. Jekyll, for the defendant, addressed the court in a speech of considerable length, in which he detailed a series of extravagancies on the part of Mr. Jervoise, from

which he declared it must be evident that he had been in a deranged state for many years, and ultimately he died in a state of total insanity; he added, that he had 90 witnesses to prove the state of his mind, and he argued, that if he appeared in a general state of sanity, the jury would not infer he was *compos mentis* at the time when he executed the instrument under consideration. He then called a variety of witnesses, particularly old servants in the family, who stated a number of instances of conduct in the late Mr. Jervoise which could only be imputable to insanity, of which the following are a few of the most prominent. When his grandmother died he went to Bellmont, the family seat, and while she was dead in the house he would not live in it, but chose to have a tent in the garden, where he cooked his victuals, ate, and slept; he next began pulling down the chimneys, threw open the fences, and pulled down the walls. Upon the death of his father, when he went to West Brummage, he threw out and burnt the whole furniture; he did not like to have the hall doors open, so he nailed them up, and made the servants enter through the window. The stairs next offended him, so he had them pulled down, and ascended to the upper story by means of a ladder. In short, a great mass of evidence was produced, until a very late hour, to shew instances of his eccentric conduct; and it was continued until the family found it necessary to put the unfortunate gentleman under the care of Mr. Warburton of Hoxton, under whose care he continued till he died.

After a very long trial, which lasted from nine in the morning, his lordship recapitulated the evidence, directing the jury to say, whether at the time he executed the instrument, he had a lucid interval, or was at that time insane.

The jury found for the plaintiff.

Examination of Mr. Walsh, at Bow-street.—At half-past eight o'clock yesterday evening, Mr. Benjamin Walsh, member for Wootton Bassett, was brought up to the police-office, Bow-street, in custody of the officer, and was seated at the bar.

Sir Thomas Plomer, his majesty's solicitor general was sworn.—He stated, that having made a considerable purchase, he consulted with the prisoner about three months ago, respecting the selling out of some stock in the three per cents, at which time the prisoner advised him to the contrary, alleging that the funds would certainly get up, and that by keeping the stock in them, he (Sir T. Plomer) would be benefited. On the 29th of November last, however, the prisoner called on him in Lincoln's-inn, and advised him to sell out, as he, the prisoner, was of opinion that the funds would fall; and Sir Thomas, after consulting a mercantile gentleman, determined to do so, and the prisoner was instructed to find a purchaser. On the 1st of December the prisoner called, and told Sir Thomas, that he had sold the stock, and only waited for him to suit his convenience to make the transfer. Sir Thomas made the transfer, and

the money was paid into his banker's. It so happened, that not being able to get the title deed to the estate which he had purchased completed, he found the money he had in his banker's hands for that purpose would not be wanted; and he consulted the prisoner about laying it out in exchequer bills: on which business, he, the prisoner, called on Sir Thomas, in Lincoln's-inn, on the fourth of December, and received a cheque on Messrs. Gosling and Sharp, for 22,000*l.*, which cheque was accordingly cashed by the bankers. On the evening of Thursday, the 5th of December, the prisoner called on Sir Thomas, at his chambers, and informed him, that he had only been able to purchase exchequer bills to the amount of 6645*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* and that he had paid them into his (Sir Thomas's) bankers; also the sum of 15,500*l.* in cash. The prisoner gave to Sir Thomas a receipt for the exchequer bills; but did not give him any receipt for the cash alleged to have been paid in. The prisoner farther informed Sir Thomas, that he had contracted for 15,000 pounds worth more of exchequer bills with the agent of Messrs. Coutts:—he believed the prisoner said his name was Trotter. He told Sir Thomas, that Mr. Trotter had agreed to put him in possession of the exchequer bills, at half past three, on Saturday, December the 7th; that he had paid 5*s.* premium for them, and that they bore interest at 3½*d.* per day. He promised to call on Sir Thomas, on Saturday at two o'clock, for a cheque for the 15,000*l.* which he stated he had paid in, to complete the purchase of those bills which had been agreed upon with the agent of Messrs. Coutts. Sir Thomas, on the prisoner's leaving him, went to his banker's, and there found that the exchequer bills had been paid in, but not any part of the cash: he soon after learnt that the prisoner had left town, no one could tell where, and that his family supposed him to have gone into the country upon business. Sir Thomas immediately applied to the admiralty, to transmit the necessary information to the outports by telegraph; and an application was made to the post-office, to detain any letters that might come into its charge in the prisoner's hand-writing. The magistrates and officers of the public office, Bow-street, afforded all the assistance required of them. The first letter that was received had no date, but bore the Exeter post-mark. It was sworn by Sir Thomas to be the prisoner's hand-writing, and was addressed to himself (the prisoner) in London, but intended for his clerk, Mr. ———. It stated, that as he had the fullest confidence in his clerk, he could confide in him the secret, that he had misapplied the 15,500*l.* entrusted to him by Sir Thomas Plomer; that he was either to do this, or to suffer his poor wife and seven dear children to starve, and wrong other people who could not half so well afford it as Sir Thomas, one of whom was the clerk's father. He spoke in reprobation of his own conduct, for such an unjust act to a man who throughout his life had been his and his father's best friend; but the act was done, and he had no idea of the

transaction being as yet discovered. In this letter to his clerk he inclosed one for Sir Thomas, which was read; and the substance of which was, that as Mr. Coutts' agent would not be in town on the Saturday, the receiving of the exchequer bills from him could not take place until Monday, at half-past 3 o'clock; and that he (the prisoner) would call on Sir Thomas on that day at two o'clock, for a cheque for 15,500*l.*

The next letter received from the prisoner was addressed to his brother, in which he acknowledges his guilt in having robbed Sir Thomas of 15,500*l.*, and says, he had disposed of part of it to pay small debts, the loss of which to the parties would be inevitable ruin; but the bulk of it he had turned into foreign property and bullion. He spoke most feelingly of his "dear, dear wife," and of his seven children, "the admiration of every one that beheld them." He requested, in the most impressive terms, his brother's attention to his wife; who, he said, must be within a week of her confinement; and most fervently prayed for her and his children's happiness. He had some hopes that Sir Thomas Plomer would not make the matter public; but, if he did, he hoped it would not get into the Morning Post, as his dear Mary would then see it; and such a shock, in her present situation, he was confident she could never survive.

The next letter received at the Post-office was produced, which was also intended for his brother. It chiefly spoke of his affection for his wife and family, and concluded by saying, that ere this, he had no doubt but that that *arch fiend* Bish, had made a pretty story of it in the newspapers; and that but for that man he and his family might at that hour have been in affluence and happiness. This letter also stated, that he intended to have taken the money from another, whose miserable and unprincipled conduct deserved nothing better; but that the temptation had fallen in his way by Sir Thomas's money being in his hands; that rather than see his wife and children starve, he had, by this most unjust conduct, added ingratitude to real injury, as Sir Thomas Plomer was his sincere friend. His last letter was to Sir Thomas himself, confessing the robbery, imploring his forgiveness, acknowledging the magnitude of his guilt, and stating the wretchedness of his circumstances, and the impossibility of their ever mending or recovering in this world; but that if any change of circumstances should take place, and he once more become possessed of money, Sir Thomas might depend on every farthing being returned; but that he could not help supposing, that Sir Thomas would at present only think such a declaration from him as adding insult to injury. He farther stated to Sir Thomas, that he had repeatedly applied to Mr. Perceval for a situation under government; that he had offered to leave his home, his dear wife, and children, and to meet the dangers and difficulties of the world in foreign climates; but that latterly Mr. Perceval had returned no answers to his letters. After the last letter, and one or two others of less im-

portance, had been read, Sir Thomas Plomer signed his deposition and retired.

The next witness examined was Sir Thomas's solicitor, who stated that he accompanied the police-officer to Falmouth, and found the prisoner at an inn there, at breakfast; and on seeing the prisoner, he said to him, "I suppose you know my business with you?" to which he answered in the affirmative. He (the solicitor) then asked him to retire into a back parlour with him and the officer, which he did. The deponent desired him to give up all he had. His answer was, that he had very little; but on being informed by the deponent that he knew every circumstance of the transaction, he stated, that he had only some foreign money, and some bullion. This, he said, was in his trunks; which the deponent sent for, and now produced the contents of them. The foreign money consisted of 10,000 and odd pounds worth sterling, purchased into the American funds; and with it were blank transferable warrants. The bullion was in a bag, which the deponent, on securing, put his seal on. The packet was now, by order of the magistrates, opened. It consisted of doubloons, 71 in number, one half-doubloon, and other Spanish and Portuguese money, amounting in all to about 300*l.* A small dressing-case was next produced by the deponent, which contained nothing but the usual articles, and a few ends of cheques which had been used.

The magistrates enquired if his person had been searched, as there were still upwards of 5,000*l.* unaccounted for. Being informed by Sir Thomas's solicitor that it had not, the prisoner was ordered from the bar for that purpose. On his return he wept bitterly. There were found in his possession, 47 pounds in Bank of England notes, and some silver; which, with the American stock, the bullion, and other loose articles, were given to Sir Thomas's solicitor, and the farther examination was postponed at half-past eleven.

Mr. Read enquired of the prisoner if he had any question to ask, or any thing to say; but, without taking his hands from his face, where he had placed them during the whole time, he answered "No, sir." He bowed respectfully to the magistrate when he retired from the bar.

Mr. Read suggested, that as the prisoner had been searched, and all his money had been taken away, that a small sum should be given him for present purposes. The prisoner was immediately supplied with four pounds by Sir Thomas's solicitor.

Davenport Sedley.—Popular curiosity, which, it has been justly said, is as much awakened to behold the perpetrator of the worst as the performer of the most glorious actions, was, on Saturday morning, excited in a very considerable degree. The Old Bailey was the scene of attraction. Thither a great number of persons proceeded, from various parts of the metropolis, anxious to procure a view of the celebrated Davenport Sedley, who was there destined to undergo the sentence of the pillory, which formed a portion of the punishment awar- 17th.

ded him, in consequence of his conviction for a conspiracy to defraud the Marquis of Headfort.

About twelve o'clock, Marshal Holdsworth appeared on the field, attended by several of his assistants, and having inspected the preparations, at half past 12 he gave notice that all was in readiness. Mr. Davenport Sedley immediately made his appearance; he who had revelled in the company of barons, counts, and marquisses, was now accompanied by a few peace-officers, and *Jack Ketch's* deputy, who, like other deputies, has a small share of the profits, and a great share of the labour. Mr. Sedley ascended, but so metamorphosed, that we do not think it possible his most intimate associate through life would have recognised him. Instead of his own hair, which he usually wore highly powdered, with a peculiar description of tail, tied in the centre by a small bit of ribbon, flowing down his back, he now appeared in a *brown bob*, which came far over his face. His visage appeared as if stained, and his eye-brows were evidently coloured. A loose brown great coat covered him to his mid-leg, and white silk stockings and dress shoes completed a figure as *outre* as ever appeared upon that or any other stage. On some mud being thrown at him, two boys were taken into custody by order of the marshal. In about half an hour after, one of the sheriffs ordered his wig to be taken off, which, being done, the populace gave three cheers at the sight of his powdered head, and pelted him until it was not distinguishable from a lump of mud.

Three fresh murders were committed on Thursday night, at No. 81, New Gravel-lane, not two minutes walk from the former scene of blood in Ratcliffe Highway!! Between eleven and twelve o'clock the neighbours were alarmed by a cry of murder, from a person in his shirt, who was seen descending from a two pair of stairs window by the sheets of his bed. On his reaching the bottom, he said that murderers were in the house, committing dreadful acts of blood on the whole family. An alarm was instantly given, and the doors broke open—when, horrid to relate! the master and mistress of the house, and the servant maid were all found murdered. 27th.

Mr. and Mrs. Williamson were characters highly respected in the neighbourhood, and for the space of fifteen years kept the house in the most orderly manner, notwithstanding it was the resort of foreigners of every description. At eleven o'clock every night they invariably closed up their house. On Thursday night last Mr. Williamson adopted his usual plan. Ten minutes before eleven, Mr. Anderson, a particular friend of Mr. and Mrs. Williamson, called for a pot of beer at that time. Mrs. W. drew the beer, and said to Mr. Anderson, "you shall not carry the beer home,—I will send it." During the time she was drawing the beer, Mr. W. who was sitting by the fire, said to Mr. Anderson, "You are an officer,—there has been a fellow listening at my door, with a brown coat on, if you should see him take him into custody, or tell me." Mr. A. answered, "he certainly

would, for his and his own safety." These were the last words Mr. Anderson mentioned; and then retired, leaving only a lodger in the house. The beer was then sent by the deceased's servant, and she returned before Mr. A. left the house. After this, it is supposed the lodger, John Turner, went to bed. Mr. Anderson lives next door but one to the deceased; between twenty and thirty minutes after he left the King's Arms, he intended to go for another pot of beer; as soon as he got out of his house, he heard a noise, when he saw the lodger lowering himself down into the street, by the sheets being tied together, and which were fastened to the post of the bedstead. Mr. Anderson then ran into the house for his sword and staff, and proceeded to the spot. The watchman caught the lodger in his arms, when Mr. Anderson, a butcher with an axe, and a man with a poker, broke the cellar flap open. They all then entered, and began to look round the barcellar; on coming to the staircase, they saw Mr. Williamson lying on his back, with his legs upon the stairs, his head downwards; by his side was an iron instrument, similar to a stonemason's crow, about three feet long, in diameter three-quarters of an inch,—it was much stained with blood. Mr. W. had received a wound on the head, his throat was dreadfully cut, and his right leg also was broke by a blow, and his hand severely cut. From these marks of violence it is supposed Mr. W. made great resistance, being a very powerful man.—While Mr. Anderson was viewing the body, the party heard a voice saying, "Where is the old man?" The words proceeded from the persons who had entered in at the front door. At these words the party in the cellar proceeded into the sitting-room, where they saw Mrs. Williamson lying on her left side; her skull was fractured, and her throat cut, bleeding most profusely; near to Mrs. Williamson was the servant woman, lying on her back, supposed to have been in the act of laying the fire for the following morning, as her feet were found under the grate; her skull was more dreadfully fractured than that of her mistress,—her throat most inhumanly cut to the neck bone. The house was searched, and it was discovered that the murderers had made their escape through the back window which leads to the London Dock Company's premises. The shutters were marked with blood, and the window left often; the murderers had jumped about eight feet into the vacant space at the back of Mr. Williamson's house.

The deceased Mr. J. Williamson was about 56 years of age; his wife, Mrs. C. Williamson, about 60; and Bridget Harrington, the servant woman, 50 years of age.

In the afternoon of Saturday week, an inquisition was held on the bodies of Mr. and Mrs. Williamson, and their servant Bridget Harrington.

John Turner.—I am a sawyer; I have lodged in the house of Mr. Williamson about eight months; I lodged in the front garret. On Thursday evening, about twenty minutes before eleven, Mrs. Williamson was standing at the front door; Mr. Williamson was sit-

ting in the middle room in his great chair; the servant was in the back room. I saw no other persons in the house: I stood by the fire; a little man came in, Samuel Phillips, for a pint of beer, and told Mr. Williamson that there was a stout man with a very large coat on peeping in at the inner glass door in the passage: Mr. Williamson said, "I'll see what he wants." He went out with the candle, and returned, saying, he could not see him, but if he did see him, he would send him where he ought, or would not like to go. Phillips went out, and Mr. Anderson came in directly afterwards, he did not stay above two or three minutes. Shortly afterwards the servant raked out the fire, and I went to bed, at which time Mrs. Williamson followed me up stairs to her own room, with a watch and a silver punch-ladle. This was the last time that I saw them living. I heard Mrs. Williamson lock the bed-room door and go down stairs again; there is no fastening to my bed-room door; I went to bed, and had not been there above five minutes before I heard the front door bang to very hard. Immediately afterwards I heard the servant exclaim—"We are all murdered," or "shall be murdered," two or three times. I had not been asleep. I heard the sound of two or three blows, but with what weapon I cannot say. Shortly after, I heard Mr. Williamson cry out, "I am a dead man!" I was in bed still. About two or three minutes afterwards, I got out of bed and listened at the door, but could hear nothing; I went down to the first floor, and heard the sound of three very heavy sighs; I heard some person walk across the middle room on the ground floor very lightly; I was then half way down the last pair of stairs, and naked; I went to the bottom of the stairs, and the door stood a little on the jar. I passed through the opening, and by the light of a candle, which was burning in the room, I saw a man apparently near six feet high, in a large rough Flushing coat of a dark colour, which came down to his heels; he was standing with his back towards me, apparently leaning over some person, as if in the act of rifling their pockets, as I heard some silver rattle, and saw him rise and open his coat with his left hand, and put his right hand to his breast, as if to put something in his pocket; I did not see his face, and I only saw that one person, I was fearful, and went up stairs as quick but as softly as I could; I thought first of getting under the bed, but was fearful I should be found; I then took the sheets, tied them together, tied them to the bed-post, opened the window, and lowered myself down by the sheets. The watchman was coming by, I told him there was a murderer in the house, and he assisted me in getting down; I had nothing on but my nightcap, my shirt, and a Jersey waistcoat. The watchman sprang his rattle. Mr. Fox then came up, and said, "Break the door open." I have frequently seen Mr. Williamson's watch; it is a small thick silver watch with a glass; it had a gold-coloured chain, and a large seal with a stone

in the bottom. I never saw an iron crow in the house.

George Fox.—I reside in New-Gravel-lane, opposite the house of the deceased. On Thursday night, as the watch was going eleven, I saw two watchmen at Mr. Williamson's door: I asked them what was the matter? I was told that the house was being robbed, if not the people murdered in it. While they were breaking open the door, I ran across to my own house for a hanger. The door and the front cellar window were broken open; three or four persons went down the cellar window, while myself and three or four went in at the door. We went into the middle room, where there was a light burning: there I saw Mrs. Williamson lying upon her face, along the hearth, with her throat cut, apparently quite dead; she had all her clothes on; some keys and a box were lying by the side of her, and it appeared that her pockets had been rifled; the servant, Bridget Harrington, lying between Mrs. Williamson and the fire-place in the same direction, with her throat cut,—the fire was out, and materials laid ready to light it in the morning: she was also completely dressed, and appeared to have received a violent blow on the head. I immediately called out, "Where is the old man Williamson." I was answered from those in the cellar, "Here he is, with his throat cut." I went part of the way down, and saw him lying upon his back in the cellar; I immediately, with others, proceeded to search the house; I went into the back room, next to that in which I had found the bodies, and found that the inside shutter of one of the back windows had been taken down, and the sash thrown up; in about half an hour afterwards I examined the window more closely, and saw the window-shutter, which had been taken down, marked with blood, apparently with the print of a hand, and there was also blood upon the inside iron bar.

The jury, after a patient consideration of the evidence from two o'clock until late in the evening, returned a verdict of "Wilful murder against some person or persons unknown."

Several persons were examined on Monday, at Shadwell police-office, and particularly a seafaring man, named John Williams, who underwent a very long and rigid interrogation. The circumstances of suspicion were, that he had been frequently seen at the house of Mr. Williamson, and that he had been more particularly seen there about seven o'clock on Thursday week; that on the same evening he did not go home to his lodgings until about twelve, when he desired a fellow-lodger, a foreign sailor, to put out his candle; that, previous to this melancholy transaction, he had little or no money, and that when he was taken he had a good deal of silver. —The magistrates desired him to give an account of himself. He avowed that he had been at Mr. Williamson's on Thursday, and at other times. He had known Mr. and Mrs. W. a considerable time, and was very intimate there. On Thursday evening, when he was talking to Mrs. Williamson, she was very cheerful, and patted him on the cheek when she brought him some liquor. He was con-

sidered rather in the light of a friend than a mere customer. When he left their house he went to a surgeon's in Shadwell, for the purpose of getting advice for the cure of his leg, which had been a considerable number of years disabled in consequence of an old wound. From thence he went to a female chirurgeon in the same neighbourhood, in hopes of getting his cure completed at a less expence. He then went farther West, and met some female acquaintances, and, after visiting several public-houses, he returned to his lodgings, and went to bed. The circumstance of his desiring his fellow lodger to put out his candle, arose in consequence of his finding the man, who was a German, lying in bed with a candle in one hand, a pipe in his mouth, and a book in the other. He accounted for the possession of the money found upon him, as the produce of some wearing apparel he left as pledges at a pawnbroker's. He never made any mystery of his having been at Mr. Williamson's on Thursday evening; on the contrary, he told his landlady, and several other people, that he had been with poor Mrs. Williamson and her husband a very short time before they were murdered, and remarked how cheerful Mrs. Williamson was.

After this examination the following additional circumstances came out:—It appears that an iron mall, with which there is little doubt Mr. Marr and his unfortunate family were killed, had been missing from a Mr. Vermilloe's house, where the prisoner lodged, and where it had been left for safe keeping, along with several other tools, by a German seaman, named John Peterson, who was by trade a ship-carpenter. The mall was marked with the initials J. P., and the other tools found in Vermilloe's house bore precisely similar characters. Mr. Vermilloe, who is now confined in Newgate for debt, was unable to attend; but one of the magistrates went with the mall to Newgate, for the purpose of interrogating him. Vermilloe recognized it as the instrument which had been left in his custody by Peterson; and said, that although he would not positively swear that it was the same, yet the confidence he certainly entertained of its identity, was very much confirmed by the circumstance of the sharp point of the mall in question being broken; and he remembered having broken the point of Peterson's mall one day when he was breaking up some fire-wood.

John Williams was on Tuesday brought up for further examination, when

Mrs. Rice, a laundress, residing in Union-street, Shadwell, stated, that she was sister-in-law to Mrs. Vermilloe. She had washed for the prisoner about three years. Last Friday fortnight she washed a shirt of his which was very much torn about the neck and breast, and had a good deal of blood upon it about the neck and arms: she supposed he had been fighting. On Thursday week he sent another shirt to be washed, which was also very much torn, and marks of blood upon it, which appearances she attributed likewise to fighting. The first shirt she so washed was before the

murder of Mr. Marr; but the second was four or five days afterwards. She remembered the prisoner's fighting in her house with a lodger of her's, and that then he had a shirt torn to rags: but this was about three weeks back.

Mrs. Vermilloe stated, that she had known Williams some years. John Peterson had left a chest of tools in the summer with her husband, to keep safe for him. There were two or three malls in that chest three weeks ago, but within that time they had disappeared. The box which contained them was always unlocked, and any body in the house had access to it. It was in the same room where the prisoner's sea-bed was deposited. She herself could not speak positively as to any of the tools.

The blood-stained instrument with which the unfortunate Mr. Marr and his family were butchered was then produced, at sight of which the witness shrunk back with horror. It was with great difficulty she could be got to look at it steadily. She was desired to say whether she had not seen that instrument in her husband's house, and whether it was not the same with which her husband sometimes broke up wood? She answered, that she might have seen it, but she would not be positive. The question was put to her in various ways, but her answer was always evasive.

Mrs. Rice interposed, and said, that her little boys could speak positively as to the identity of the mall, as she had frequently heard them describe a broken-pointed mall, with which they used to play.

The boys were sent for. During the absence of the messenger, the prisoner begged to account for the manner in which the shirt given to the laundress on Friday fortnight became torn and stained with blood. He said he had been dancing with his coat and waistcoat off, at the house where he lodged, about half-past eleven o'clock at night; and his sport having been stopped by the watchman, he had retired thus undressed to the Royal Oak, to treat his musician. In the Royal Oak he met with a number of coal-heavers playing cards, and they insisted upon his playing. He consented, and lost a shilling's worth of liquor. He was then for retiring peremptorily, when a scuffle ensued between him and one of the party, who seized him by the shirt collar, which he tore, and then struck him a blow on the mouth which cut his lip, and from that wound issued the blood that stained his shirt.

The magistrates told him to confine himself to the shirt found bloody on Thursday week, to which caution he paid no apparent attention.

Michael Cuthperson and John Harrison, two Prussian sailors who were fellow lodgers of the prisoner's, proved that he did not come home till one o'clock on the night of the murder of Mr. Marr and family. The former of these witnesses, upon seeing the mall, said it was very like the one he had seen thrown about Mr. Vermilloe's house.

William Rice, a little boy about eleven years old, the nephew of Mrs. Vermilloe, was then interrogated about the mall. Before he

was shown the deadly instrument, he gave an exact description of a mall he had seen in his aunt's house, and with which his brother and he used to play as carpenters, precisely corresponding with the instrument found on Mr. Marr's premises after the murder. Upon being shewn the actual mall in question, he recognised it, and said he was quite sure it was the same he had frequently played with. He had not, however, seen it for three weeks before: but he was almost positive it was the same; and he dared to say his brother would say the same. The prisoner was remanded.

John Frederick Richter, a young foreign seaman, residing at the Pear-Tree, was on Thursday examined. The circumstances of suspicion alleged against him were, in consequence of a pair of blue trowsers having been found under his bed, in a damp state, with the appearance of mud having been imperfectly washed away from the knees downwards. The prisoner stated that the trowsers in question were left behind in the Pear-Tree public-house by a man who had gone to sea. As nobody claimed them, he appropriated them to his own use. He knew of no mud upon them. None had touched them while in his possession; and although he acknowledged having brushed, he denied ever having washed them. He was then strictly examined with respect to his knowledge of Williams. He said he had known Williams about twelve weeks, but not intimately. He never drank with him out of the house, and only now and then held any intercourse with him. He was then shewn the mall found in Mr. Marr's house, which he said was exactly like the mall he had seen amongst Peterson's tools. Peterson had marked his tools with the initials I. P. and upon looking at the same initials about this instrument, he verily believed it was the same he had seen at the Pear-Tree. He did not know that Williams was an Irishman from his confession; but he had heard other persons say he was so. He remembered Williams had large whiskers three or four days before he was taken up; but when he saw him last, he did not take particular notice of any alteration in his appearance. It did not strike him that there was much alteration in his face. On the night of the murder of Mr. Williamson and family, he heard a knock at the door a little before one o'clock, and he was afterwards told it was Williams. He did not think Williams was a mariner from his appearance, but he had heard that he was employed on board the Roxburgh Castle Indiaman. He had also heard, that the captain of that vessel had observed, that if ever Williams went on shore again, he would surely be hanged. This was in allusion to his bad character on board the ship. The witness seemed, through the whole of the examination, to answer the questions put to him with great unwillingness. The magistrates cautioned him to be careful about what he said, and encouraged him not to be at all afraid of speaking the truth from any apprehension of the consequences. He still,

however, persisted in his taciturnity.

In addition to the evidence against Williams, it appears that on the morning after the murder he was seen to wash a pair of muddy stockings, in the back-yard of the Pear-Tree public-house; and also that he had on a pair of tight shoes, which creaked a good deal when he walked. These circumstances, however trifling of themselves when unconnected with other evidence, are of importance when combined with the time when the murder happened, the place over which the murderers must have climbed when they effected their escape, and, above all, the testimony of Turner the lodger, who states, that he heard the creaking of shoes in the house at the time the murder was committed.

On Friday morning, when the turnkey of Cold Bath-fields prison went to the cell where Williams was confined, for the purpose of preparing him to go before the magistrates of Shadwell police-office, for farther examination, he found him suspended by the neck, from an iron bar, quite cold and lifeless.

On Friday a coroner's inquest was held at the House of Correction, Clerkenwell, on the body of John Williams, who was found dead in his cell in the prison.—Verdict, *felo de se*.

BIRTHS IN 1811.

JANUARY.

1. The wife of Lieutenant Colonel Sir Howard Douglas, of a daughter.

7. The Hon. Mrs. Werninck, a son.

8. The Right Hon. Lady Bruce, a son.

The Countess of Selkirk, a daughter.

10. The wife of Sir John Lowther Johnstone, a son and heir.

14. The wife of the Hon. Herbert Gardner, a daughter.

15. The Marchioness of Queensberry, a daughter.

Lady Jerningham, a daughter.

17. The Countess of Albemarle, a son.

21. Viscountess Hamilton, a son and heir.

23. Mrs. Colonel Lamont, a son.

24. Lady Anne Montgomery, a son and heir.

The Lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay, a son.

The Lady of Colonel Goldie, of the 6th dragoon guards, a son.

25. Lady King, a son.

27. At Madeira, the wife of Major-General the Hon. Robert Meade, a daughter.

28. The Countess of Harrowby, a daughter.

Lately, the wife of Sir Henry Fletcher, Bart. a daughter.

The Marchioness of Douglas, a son and heir.

FEBRUARY.

3. The wife of William Gordon, Esq. M. P. a son.

5. The Hon. Mrs. Codrington, a daughter.

9. Countess of Mansfield, a son.

12. The wife of Major-Gen. the Honourable Alexander Hope, M. P. a daughter.

19. The Lady of G. R. Redmoni, deputy inspector of hospitals, a daughter.

25. The Hon. Mrs. Ponsonby, a daughter.

Lady Emily Henry, at Leinster House, Dublin, a daughter.

26. The wife of Henry Bonham, Esq. M. P. a daughter.

27. Lady Sondes, a daughter.

The wife of C. Jenkinson, Esq. M. P., a daughter.

MARCH.

Mrs. Graham Stirling, of Duchray and Auchyle, a daughter.

7. The Hon. Mrs. Edward Stewart, a son.

15. Lady Georgiana Barnes, a daughter.

17. The wife of Major the Hon. Henry Murray, a daughter.

24. The wife of General Burr, a son and heir.

The Lady of Commissioner Jackson, a son.

The Marchioness of Lansdown, a son and heir.

Lady Harriet Drummond, a son and heir.

Lady Henry Fitzroy, a son.

Lady Francis Bentinck, a daughter.

Lady Bagot, a son and heir.

APRIL.

8. The Marchioness of Bath, a son.

14. Lady Brownlow, a daughter.

15. The Countess of Romney, a daughter.

20. The wife of Sir Henry Lushington, Bart. a son.

The relict of the Hon. Willoughby Bertie, late captain of the Satellite, a son and heir.

The wife of Sir John Sinclair, Bart. M. P. a son.

22. The Marchioness of Ely, a daughter.

The wife of William Blundell, Esq. of Crosby Hall, Lancashire, a son and heir.

23. The Right Hon. Lady Caroline Capel, a daughter.

26. The Marchioness of Waterford, a son,

29. Lady Charlotte Hope, a daughter.

Lately, the Countess of Bristol, a daughter.

The wife of Sir C. W. Malet, Bart. a son.

The wife of Sir T. Ackland, Bart. a son.

The wife of Captain Sir M. Seymour, Bart. a daughter.

The Countess de Salis, at Dublin, a son.

MAY.

22. The Duchess of Newcastle, a son and heir.

23. The Lady of John Campbell, a son and heir.

31. Viscountess Galway, a son.

JUNE.

5. Viscountess Arbuthnot, a daughter.

Lady J. Taylor, a daughter.

6. The wife of Sir Henry C. Montgomery, a son.

15. The wife of Lieutenant General Sir George Nugent, Bart. a son.

20. The Lady of James Tytler, Esq. the younger, of Woodhouselee, a son.

30. The Hon. Mrs. Wellington, a daughter.

Lately, at Carlsruhe, the Grand Duchess of Baden, a daughter.

The Countess of Chichester, a daughter.

Viscountess Falmouth, a son.

Mrs. Horseley Beresford, a son and heir.

The wife of J. Denison, Esq. M.P. a son.

JULY.

5. The Lady of Sir George Clerk, Bart. a daughter.

11. The wife of B. Hobhouse, Esq. M. P. a daughter.

15. Hon. Mrs. Smith, a daughter.

17. Lady Louvaine, a son.

20. Countess of Elgin, a son.

22. The wife of W. Astell, Esq. M. P. a daughter.

Lately, the Countess of Enniskillen, a daughter.

The Countess of Northesk, a daughter.

Lady Arundel, a son.

Hon. Mrs. Paget, a son.

AUGUST.

2. Hon. Mrs. Holland, wife of the Rev. Dr. Holland, a daughter.

18. Duchess of Beaufort, a daughter.

19. The Lady of Robert Baird, Esq. a daughter.

27. Hon. Mrs. John Vaughan, a son.

29. Lady Eliz. Littlehales, Dublin, a daughter.

Lately, the wife of the Hon. and Rev. M. Strangeways, a son.

SEPTEMBER.

4. Viscountess Turnour, a daughter.

5. Lady Ann Chad, a son and heir.

7. Hereditary Princess of Bavaria, a son.

24. The Lady of Sir J. Pringle, of Stitchell, Bart. a daughter.

Lately, the Countess of Courtoun, a daughter.

Lady A. Macleod, a son.

The wife of William Lowndes, Esq. M. P. a son.

OCTOBER.

6. Lady Frances Legge, a daughter.

17. Lady Mary Anne Sotheby, a daughter.

22. The wife of Major General F. White, a son.

27. Lady Kinnaird, a son.

28. The wife of Sir J. F. Leicester, a son and heir.

31. The wife of the late Thos. Hughan, Esq. M. P. a son.

Lately, the Countess of Banbury, a daughter.

Hon. Mrs. Stopford, a daughter.

The wife of the Bishop of Derry, a daughter.

The wife of Thomas Wright, Esq. high sheriff for Notts, a daughter.

NOVEMBER.

1. Hon. Lady Levinge, a son and heir.

8. Lady St. John, a son and heir.

Viscountess Hinchinbrooke, a son and heir.

13. The wife of G. H. Rose, Esq. M. P. a son.

18. Mrs. Dr. Spens, a son.

25. The wife of Sir James Stronge, baronet, a son, and heir.

Lately, the Marchioness of Donegal, a son.

Viscountess Glentworth, a daughter.

Viscountess Lismore, a daughter.

The wife of the Hon. and Rev. Thomas de Gray, a son.

Lady C. Lemon, a son.

Lady C. Goold, a daughter.

DECEMBER.

1. Lady Charlotte Hood, a daughter.

2. Countess of Gosford, a daughter.

12. Viscountess Pollington, a son.

17. Countess of Oxford, a son.

20. The wife of Charles T. Hudson, Esq. Wanlip Hall, a son and heir.

27. Lady Katharine Weld Forrester, a son.

Lately, the wife of Sir J. Yorke, a daughter.

Countess Cowper, a son.

Lady Lucy Taylor, a son.

Lady Rumbold, a son and heir.

Lady of Colonel Baron Decken, German legion, a daughter.

The Lady of A. W. Duff, a daughter.

At Quebec, Lady Prevost, a son.

MARRIAGES IN 1811.

JANUARY.

Honourable Windham Henry Quin, M. P. for Limerick, to Caroline, only daughter of Thomas Wyndham, Esq. M. P. for Glamorganshire.

8. James O'Reilly, Esq. eldest son of Sir Hugh O'Reilly, Bart. Ireland, to the only daughter of the late Baron d'Arabet.

10. At Edinburgh, Donald Mackay, Esq. to Miss Elizabeth Fife, second daughter of Mr. William Fife.

20. Joseph Atkinson, Esq. Dublin, to Sarah, second daughter of the Hon. Baron George.

Lately, John Flood, Esq. to Sarah, eldest daughter of the attorney-general for Ireland.

T. Forster, Esq. of Roydon Hall, to Miss Sarah Holland.

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Marriot, of the Madras army, to Anne, youngest daughter of John Becket, Esq.

William Edward Powell, Esq. of Nantoes, Cardiganshire, to Laura Edwyna, eldest daughter of James Phelp, Esq.

FEBRUARY.

1. Thomas Hughan, Esq. M.P. to the eldest daughter of the late Robert Milligan, Esq. Hampstead.

12. Humphrey Wild, Esq. to the Honourable Christiana Clifford, eldest daughter of Lord Clifford.

20. J. E. Buckworth, Esq. Lieutenant-Colonel in the Cheshire militia, to Lady Mary Payne, widow of Sir John Payne.

25. Sir John Twisden, Bart. to Catherine Judith, eldest daughter of the Rev. William Coppard.

26. The Honourable Captain Arundel, son of Lord Arundel, to Lady Mary Grenville, only

daughter of the Marquis of Buckingham.

Thomas Perrott, Esq. Lieutenant-Colonel of the Oxfordshire militia, to the only daughter of the late R. Davies, Esq. of Glamorganshire.

Lately, Major-General Reynolds, to Mary, eldest daughter of John Hunter, Esq. consul-general in Spain.

Richard Orpen Townsend, Esq. of Ardtully, to Anne, eldest daughter of the Honourable W. Townsend Mullens, son of Lord Ventry.

MARCH.

2. W. Peere Williams, Esq. only son of Admiral Williams, to Frances Dorothea, eldest daughter of Robert W. Blencowe, Esq.

R. M. Tighe, Esq. to the only daughter of Sir Patrick Macdermot, Bart. Ireland.

Peter Lowe, Esq. of Bushy Island, county of Limerick, to Louisa, eldest daughter of Sir Richard Butler, Bart.

5. At View Forth, Mr. William Marshall, jeweller, Edinburgh, to Miss Calder, daughter of the Right Hon. William Calder, Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

6. George Pochin, Esq. of Normanton, to the daughter of Richard Norman, Esq. high sheriff of Leicestershire.

8. At Gretna-Green, the Hon. Charles Evan Law, second son of Lord Ellenborough, to Elizabeth Sophia, daughter of the late Sir Edward Nightingale.

16. Robert Wardlaw, Esq. to Lady Anne Lindsay, youngest daughter of the Earl of Balcarras.

18. At Edinburgh, Major Maclachlan, of the 69th regiment, to Miss Jane Campbell, daughter of the late Neil Campbell, Esq. of Duntroon.

Lately, at Lisbon, Captain G. F. Seymour, son of the late Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour, to Georgiana, daughter of the Hon. Admiral Berkeley.

Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart. Vice-Admiral of the White, to Elizabeth, only child of W. Greenly, Esq. of Titley Court, Herts.

Rear-Admiral Manley Dixon, to Miss Jeffreys, of Swansea.

APRIL.

Baron Charles de Tuyll, to the daughter of Dan. Gildemeester, Esq. formerly Dutch consul to Portugal.

13. John Ireland Blackburne, Esq. M. P. to the daughter of the late W. Bamford, Esq.

18. W. E. Tomline, Esq. eldest son of the Bishop of Lincoln, to Frances, daughter of the late John Amlett, Esq.

Lately, Dr. Adams, of Doctor's Commons, to Mary Anne; and Thomas Philip Maunsell, Esq. of Northamptonshire, to Caroline Eliza, daughters of the late Hon. W. Cockayne.

Sir J. Carr, K.C. to Miss King,

Rev. Thos. John Burgh, to Anne, eldest daughter of the Hon. Fr. Hely Hutchinson.

MAY.

4. Baskervyle Glegg, Esq. of Withington Hall, Cheshire, to Anne, youngest daughter to the late T. Townley Parker, Esq. of Cuerden Hall, Lancashire.

5. Rev. George Murray, to the

Right Hon. Lady Sarah Maria Hay.

11. William Hargood, Esq. Admiral of the Blue, to Maria, daughter of the late T. Somers Cocks, Esq.

14. Right Hon. Viscount Kilcoursie, son of the Earl of Cavan, to the only daughter of J. P. Coppin, Esq.

15. Lieutenant Colonel James Orde, 90th foot, to Margaret, eldest daughter of W. Beckford, Esq. of Fonthill.

20. Colonel Fr. William Grant, M. P. to Mary Anne, only daughter of J. Charles Dunn, Esq. of St. Helena.

28. T. Bates Rous, Esq. to Charlotte Owen, second daughter of Sir R. Salisbury, Bart.

Lately, Sir F. Hopkins, Bart. to Eleonora, second daughter of the late S. Thomson, Esq. of Rathnally.

JUNE.

4. T. Thurlow, Esq. youngest son of the late Bishop of Durham, to Frances, third daughter of the late Hon. Thomas Lyon.

6. Hon. and Rev. W. H. Downay, to Lydia, only daughter of the late J. Heathcote, Esq. of Conington Castle.

Charles Clement Adderley, Esq. to Anna Maria, eldest daughter of Sir Edmund Cradock Hartopp, Bart.

13. Lieutenant Colonel Robert Camden Cope, of Loughgall, county of Armagh, to Mary, youngest daughter of the late Samuel Elliot, Esq. Antigua.

18. J. R. Spencer Phillips, Esq. of Writtle, to Anna Maria, eldest daughter of Sir J. Tyrrell, Bart.

26. Lord Burghersh, eldest son of the earl of Westmoreland, to the daughter of the Hon. Wellesley Pole.

Lately, The Hon. H. R. Crofton, to Mary, eldest daughter of T. Hemsworth, Esq.

Lord Viscount Hawarden, to Jane, youngest daughter of Pat. Craufurd Bruce, Esq.

Lord Cloncurry, to Mrs. Leeson, mother of the Earl of Miltown.

Rev. R. Hare, of Hurstmonceaux, to Anne, daughter of the late Admiral Sir Thos. Frankland, Bart. and widow of J. Lewis, Esq. of Harpton Court, Radnorshire.

Lord Viscount Deerhurst, to Lady Mary Beauclerk, daughter of the Duke of St. Alban's.

W. Knox, Esq. second son of the Bishop of Derry, to the second daughter of the late Sir A. Ferguson, Bart.

JULY.

4. Colonel the Hon. W. Fitzroy, to Lady Elizabeth Fitzroy, third daughter of the late Duke of Grafton.

6. James William Farrer, Esq. to the Hon. Mrs. Scott.

8. The Hon. C. Manners Sutton, Judge-advocate-general, to Charlotte, eldest daughter of J. Denison, Esq.

11. Thomas Rice, Esq. of Mount Trenchard, Ireland, to the Right Honourable Lady Theodosia Pery, daughter of the Earl of Limerick.

12. Lieutenant Colonel A. Walker, of Bowland, to Barbara, second daughter of the late Sir J. Montgomery, Bart. of Stanhope.

25. W. Ogle Wallis Ogle, Esq. of Causey Park, Northumberland,

to Eliz. Fr. Staples, daughter of Lady Araminta Monck, and relict of W. Staples, Esq.

AUGUST.

1. At Blackhall, Sir Alexander Ramsay, of Balmain, Bart. to Jane, eldest daughter of the late Francis Russel, Esq. of Blackhall.

5. The Earl of Plymouth, to Lady Mary Sackville, eldest daughter of the Duchess of Dorset.

6. Hon. Frederic Major Howard, third son of the Earl of Carlisle, to Miss Lambton, only daughter of — L. Esq. late M. P. for Durham.

10. Edward Wolstenholme, Esq. to Arabella, second daughter of the Honourable Edward Ward.

14. Bateman Dashwood, Esq. of Well Vale, Lincolnshire, to the Hon. Georgiana Pelham, youngest daughter to Lord Yarborough.

Edward Greathead, Esq. of Udens-house, Dorset, to Mary Eliz. only daughter of Sir R. Carr Glyn, Bart.

17. At Edinburgh, David Ritchie, one of the ministers of St. Andrew's Church, and Professor of Logic in the University of Edinburgh, to Margaret, youngest daughter of the late William Pearson, Esq. of Kippen Ross.

19. Rev. John French, Dean of Elphin, to Emily, second daughter of the late Richard Magenis, Esq.

21. Captain Agar, M. P. to Margaret, daughter of Edward George Lind, Esq.

34. Lieutenant General Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, to Katherina, eldest daughter of the Rev. Reginauld Pyndar, of Arley House, Worcestershire.

25. Hon. John Astley Bennet, youngest son of the Earl of Tankerville, to the daughter of J. Conyers, Esq. Copped Hall, Essex.

Sir W. Grant Kerr, Adjutant-General to his Majesty's troops in India, to Rebecca, daughter of the late Captain Jackson.

SEPTEMBER.

Honourable Somerset Richard Butler, Viscount Ikerine, to Anne eldest daughter of Owen Wynne, Esq. of Haslewood, county of Sligo.

3. Honourable Henry Butler, third son of the late Viscount Montgarret, to Anne, daughter of the late J. Harrison, Esq. Yorkshire.

5. Major General Orde, to Harriet, eldest daughter of the late Henry Bevan, Esq. of Shrewsbury.

13. Right Honourable Thomas Jones, Viscount Ranelagh, to Caroline, only daughter of the late Colonel Lee, Yorkshire.

16. Honourable Colonel W. Blaquiere, to Lady Harriet Townsend, youngest daughter of the Marchioness T.

Lately, Lieut.-Colonel Rosse, to the daughter of Lieut.-General Brownrigg.

G. W. Villiers, Esq. horse guards blue, to Eleanor, eldest daughter of Sir J. Nasmyth, Bart.

OCTOBER.

1. John Hayford Thorold, Esq. eldest son of Sir J. Thorold, Bart. of Lincolnshire, to Mary, eldest

daughter of the late Sir Charles Kent, Bart.

2. Lord Robert Spencer to the Honourable Mrs. Bouverie, widow of the Honourable Edward B. of Delapré Abbey.

3. W. F. Lowndes, Esq. to Caroline, second daughter of Sir W. Strickland, Bart.

5. George Byng, Esq. captain, navy, to Frances, second daughter of Commissioner Sir R. Barlow.

16. Lord Caledon to Lady Caroline Yorke, daughter of the Earl of Hardwicke.

16. Major General Honourable T. Mahon, eldest son of Lord Hartland, to Catharine, eldest daughter of J. Topping, Esq.

19. E. M. Mundy, Esq. M. P. for Derbyshire, to Mrs. Barwell, widow of the late R. Barwell, Esq. Stansted House, Sussex.

24. Captain Henry F. C. Cavendish, second son of Lord G. H. C. to Sarah, youngest daughter of the late W. Fawkener, Esq.

25. At Kilbryde Castle, Dr. John Barclay, physician, Edinburgh, to Elenore, youngest daughter of Sir James Campbell, of Aberuchil.

29. At Edinburgh, James Robertson, aged 94, to Margaret Macdonald, aged 82.

Lately, Marquis of Downshire to Lady Maria Windsor, sister to the Earl of Plymouth.

Lately, Lieutenant Colonel Smyth, second son of the Right Honourable J. S. of Neath, to Sarah, eldest daughter of D. Wilson, Esq. of Dallam Tower.

NOVEMBER.

9. Honourable Philip Pleydell Bouverie, to Maria, daughter of Sir W. A'Court, Bart.

19. Rev. G. J. Tavel, to Lady Augusta Fitzroy, sister to the Duke of Grafton.

20. Rev. Edward Bouverie, 2d son of the Honourable Bartholomew B. to Frances Charlotte, 4th daughter of Dr. Courtenay, late bishop of Exeter.

21. Lord Lindsay, son of the Earl of Balcarras, to Miss Pennington, daughter of Lord Muncaster.

30. Sir Thomas Maynard Hasilrigge, Bart. to Letitia, daughter of Lord Wodehouse.

DECEMBER.

6. Laurence Sullivan, Esq. to the Honourable Elizabeth Temple, youngest sister of Viscount Palmerston.

9. Honourable Captain Poulett, navy, to the eldest daughter of Sir George Dallas, Bart.

14. Sir Thomas Leighton, Bart. to Sylvia, daughter of Mr. Brandon, treasurer of Covent-Garden theatre.

PROMOTIONS IN 1811.

FEBRUARY.

Laurence Sullivan, Esq. Superintendant of Military Accounts.

Sir Henry Halford, Bart. M.D. Physician in Ordinary to the Prince Regent.

Major General Turner, 3d guards, Assistant Private Secretary to ditto.

General William Keppel, Major General Francis Thomas Hammond, and Lieutenant Colonel William Congreve, Equerries to ditto.

Lord William Bentinck, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Ple-

nipotentiary to the Court of Palermo.

Augustus John Foster, Esq. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America.

The Earl of Caithness, Post-Master General for Scotland.

The Honourable Frederick Lambe, Secretary of Legation to the Court of Palermo.

John Pond, Esq. Astronomical Observator at Greenwich.

David Boyle, Esq. one of the Lords of Session in Scotland.

David Moneypenny, Esq. Soliciter General for Scotland.

J. W. Murray, Esq. Judge of the Court of Admiralty in Scotland.

MARCH.

Robert Townshend Farquhar, Esq. Governor of the Islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, and their dependencies.

Lieutenant General Sir John F. Craddock, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Cape of Good Hope.

John Hodgson, Esq. Major General, Governor, and Commander in Chief of the Island of Curaçoa.

Sir James Cockburn, Bart. Governor and Commander in Chief of the Bermuda Islands.

David Hume, Esq. one of the Six ordinary Clerks of Session in Scotland.

James Fergusson, jun. Esq. one of the Four Commissioners of Edinburgh.

William Harding Read, Esq. Consul General in the Azores; Louis Hargrave, Esq. Consul in the Balearic Islands; and Robert Staples, Esq. Consul at Buenos Ayres and its dependencies.

Robert Liston, Esq. Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Porte; and Bartholomew Frere, Esq. Secretary of Embassy to the same.

Francis Lord Napier, his Majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Lieutenant General Sir George Nugent, Bart. Commander in Chief in India, and a Member in Council of the Bengal establishment.

APRIL.

C. Maxwell, Esq. Governor of Sierra Leone and its dependencies.

MAY.

Field Marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Commander in Chief of the Land Forces.

JUNE.

R. Ward, Esq. Clerk of the Ordnance.

Major Generals—F. Baron Dreschel, with temporary rank; C. Baron Linsengen, with ditto; R. Aytoun; G. Rochfort; F. Grose; H. R. Gale; J. Spens; W. Scott; R. Tipping; A. Campbell; A. Trotter; F. Fuller; Sir J. Affleck, Bart.; G. V. Hart; J. Robinson; G. Warde; Honourable T. Maitland; R. Bright; W. Ramsey; J. Campbell; J. Skerrett; H. Oakes; C. Campbell; Sir G. Prevost, Bart. W. Waller; M. Archdall; Sir J.C. Sherbrooke, K.B.; G. Drummond; J. Wharton; W. Payne; Honourable E. Bligh; W. Ear Craven; Lord W. Bentinck; E. Earl of Cork; Honourable H. G. Grey; Honourable E. Paget; A. Wetham; Sir B. Spencer, K. B.

—to be *Lieutenant Generals* in the army.

Colonels—B. Fisher, royal engineers; T. Nepean, ditto; T. R. Charleton, royal artillery; H. de Hinuber, king's German legion, with temporary rank; Sir C. Shippley, Knt. royal engineers; H. Bell, royal marines; T. Strickland, ditto; T. Mahon, 9th light dragoons: W. T. Dilkes, 3d. foot guards; H. Rudyerd, royal engineers; J. Oswald, 35th foot; J. Gashard le Marchant, military college; J. M. Hadden, royal artillery; W. Doyle, 62d foot; J. Hatton, 66th foot; Pinson Bonham, 69th foot; J. Burnett, military superintendant of hospitals; W. Anson, 1st foot guards; J. Bourchier, of the late royal Irish artillery; I. Brock, 49th foot; G. W. Ramsey, 60th foot; R. Craufurd, on half-pay, of 60th foot; E. Howarth, royal artillery; J. Dorrien, royal horse guards; T. Desbrisay, royal artillery; C. Terrot, ditto; W. Fyers, royal engineers; G. Glasgow, royal artillery; R. Winter, royal marines; W. Bentham, royal artillery; E. Stehelin, ditto; J. A. Schalch, ditto; H. Hutton, ditto; T. Barrow, 5th West India regiment; J. S. Farley, 68th foot; J. Wood, on the half-pay of the Liverpool regiment; H. Churchill, of the late horse grenadier guards; J. Jenkinson, on half-pay of the Sheffield regiment; T. Lewis, royal marines; T. Dunbar, 3d West India regiment; R. Williams, royal marines; L. Desborough, ditto; A. Keith, 65th foot; J. Mackelcan, royal engineers; J. T. Layard, 54th foot; J. Skinner, 16th foot; J. Meredith, royal marines; R. H. Farmer, ditto; Watkin Tench, ditto; J. S. Saunders, 61st foot; L. Maclean, quarter-master-general in the West Indies; G. Wilson, royal artillery; S. Rimington, ditto; D. Ballinghall, royal marines; D. Shank, Canadian fencibles; Æ. Shaw, on half-pay of the queen's rangers; G. Dyer, royal marines; A. Hay, 1st foot; J. J. Barlow, on half-pay of the Cheshire fencibles; W. Minet, 30th foot; W. M. Peacocke, Coldstream guards; Sir J. Douglas, Knt. royal marines; J. Pare, on half-pay of 96th foot; W. P. Clay, on half-pay of 40th foot; C. Wale, 66th foot; T. Hull, 62d foot; J. Kemmis, 40th foot; R. Burne, 39th foot; J. O. Vandeleur, 19th light dragoons; C. Pye, 3d dragoons; Sir W. Aylett, Knt. on half-pay of the 6th garrison battalion; J. R. Fletcher, 6th dragoons; R. Browne, 12th light dragoons; H. M. Gordon, on half-pay of the 16th foot; A. J. Goldie, 6th dragoon guards; R. B. Long, 15th light dragoons; R. H. Sheaffe, 49th foot; A. Duff, on half-pay of 4th foot; G. Airey, 8th foot; R. S. Donkin, quarter-master-general in the Mediterranean; Honourable E. Stopford, 3d foot guards; G. Cooke, 1st foot guards; T. J. Backhouse, 47th foot; J. Wilson, 4th Ceylon regiment; W. Eden, 84th foot; F. G. V. Lake, 60th foot; G. T. Walker, 50th foot; J. A. Vesey, on half-pay of 29th foot; R. Stovin, 17th foot; K. Mackenzie, on half-pay of 15th foot; Sir J. Dalrymple, Bart. 3d foot guards; F. J. Wilder, 35th foot; Honourable G. de Grey, aid-de-camp to the king; S. Hawker, ditto;—to be *Major Generals* in the army.

Right Honourable Charles Yorke; Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart. *Vice Admirals of the Blue.* James Buller, Esq. William Dommet, Esq. *Vice Admirals of the White.*

Sir Joseph Sydney Yorke, Honourable Frederic Robinson, and Horatio Walpole, Esq. commonly called Lord Walpole—Commissioners of the Admiralty. Frederic Edgcumbe, Esq. a Commissioner of the Victualling Board.

JULY.

Lieutenant Colonel H. Torrens, Military Secretary to the Prince Regent.

Honourable Wellesley Pole, Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews.

John Allen, Esq. Warden of Dulwich college.

Robert Viscount Melville, Keeper of the Privy Seal in Scotland.

General William Earl of Harcourt, Governor of Portsmouth.

Major General the Honourable A. Hope, Governor of the Royal Military College.

Colonel G. Murray, Lieutenant Governor of Edinburgh Castle.

AUGUST.

Vice Admirals of the Blue—H. D'Esterre Darby, E. Bowater, G. Palmer, W. O'Bryen Drury, and W. Essington, Esqrs.—to be *Vice Admirals of the White.*

Rear Admirals of the Red—F. Pender, W. A. Otway, and G. Lumsdaine, Esqrs.; Sir S. Hood, H. Nicholls, H. Sawyer, D. Gould, Esqrs.; and Sir R. G. Keats,—to be *Vice Admirals of the Blue.*

Rear Admirals of the White—R. Watson, Esq. Lord Gardner, M. Dixon, G. Losack, W. Mitchell, G. Hart, and T. Bertie, Esqrs.—to be *Rear Admirals of the Red.*

Rear Admirals of the Blue—J. Laugharne, W. Hargood, G. Gregory, J. Ferrier, R. I. Bury, R. Moorsom, Esqrs.; Sir C. Hamilton, and the Honourable H. Curzon,—to be *Rear Admirals of the White.*

And the under-mentioned are appointed flag-officers:—A. Fraser, B. Hallowell, G. J. Hope, Esqrs.; Lord A. Beauclerk, W. Taylor, J. N. Morris, G. Burdon, W. Brown, T. B. Martin, J. Lawford, F. Sotheron, and T. Woolley, Esqrs.—to be *Rear Admirals of the Blue.*

Captain W. Bligh has also been appointed *Rear Admiral of the Blue*, by a commission dated July 31st. 1811.

Lieutenant General Arthur Viscount Wellington, K. B. General in the army in Spain and Portugal only.

John M'Mahon, Esq. Receiver and Paymaster of the bounty to Officers' Widows.

Sir S. Hood, Naval Commander in Chief in the East Indies.

Sir S. Achmuty, provisional Governor at the Presidency of Fort St. George.

Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Derby.

James Buller, Esq. one of the Clerks of the Privy Council.

Lieutenant General Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia.

Colonel J. Butler, Lieutenant

Governor of the Royal Military College.

Lieutenant Colonel G. Vaughan, Governor of Fishguard Fort.

Lieutenant General Gother Mann, Inspector General of Fortifications.

Lieutenant General Sir G. Prevost, Bart. Capt. General, Governor in Chief, and Commander of the Forces in Upper and Lower Canada, &c.

Right Honourable George Rose, an elder Brother of the Trinity House.

Sir John Sinclair, Receiver General of the Taxes in Scotland.

Reverend John Davie, B. D. Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

SEPTEMBER.

Winkworth Tonge, Esq. Deputy Judge Advocate of the forces in Jamaica.

OCTOBER.

Right Honourable Henry Wellesley, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII.; Charles Vaughan, Esq. Secretary to the Embassy.

Charles Stuart, George Cockburn, and John Philip Morier, Esqrs. Commissioners in Spanish America. Richard Belgrave Hoppner, Esq. Secretary.

Thomas Sydenham, Esq. Minister Plenipotentiary to the Portuguese Government, during the absence of Charles Stuart, Esq.

Lieutenant General Robert Brownrigg, Governor and Commander in Chief of the British Settlements in Ceylon.

J. C. Herries, Esq. Commissary in Chief.

Farnet Bruce, Esq. one of the Four Commissioners at Edinburgh.

John Drinkwater, Esq. a Comptroller of Army Accounts.

Duke of Norfolk, High Steward of Gloucester.

Lord Somers, Recorder of Gloucester.

R. Thornton, Esq. Esq. M. P. Marshal of the Admiralty.

Right Honourable Charles Hope, President of the College of Justice in Scotland.

Right Honourable David Boyle, Justice-Clerk in Scotland.

Anthony St. John Baker, Esq. Secretary of Legation in America.

NOVEMBER.

Alexander Frazer Tytler, of Woodhouse-lee, Esq. one of the Lords of Justiciary in Scotland.

Sir H. Halford, Bart. one of the Physicians in ordinary to his Majesty.

Dr. Baillie, one of his Majesty's Physicians extraordinary.

Reverend John Cole, D. D. Rector of Exeter College, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.

Reverend Thomas Browne, D.D. Master of Christ's College, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.

Reverend Thomas Elrington, D. D. Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

Reverend George D'Oyly, D.D. Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge.

Reverend John Russell, M. A. Head Master of Charter-house School.

Lord A. Hamilton, Lord-Rector of Glasgow University.

Adam Gillies, Esq. one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland.

DECEMBER.

His Royal Highness William Henry, Duke of Clarence, Admiral of the Fleet.

Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, Right Honourable W. W. Pole, Honourable W. Broderick, Snowden Barne, Esq., Honourable B. Paget, and R. Wellesley, Esq. — Commissioners of the Treasury.

Duke of Devonshire, High-Steward of Derby.

Dr. Arnold, Advocate to the Admiralty.

William Petrie, Esq. Governor of Prince of Wales's Island.

Reverend William Jackson, D. D. Canon of Christ Church, Bishop of Oxford.

Reverend John Leslie, D. D. Dean of Cork, Bishop of Dromore.

DEATHS IN 1811.

JANUARY.

2. William Thomas Lewis, an eminent actor in comedy. He was born at Ormskirk, in Lancashire, in 1749, and was carried in his infancy to Ireland, where his father was a performer at Mr. Sheridan's theatre in Dublin. He received his education at the grammar school of Armagh, and early appeared on the stage, first distinguishing himself under Mr. Digges, of Edinburgh. In 1771, he acted at Dublin in rivalship with Mossop; and having acquired considerable reputation, was engaged at Covent-Garden by Mr. Colman, where he made his first appearance in 1776 in Belcour, in the West Indian. For many years he was the most admired actor in sprightly comedy, being characterised by a vivacity and elegance of deportment in which he had no competitor among modern actors. He quitted the stage in 1803, and became a joint proprietor with Mr. Knight in the Liverpool and Manchester theatres, which flourished under their management. Mr. Lewis bore an uniformly respectable character in private and domestic life. He married Miss Leeson, of Covent-Garden theatre, by whom he had a numerous family. One of his sons is now a Lieutenant Colonel in the East India service.

4. At Glasgow, in his 63d year, Mr. John Reekie, teacher of the Greek and Latin languages. By incessant application he had acquired a very accurate knowledge of the classical writers, and of the structure of the learned languages, in which he was probably surpassed by none of his contemporaries. He had collected a valuable and extensive library, particularly rich in the works of the Greek Grammarians.

6. At Lisbon of a typhus fever, Colonel James Wynch, of the 4th regiment, or King's Own. He had served in every important expedition undertaken during the war, and received a wound at the battle of Corunna, from which he never entirely recovered.

8. Sir Francis Bourgeois, R. A. a painter in history and landscape. He was descended from a Swiss family, but was born at London in 1756. His original destination was to the army, but having been taught to draw when a child, he became so much attached to the art, that he resolved to pursue it professionally. He

was accordingly placed as a pupil with Mr. Loutherbourg, whose manner of painting he adopted, and acquired considerable reputation by his landscapes and sea pieces. After travelling for improvement, he settled in London, and rose to distinction. He was appointed painter to the King of Poland, who honoured him with the Order of Merit; and his knighthood was confirmed by his Majesty, by whom he was nominated his landscape painter. He acquired a large collection of pictures by the will of Mr. Desenfans; these, with the bulk of his property, he has bequeathed to Dulwich college, where an addition to the gallery has been made for their reception.

11. General Sir William Green, Bart. late chief royal engineer, aged 86. He had been 70 years in the service, and was at the memorable siege of Gibraltar.

14. At Hinton St. George, Somersetshire, the Right Honourable Countess Poulett.

18. At Northall, aged 87, Mrs. Pott, relict of the celebrated surgeon Percival Pott, Esq.

21. The Right Honourable Lady Elizabeth Lee, daughter of Simon Harcourt, and relict of Sir William Lee, Bart.

23. At Cartaxo, Don Pedro Caro y Sureda, Marquis de la Romana, Grandee of Spain, and Captain-General of the armies of his Catholic Majesty, in the 49th year of his age. This nobleman possessed a high character for gallantry, military skill, and ardent patriotism. After various eminent services to his country against its unprincipled invaders, he was with Lord Wellington as commander of the Spanish troops of the allied army at the time of his lamented death. His body was brought to Lisbon, where it received every funeral honour due to his merit, and high station, and was deposited in the monastery of St. Jerom, till it could be conveyed to Spain.

25. At Bath, aged 72, Colonel Robert Brooke, of the East India Company's service, late governor of St. Helena.

26. At his seat near Worcester, in his 86th year, Treadway Russel Nash, D. D. F. S. A. the oldest magistrate in the county, and a distinguished antiquarian. With indefatigable labour, and at a considerable expence, he made collections for the History and Antiquities of Worcestershire, of which he published the first volume in 1781, and the second in the following year. He also gave an edition of Butler's Hudibras with notes, in 3 vols. 4to. 1793.

26. Steward Kyd, Esq. barrister at law, author of several useful publications on the laws of England.

28. Mrs. Yonge, aged 82, relict of Dr. Yonge, bishop of Norwich.

FEBRUARY.

1. William Cookson, Esq. senior alderman of Leeds, aged 61.

1. At Dublin, the Right Honourable Sir Hercules Langrishe, Bart. one of the privy council, and an Irish representative in parliament.

9. At the royal Observatory, Greenwich, in his 79th year, Nevil Maskelyne, D. D. F. R. S. and astronomer royal, which post he had occupied during 46 years. He was educated at Trinity Col-

lege, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow. Having given proof of his abilities as a mathematician and astronomer, he went to Barbadoes on the appointment of the board of longitude, for the purpose of making trial of Mr. Harrison's time-keeper, of which he afterwards published an account. His first publication was a work for the improvement of practical navigation, entitled, "The British Mariner's Guide," 4to. 1763. In 1765 he succeeded to the place of astronomer royal on the death of Dr. N. Bliss; and from that time he began his series of astronomical observations at Greenwich, of which the first volume folio was published in 1776. His tables for computing the apparent places of the fixed stars, and reducing observations on the planets, were published by the Royal Society in 1774. In 1792 he edited the very valuable logarithmic tables of the late Michael Taylor, to which he prefixed a masterly introduction. His scientific reputation stood high in his own and in foreign countries, and his life and manners were worthy of his station and profession. By his nephew, Lord Clive, he was presented to the rectory of Shrawarden in Shropshire; and by his college, to the living of North Runcton, Norfolk.

10. The Honourable Simon Fraser, banker, brother of Lord Saltoun.

12. The Right Honourable John Smyth, one of the privy council, late master of the mint, and for many years representative for the borough of Pontefract.

18. His Excellency the Duke of Albuquerque, ambassador extraordinary from Spain.

18. Peter Beckford, Esq. author of "Letters on Hunting."

18. The Honourable Louisa Ward, lady of the Right Honourable Robert Ward, brother of Viscount Bangor.

19. Charles Buckner, Esq. admiral of the Red.

20. Lady Elizabeth Heron, widow of Patrick Heron, Esq. and sister of the Honourable A. Cochrane Johnstone.

20. The Honourable Stanhope Dormer, younger son of the late Lord Dormer, and major of the Warwickshire militia. This amiable and estimable man was carried off by an apoplectic fit in his 34th year, at Bletchington barracks, near Seaford.

24. In his 86th year, James Brudenell, Earl of Cardigan, privy purse to His Majesty, and governor of Windsor Castle.

25. Henry Hope, Esq. in his 75th year, late one of the most eminent merchants in Europe. He was born at Boston, in New England, in 1736, and came over to England for education, where he entered into a banking-house. In 1760, on visiting his uncles of the famous mercantile house of Hope in Holland, he was taken as a partner, and on the death of Mr. Adrian Hope, the whole business devolved upon him. He lived in a style of great magnificence, and obtained universal respect, as well from the importance of his concerns, as the worth and benevolence of his character. On the invasion of Holland by the French in 1794, he took a final leave of that country, and settled in Lon-

don. He purchased Lord Hopetoun's large house in Harley-street, where he deposited his collection of pictures, one of the finest in Europe, belonging to a private person, to which he gave the public liberal access. By his will he has left among his relations property to the amount of above 1,100,000*l.* sterling.

27. Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Cavan.

MARCH.

1. The Right Honourable Charles Marsham, Earl of Romney. His lordship was born in September 1744, and for many years represented the county of Kent in parliament, maintaining the character of an active, popular, and constitutional member. He was nominated lord-lieutenant of that county on the decease of the Earl of Dorset, and was created Viscount Marsham and Earl of Romney in 1801. He married a sister of the Earl of Egremont, by whom he has left one son and three daughters.

6. At Madras, Vice Admiral Drury, commander in Chief on that station.

8. Near Bristol, in his 88th year, the Right Honourable John, Lord Colville, of Kinross. He passed the early years of his life in military duty, and was present at the expedition against Carthagena in 1740, and at the battles of Fontenoy, Culloden, and Lafeldt. In 1761, being colonel of the Scotch Fusileers, he served at the siege of Bellisle. On the peace, in 1763, he retired to private life, and on the death of his brother, Alexander, vice admiral of the white, he succeeded to the title, which is now inherited by his son, a captain in the royal navy.

11. Lady Wilmot, relict of Sir Robert Mead Wilmot, of Chaddesden, Derbyshire.

14. In his 88th year, Otho Hamilton, Esq. who had passed forty years in the military service of his country, and was lieutenant colonel of the 59th regiment when he retired.

14. Augustus Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton. This nobleman was born in 1735 or 36, and received his academical education at St. Peter's College, in Cambridge. On the death of his grandfather, in 1757, he succeeded to the family honours and estates, and at that period of life indulged himself freely in the gaieties and dissipations common to his rank and fortune. In 1765, he entered into the career of public employment as one of the secretaries of state; which post he resigned in the following year, but was soon after appointed first lord of the treasury. Whilst his grace occupied this post, he incurred some severe attacks from Mr. Wilkes, then in the height of popularity, and also from the more formidable writer, Junius, who published a remarkable letter against him, full of the severest invective. These virulent attacks, with a deficiency of support, caused him to resign his office early in 1770; he however accepted that of lord privy seal in 1771, which he retained till 1775. In that year, his decided opposition to Lord North's project of taxing the American colonies, produced an intimation that his services were no longer required; he in conse-

quence resigned his post, and during the whole of the American war acted with the party which resisted all the measures that terminated in the final separation of America from the British empire. On the overthrow of that unfortunate administration, the Duke of Grafton was restored to his office of lord privy seal, which he held but for a short time ; and his life afterwards passed entirely in retirement, except when some important occasions called upon him to take his part as a peer in parliament. He was a firm and strenuous opposer of the last and present war with France.

His grace, when a minister, had been elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge (an event celebrated by the muse of Gray), and he had an attachment to literature which became that station. With a remaining fondness for the turf and the chace, he allied a passion for collecting valuable books ; and with advancing years he adopted the more extraordinary taste, for one of his rank and habits, of theological inquiry. Into this he entered with a mind so unshackled by system, and so devoted to what he thought the truth, that he openly renounced the creed of the church in which he had been educated, and acceded to that of the modern Unitarians, on whose service, at the chapel in Essex-street, he was accustomed to attend when in town. He is supposed to have been the author of two pamphlets on these topics ; and, in order to encourage scriptural studies, he published, at a considerable expence, an edition of Griesbach's Greek Testament, copies of which he distributed with great liberality. The Duke of Grafton was married first to the daughter of Lord Ravensworth, by whom he had three sons and a daughter. From her he was divorced in 1769, and was soon after united to the daughter of the Reverend Sir Richard Wrottesley, who made him the father of thirteen children. He maintained a very amiable character in domestic life, and employed much of his leisure in the education of his daughters. He is succeeded in his title and estates by his son, George Henry, Earl of Euston, late representative for the university of Cambridge.

14. Sir Charles Kent, Bart. of Wordsworth, Yorkshire.

16. In his 95th year, Lieutenant General Loftus Tottenham, colonel of the 55th regiment, who had been in the service near eighty years.

18. Andrew Williams, Esq. late physician general and colonel in the East India Company's service at Bengal.

21. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, wife of Lieutenant General Loftus, and daughter of the late Marquis Townshend, aged forty-four.

27. The Right Honourable Lady Gardner, wife of Rear Admiral Lord Gardner, and daughter of Lord Carrington.

27. At Preston, Lancashire, Lady Mary B. Bedingfield, abbess of the convent of Benedictine nuns, formerly of Ghent.

28. Sidky Effendi, chargé des affaires of the Porte.

29. Mr. John Todd, aged 75, long an eminent bookseller in York, and a great purchaser of libraries in that part of the kingdom.

29. At Castle-Grant, Scotland, Sir James Grant, Bart. a distinguished feudal chief in the Highlands, greatly beloved and respected by the inhabitants on his extensive domains.

APRIL.

5. At Gloucester, aged 75, Robert Raikes, Esq. formerly an eminent printer, and well known as the philanthropic institutor of Sunday schools.

7. Sir W. Addington, Knt. aged 83, long an active and intrepid magistrate of the public office in Bow-street. He was the author of a very useful work, entitled an "Abridgment of the Penal Statutes, &c." which has passed through several editions.

15. Dr. James O'Donnell, titular bishop of Thyatira, aged 74. He was a native of Ireland, entered the Franciscan order at Rome, and settled as a priest at Waterford. In 1784 he went out to Newfoundland as prefect and vicar apostolic in that island, where he was successful in reclaiming many of the natives from a state of semi-barbarism. He was rewarded with a titular bishopric, and on his return, in 1807, a pension was settled on him by government.

16. John Hammet, Esq. M. P. for Taunton.

16. At Duff-house, in advanced years, Alexander, Earl of Fife. His lordship had practised as an advocate; and succeeded to the title only in January, 1809, on the death of his eldest brother, James.

18. At his seat, at Acton Burnell, Shropshire, Sir Edward Smythe, Bart. aged 53.

26. In his 86th year, Richard Pownall, Esq. formerly a lieutenant colonel in the army, and brother of the late Governor Pownal.

26. At Buckenham, in Norfolk, Sir James Murray Pulteney, Bart. a general in the army, and colonel of the 18th regiment of foot. His death was the consequence of an explosion of the powder in his flask while shooting, which blew out one of his eyes. Sir James entered the army at an early period, and served with reputation in the American war, particularly at the defence of St. Christopher's. In the last war he was adjutant general to the Duke of York in Flanders; and afterwards commanded in an expedition to Ferrol, the event of which subjected him to much censure. He was lately for some time secretary at war. He married the Countess of Bath, who bequeathed to him for life the revenue of the vast Pulteney, property, amounting to 50,000*l.* per annum. He is succeeded in his title and estates by his brother, General Murray.

26. The lady of Sir William Gibbons, Bart. daughter of Admiral Watson.

MAY.

1. John Smart, Esq. aged 70, an eminent miniature painter.

5. In his 79th year, Robert Mylne, Esq. architect, F. R. S. the builder of Blackfriars bridge. He was a native of Edinburgh, and, being brought up to the architectural profession, passed several years in Italy. On his return, he offered proposals for the intended bridge at Blackfriars, which were accepted, and the work was commenced in 1761, and completed in 1765, for the

exact sum specified in his estimate. He was appointed, in 1762, engineer to the New River Company, which post he held to his death, and is succeeded in it by his son.

6. William Boscawen, Esq. aged 59, a commissioner of the Victualling-office and of bankrupts. This gentleman was the son of General George Boscawen, and was educated at Eton and Oxford. He was brought up to the bar, and for some time went the western circuit, and he displayed his attention to the profession by an esteemed work, entitled, "A Treatise of Convictions on Penal Statutes." When appointed to the Victualling-office, he quitted the bar, and being much attached to classical literature, he undertook a translation in verse of all Horace, of which the first volume appeared in 1793, and the second in 1798. This is generally acknowledged to be executed with taste and critical discernment. In 1801 he published a small volume of original poems. He was also a constant contributor to the British Critic. Mr. B. was a person of very amiable and respectable character, and possessed the love and esteem of all who knew him.

7. In his 80th year, Richard Cumberland, Esq. an eminent writer, in verse and prose. As Mr. C. has published his own memoirs at length, it will not be necessary here to do more than mark some of its principal incidents. He was the son of Dr. Denison Cumberland (who became bishop of Clonfert, and finally of Kilmore), by a daughter of the celebrated Dr. Bentley, at whose lodge in Trinity College, Cambridge, he was born. Of that college, after an education at Bury and Westminster schools, he was admitted a member; and on leaving the university, was for some time private secretary to Lord Halifax. Having obtained, through his influence, the place of crown-agent for the province of Nova Scotia, he married, in 1758, the daughter of G. Ridge, Esq.; and when Lord Halifax was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, at the commencement of the present reign, Mr. C. accompanied him as under-secretary. After his return, he obtained an office at the board of trade; and having already exercised his talents in dramatic composition, he engaged in it seriously, and brought out some comedies, which appeared on the London stage. The most successful of these was "the West Indian," which gave him a place among the distinguished wits and writers of the age. He now became secretary to Lord G. Germaine, minister for the colonial department; and in 1780, conceiving that there was an opening for a separate negociation with the court of Spain, he went with his family to Lisbon, and thence to Aranjuez. The negociation, however, (which was preposterously conducted) entirely failed, and on his return he was neglected and disavowed by the ministry. His residence was thenceforth chiefly at Tunbridge Wells, where he cultivated a select society, and employed himself with great assiduity in composition, so as to become one of the most copious and multifarious writers of his time. The catalogue of his works is too

numerous to be here transcribed. They consist of tragedies and comedies, of the latter of which many were successful; of poems, at the head of which is his sacred heroic, entitled "Calvary;" of theological tracts; of novels; and of fugitive and miscellaneous pieces. His "Observer" occupies a respectable place among the English Essayists. His "Memoirs," in two volumes, 4to. afford much entertaining anecdote relative to the literary history of his contemporaries. His pen was at work as long as life permitted him to hold it; for it is to be lamented that his old age was exposed to the discomfort attending narrow and reduced circumstances. A jealousy and irritability of temper seems to have deprived him of the benefit of those friendships which his talents and introductions had enabled him to form. His remains received the honour of interment in Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey, Dr. Vincent pronouncing a short eulogy over his departed schoolfellow.

7. At Keswick, Henry William Bunbury, Esq. second son of the Rev. Sir William Bunbury, of Mildenhall, Suffolk, and brother to the present Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, a gentleman well-known by the humourous productions of his pencil.

14. Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, and F. R. S. in his 51st year. He succeeded to the title in 1771, and in 1786, married the daughter of the late Sir John Webb, Bart. by whom he has left one daughter. The title is inherited by his brother, Cropley Ashley Cooper, one of the representatives for Dorchester.

15. On ship-board at St. Helens, General Rufin, who was wounded and taken prisoner at Barrosa. He was interred at Portsmouth with distinguished funeral honours.

16. Of his wounds at the battle of Albuera, Sir William James Myers, Bart. lieutenant-colonel of the 7th regiment of foot, aged 27.

20. In the 70th year, William Henry Higden, Esq. formerly of the secretary of state's office for the home department, and who, in the early periods of life, had attended the Earl of Rochford, Sir Robert Ainslie, and the Honourable Mr. Trevor, in their embassies to France, Spain, Turkey, and Sardinia.

20. Lady Day, relict of Sir John Day, many years advocate-general in the supreme court of justice, Bengal.

23. Lady Pelham Clinton, sister to the Duke of Newcastle.

23. In his 77th year, the Right Honourable Richard Longfield, Viscount Longueville, a privy counsellor, governor of the county of Cork, and one of the representative peers of Ireland. Dying without issue, the title becomes extinct.

27. At Edinburgh, aged 60, the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville. This eminent political character was a younger son of the Right Honourable Robert Dundas, president of the Court of Session in Scotland, by a daughter of Sir William Gordon, Bart. He received his education in Edinburgh, and was called to the Scotch bar in 1763, where he distinguished himself by a fluent and energetic elocution,

and strong argumentative powers. He rose to be successively solicitor general, and lord advocate, for Scotland, and keeper of the signet, after which he quitted the legal for the political career (retaining, however, his place), and entered parliament as representative for Mid-Lothian. Though he was elected in opposition to the ministerial interest, he soon joined the party in power, and was a strenuous supporter of all Lord North's measures during the American war. He was a frequent speaker in parliament, and notwithstanding an ungraceful manner, and a provincial dialect and pronunciation, was listened to as a clear and weighty reasoner. Under the administration of Lord Shelburne he was admitted into the privy council, and made treasurer of the navy, and he repaid these favours by his firm support of its plans. During the short coalition ministry he was out of place; and he employed all his powers in opposing that India bill which was the cause of its overthrow. When Mr. Pitt succeeded to the post of prime minister, Mr. Dundas was appointed president of the board of control established by the new India bill, and being at the same time treasurer of the navy, and absolute minister for Scotland, he enjoyed a mass of patronage which has seldom fallen to the lot of one individual, and of which he made free use for the advantage of his friends and family. In 1791, he was promoted to the office of secretary of state for the home department, which, on the accession of the Duke of Portland, he exchanged for that of secretary of the war department. During this administration he was the peculiar friend and coadjutor of Mr. Pitt, and took a leading part in all his measures. When Mr. Addington came into power, he was created, in 1802, Viscount Melville, and on Mr. Pitt's return to office, he succeeded Lord St. Vincent as first lord of the Admiralty. In this situation he incurred that irregularity relative to the balances of money remaining in his hands, in violation of a bill of his own framing, which produced his celebrated impeachment. The house of lords acquitted him of all the charges, but he had been obliged to resign his office, and thenceforth his political consequence was at an end. Lord Melville was strictly a man of business. In society he was easy, frank, and convivial, ready to do kind offices, and affectionate in the domestic relations of life. He was twice married, and left by his first wife a son and three daughters. His son, the present Viscount Melville, has successfully followed the political career of his father.

27. In his 82d year, Robert Bisset, Esq. late commissary general to the forces at home.

28. Sir James Hamlyn, Bart. of Clovelly, county of Devon, formerly M. P. for Caermarthenshire.

28. At Edinburgh, in his 70th year, the Right Honourable Robert Blair, lord president of the Court of Session. He was son of the Rev. Robert Blair, author of "The Grave."

JUNE.

1. At Caldecote-hall, Leicestershire, the lady of the Honourable Thomas Bowes.

2. Lady Gordon, wife of the Rev. Sir Adam Gordon, Bart.

3. At Eylas, in consequence of wounds received at the battle of Albuera, Lieut. Col. White.

3. Henry Herbert, Earl of Caernarvon, in his 70th year.

3. At St. Petersburg, aged 71, Jonathan Rogers, M. D. late physician general to the Russian fleet, and a knight of the order of St. Waldimir.

4. The Countess De Bruhl.

9. The Right Honourable Lady Jane Edwards, aged 78, relict of Gerard Edwards, Esq. and sister to the late Earl of Gainsborough.

11. Sir Roderick Mackenzie, Bart. of Seatwell.

10. Charles Frederick, Grand Duke and Elector of Baden, aged 83.

12. Henry Skeffington, Earl of Massarene, aged 66.

16. William Mashiter, Esq. in his 68th year, long in the commission of the peace for Middlesex, Essex, and the liberty of the Tower.

16. The Honourable Charles Bagenal Agar, of Llanhydrock-house, Cornwall, youngest son of James Viscount Clifden, aged 42.

22. Viscountess Sidmouth. She was daughter and co-heir of Leonard Hammond, Esq. of Cheam, Surrey.

26. The Right Honourable Sir John Anstruther, Bart. M. P. for Anstruther, Scotland, aged 58. In 1798 he was appointed chief justice of the court of judicature of Bengal, and created a baronet.

26. In his 82d year, Philip Rashleigh, Esq. F.R.S. and F.A.S. and member for Fowey, in seven successive parliaments. Before he quitted public life, he was father of the house of commons.

27. At Broughall, near Catterick, Yorkshire, Sir John Lawson, Bart. aged 67.

30. Sir Edward Dering, Bart. of Surrenden, Kent, in his 55th year.

30. At Cagliari, aged 60, Victor Emanuel, King of Sardinia, seventeen years after his expulsion from his dominions on the continent.

JULY.

3. The Honourable Baron Dimsdale, banker.

4. At Renishaw, Derbyshire, Sir Sitwell Sitwell, Bart. aged 42.

7. P. Garforth, Esq. of Skipton, aged 79.

18. The Right Honourable General Fox, governor of Portsmouth, brother of the late Charles J. Fox.

18. Lieutenant General James Sowerby, of the royal artillery, aged 75.

18. Dr. Plenderleath, physician to the forces, at Coimbra.

22. The Honourable Mrs. Andrew Foley.

26. Catharine Josepha Lady Skeffington, in her 69th year.

26. William Faulkner, Esq. one of the clerks to his Majesty's privy council.

27. At Richmond, in his 59th year, Marquis Townshend, P.A.S.

29. At Devonshire-house, aged 63, William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire, a knight of the garter, and lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Derby. His grace married, first, Lady Georgiana Spencer, sister of the present Earl Spencer, by whom he left a son and two daughters; and second, Lady Elizabeth Foster, daughter of the Earl of Bristol.

29. Sir Charles Hotham, Bart.

of South Dalton and Ebberston-lodge, Yorkshire.

29. Sir John Hatton, Bart. of Long Stanton, Cambridgeshire.

29. Sir Thomas Pilkington, Bart. of Chevet, near Wakefield, aged 37.

AUGUST.

1. The Honourable Catharine Gordon Byron, aged 46, mother of Lord Byron.

17. The Rev. Edward Pearson, D. D. master of Sidney College, Cambridge, and author of various works in divinity.

21. Anne, Countess of Dumfries and Stair, relict of the late Honourable Alexander Gordon, Lord Rockville, aged 73.

21. Lady Bickerton, relict of Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton.

23. In his 77th year, John Cricket, Esq. proctor, and marshal of the high court of admiralty.

23. Sir John Lee, Bart. late of the Dublin post-office.

23. At Paris, the Count de Bougainville, the celebrated navigator. He had been made a count and a senator by Napoleon.

SEPTEMBER.

5. Lady Hudson, wife of Sir C. G. Hudson, Bart. of Wanlip, Leicestershire.

7. Sir Alexander Innes, Bart. of Coxton, North Britain.

7. At St. Vincent's, Alexander Anderson, M. D. superintendant of the botanical garden in that island.

8. At Berlin, Peter Simon Pallas, M. D. knight of the order of St. Waldimir, counsellor of state to the Emperor of Russia, member of the academy of St. Petersburg, and of many other learned societies, known throughout Europe as an eminent naturalist and traveller.

9. At his seat at Nun Appleton, Yorkshire, in his 57th year, Sir William Mordaunt Milner, Bart. representative for the city of York in four successive parliaments.

14. In North America, Major General Green, a distinguished commander in the Revolutionary war.

14. The Rev. Percival Stockdale, vicar of Lesbury and Long Houghton, Northumberland, aged 75, known to the public by a variety of publications in prose and verse.

15. In Yorkshire, aged 75, Jane Lady Legard, widow of Sir Digby Legard, Bart.

17. The Honourable Mrs. Cornwallis, wife of the bishop of Lichfield.

17. The Rev. Matthew Raine, D. D. Master of the Charterhouse.

22. General William Lyman, American Consul.

26. At Ashwick-grove, near Bath, aged 62, J. Billingsley, Esq. author of the Agricultural Survey of the county of Somerset, and long distinguished as one of the most intelligent, liberal, and active promoters of improvements of every kind in the West of England.

30. In her 87th year, Lady Mary Cooke, aunt of the Duke of Buccleugh, and daughter of John Duke of Argyle.

30. In his 83d year, the Right Rev. Thomas Percy, D. D. Bishop

of Dromore. This prelate was born at Bridgenorth, and educated at Christ-church College, Oxford. He made his name known first by some translations from the Chinese and other languages; and in 1765 published his popular work, entitled "Reliques of Antient English Poetry," 3 vols. 12mo.

OCTOBER.

2. Sir Hervey Smith, Bart. aged 77. He was one of General Wolfe's aides-de-camp at Quebec.

4. At Dublin, aged 78, Mr. S. Whyte, an eminent schoolmaster, under whose improved method of tuition several distinguished characters of the present time received their education.

5. At Dresden, James Ogilvie, earl of Findlater and Seafield.

7. At Kingston, Jamaica, aged 48, Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief on the Jamaica station. He was second son of the late Admiral Sir Joshua Rowley.

8. At Gloucester, Charles Brandon Trye, Esq. senior surgeon of the county infirmary, and the author of several esteemed tracts on professional subjects.

10. At Malvern Wells, Lady Louisa Hartley, wife of William Hartley, Esq. and sister of the late earl of Scarborough.

10. Near Liverpool, Sir George Dunbar, Bart. of Mechrum, aged 61.

14. The Honourable Lewis, Duff, brother of the late earl of Fife, aged 74.

10. In his 84th year, General William Picton, for 36 years colonel of the 12th regiment of foot. He served with distinction as captain of grenadiers in that regiment, in the war in Germany.

15. Sir N. Holland, Bart. of Cranbury-house, near Winchester, formerly Mr. Dance, an eminent painter.

19. The Rev. Dr. Gavin Michell, minister of Manse, near Aberdeen, in his 81st year, and the 55th of his ministry. It is remarkable that, as moderator of the synod of Aberdeen, he signed its address to his Majesty on his accession, and on completing the 50th year of his reign.

22. H. Revel Reynolds, M. D. aged 66, one of the physicians to his Majesty.

25. John Stewart, Esq. captain of the Seahorse frigate, aged 36. He gained great honour by the defeat of three Turkish frigates, one of which, larger than his own, he captured.

29. Thomas Hughan, Esq. M. P. for Dundalk.

29. At Palermo, General Acton, the Neapolitan ex-minister.

29. At Vienna, Sir John Stepney, Bart. formerly British envoy to the court of Berlin.

29. At Hanover, in his 74th year, Field Marshal Count Walmoden Gimborn, a natural son of George II. by the Countess of Yarmouth.

29. At Chalons, the ci-devant Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt.

29. Near Petersburgh, the celebrated General Buxhovden.

NOVEMBER.

5. At the Rectory-house, Houghton, Durham, the Honourable and Rev. Richard Byron, third son of William lord Byron, aged 88.

6. Major General Thewles, one of the commanders of the western district.

7. At Cople, Bedfordshire, the Right Honourable Augustus Ludlow, earl of Ludlow, Ireland.

7. At Tralee, in her 63d year, Lady Jane Denny, relict of Sir Barry Denny, Bart.

8. At May-park, Waterford, Sir James May, Bart.

11. At his seat near Tewkesbury, Thomas Dowdeswell, Esq. aged 57, son of the late Right Honourable William Dowdeswell. Early in life he had served in the army; but having had the misfortune to lose his sight, he retired to his country residence, where he became an active and useful magistrate.

13. At Leicester, in his 84th year, the Rev. Thomas Ludlam, M. A. a learned theologian, author of "Essays, scriptural, moral, and theological."

15. At Hampton, the Lady of Sir Beaumont Hotham, Bart.

15. At Hereford, in his 58th year, Sir Watts Horton, of Chadderton, Lancashire.

23. The Rev. Dr. Hall, provost of Trinity College, Dublin, on the very day when his elevation to the see of Dromore, as successor to Dr. Percy, was announced in the Gazette.

23. At Clifton, the Honourable Lawrence Pleydell Bouverie, third son of the earl of Radnor.

24. At Epping, aged 77, Sir Thomas Coxhead, Bart.

26. At Blenheim, her Grace Caroline, Duchess of Marlborough, aged 68. She was daughter of John, duke of Bedford.

26. Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt Jones, Bart. M. P. for Shrewsbury.

30. Lady Lawson, relict of Sir Wilfred Lawson, Bart. aged 48.

30. The Lady of Sir W. Lorraine, Bart. of Kirkharle, Northumberland.

30. At Glasgow, the Reverend James Graham, author of the poems of "The Sabbath," "The Birds of Scotland," and "The British Georgicks." He was educated for the Scotch bar; but the delicate state of his health and spirits not suffering him to pursue that line of life, he entered the English church, and occupied a cure in the neighbourhood of Durham, where he rendered himself much beloved by his amiable manners and persuasive eloquence.

30. His Serene Highness Prince George of Brunswick.

30. At Gottenburgh, Sir William Chalmers, knight of the order of Vasa, and a member of several literary societies.

DECEMBER.

7. The Right Honourable Maria Lady Huntingfield.

9. The Right Honourable Marianna Devereux, Viscountess Hereford, relict of the late Viscount Hereford, and daughter of G. Devereux, Esq. of Tregoyd, Brecon.

11. Lady Durbin, wife of Sir J. Durbin.

12. In Portugal, Brigadier General Francis John Colman, serjeant at arms of the House of Commons.

13. Lady Perring, wife of Sir J. Perring, Bart. and alderman.

15. Sir Wadsworth Busk, Knt. many years attorney general of the Isle of Man.

16. Right Rev. Dr. Charles Moss, bishop of Oxford.

21. Sir Peter Parker, Bart. admiral of the fleet, in his 96th year.

23. In her 86th year, Lady Harriot Reade, Bart.

24. Sir John Lowther Johnstone, Bart. M. P. for Weymouth.

27. In his 86th year, General F. Craig, colonel of the 13th light dragoons, and governor of Sheerness.

28. In her 93d year, the Countess-dowager Stanhope, relict of the late, and mother of the present, earl of Stanhope.

30. George Woodford Thelusson, Esq. M. P. for Barnstaple.

A

GENERAL BILL

OF

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From December 12, 1810, to December 11, 1811.

Christened	Males 10443 / Females 10202	In all 20,645.	Buried	Males 8868 / Females 8175	In all, 17,043.

Decreased in the burials this year 2850.

Died under 2 years 5853	20 and 30 - 1218	60 and 70 - 1587	100 - 0	104 - 0
Between 2 and 5 - 2430	30 and 40 - 1788	70 and 80 - 1262	101 - 0	105 - 1
5 and 10 - 850	40 and 50 - 2018	80 and 90 - 473	102 - 0	110 - 0
10 and 20 - 695	50 and 60 - 1648	90 and 100 70	103 - 0	115 - 0

DISEASES.							
Abortive, Still born	630	Evil	7	Palsy	136	Broken Limbs	3
Abscess	68	Fevers of all kinds	906	Pleurisy	16	Bruised	3
Aged	1295	Fistula	3	Purples	1	Burnt	40
Ague	1	Flux	24	Quinsy	3	Choked	2
Apoplexy and suddenly	218	French Pox	32	Rheumatism	11	Drowned	147
Asthma and Phthisic	545	Gout	32	Rickets	1	Excessive Drinking	12
Bile	10	Gravel, Stone, & Strangury	18	Scald Head	1	Executed *	7
Bleeding	24	Grief	4	Scurvy	3	Fatigue	1
Bursten and Rupture	21	Headmoldshot, Horse-shoe-head, and Water in the Head	299	Small Pox	751	Found Dead	20
Cancer	81	Influenza	4	Sore Throat	1	Fractured	1
Carbuncle	1	Itch	1	Sores and Ulcers	12	Frighted	2
Childbed	208	Jaundice	22	Spasm	32	Frozen	1
Colds	9	Jaw Locked	4	St. Anthony's Fire	2	Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	85
Colick, Gripes, &c.	6	Inflammation	609	Stoppage in the Stomach	8	Killed themselves	41
Consumption	4754	Leprosy	3	Swine Pox	1	Manslaughter	1
Convulsions	3500	Lethargy	4	St. Vitus's Dance	1	Murdered	4
Cough, & Hooping Cough	486	Livergrown	36	Teeth	260	Poisoned	4
Cramp	3	Lunatic	191	Thrush	41	Scalded	4
Croup	69	Measles	235	Water in the Chest	14	Smothered	1
Diabetes	3	Miscarriage	3	Worms	5	Starved	1
Dropsy	750	Mortification	227			Suffocated	8
		Palpitation of the Heart	7	CASUALTIES.			
				Bit by a mad Dog	1	Total	389

* There have been executed in the city of London 14; of which number 7 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

SHERIFFS

Appointed by the Prince Regent in Council for the Year 1811.

Bedfordshire. J. Howell, of Market Street, Esq.

Berkshire. William Wiseman Clarke, of Ardington, Esq.

Buckinghamshire. William Bernard, of Nether Winchendon, Esq.

Cambridge and *Huntingdonshire.* William Dunn Gardner, of Chatteris, Esq.

Cheshire. Booth Grey, of Ashton Hayes, Esq.

Cornwall. W. L. S. Trelawney, of Penquite, Esq.

Cumberland. John Losh, of Woodside, Esq.

Derbyshire. Godfrey Meynell, of Meynell Langley, Esq.

Devonshire. A. Champernowne, of Dartington, Esq.

Dorsetshire. Edward Greathed, of Udden, Esq.

Essex. Charles Smith, of Suttons, Esq.

Gloucestershire. Robert Gordon, of Kemble, Esq.

Herefordshire. Phil. Jones, of Sugwas, Esq.

Hertfordshire. Robert Taylor, of Tolmer, Esq.

Kent. Sir John Courtenay Honywood, of Evington, Bart.

Lancaster. S. C. Hilton, of Moston, Esq.

Leicestershire. R. Norman of Melton Mowbray, Esq.

Lincolnshire. Sir John Trollope, of Casewick, Bart.

Monmouthshire. Hugh Powell, of Llanvihangel, Esq.

Norfolk. Charles Lucas, of Filby, Esq.

Northamptonshire. Walter Strickland, of Brixworth Hall, Esq,

Northumberland. William Burrell, of Broome Park, Esq.

Nottingham. Thomas Wright, of Norwood Park, Esq.

Oxon. Sir John Reade, of Shipstone, Bart.

Rutlandshire. The Honourable George Watson, of Rockingham Castle.

Shropshire. George Brooke, of Haughton, Esq.

Somersetshire. John Leigh, of Combhay, Esq.

Staffordshire. James Beach, of the Shaw, Esq.

Southampton. Sir Robert Kingsmill, of Sidmonton, Bart.

Suffolk. R. Pettiward, of Finborough, Esq.

Surrey. G. Tritton, of West Hill, Wandsworth, Esq.

Sussex. William Dearling, of Donnington, Esq.

Warwickshire. F. Newdigate, of Arbury, Esq.

Wiltshire. Harry Biggs, of Stockton, Esq.

Worcestershire. T. Hawkes, of Dudley, Esq.

Yorkshire. R. Watt, of Bishop Burton, Esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon. Walter Wilkins, jun. of Alexanderstone, Esq.

Carmarthenshire. Hamlyn Williams, of Edwinsford, Esq.

Cardiganshire. William Brookes, of Noyart, Esq.

Glamorgan. Sir R. Lynch Blosse, of Gabalva, Bart.

Pembrokeshire. Lewis Mathias, of Langwarren, Esq.

Radnor. John Cheesement Severn, of Languenlo, Esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesey. Henry Williams, of Trearddur, Esq.

Carnarvonshire, Thomas Parry Jones Parry, of Madryn, Esq.

Denbighshire. John Wynne, of Garthoulio, Esq.

Flintshire. Sir G. W. Prescott, of Ewloe, Bart.

Merioneth. Hugh Revesey, of Brynygmm, Esq.

Montgomeryshire. Edward Heyward, of Crooswood, Esq.

APPENDIX

TO THE

CHRONICLE.

London Gazette Extraordinary,

Wednesday, Feb. 13.

Admiralty Office, Feb. 13.

Lieutenant Cator, acting as commander of his Majesty's sloop the Otter, arrived here this morning with dispatches from Vice-Admiral Bertie, commander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels at the Cape of Good Hope, to John Wilson Croker, Esq. secretary to the Admiralty, of which the following are copies :—

Africaine, in Port Louis, Isle of France, Dec. 6, 1810.

Sir,—I have the honour to announce to you, for the information of their lordships, the capture of the Isle of France and its dependencies, comprehending the extirpation of the naval force of the enemy in these seas, and the subjugation of the last remaining colonial territory of France.

By my communication, addressed to you on the 12th of October last, and forwarded to England by the Otter, from Bourbon, I had the honour to acquaint you that I was on the point of resuming the blockade of the Isle of France; I accordingly arrived off this port on the 19th, and finding the whole of the enemy's ships in the harbour, and two only apparently in a state of forward equipment, I left Captain Rowley with the Boadicea, Nisus, and Nereide * to watch the movement of the enemy; and having previously detached the Ceylon and Staunch to convoy the division of troops from Bourbon to Rodriguez, I proceeded with the commander of the forces, (Major-General the Honourable John Abercromby, who had embarked in the Afri-

* Late La Venus, captured by Commodore Rowley, as announced in the Gazette.

caine,) towards that anchorage. On the 24th, I was joined by Rear-Admiral Drury, with a division of his squadron, as per margin *, and taking under my orders, for the time being, the rear-admiral with the ships under his command, I was enabled to strengthen the blockading squadron, by detaching the Cornelia and Hesper for that purpose; and with the others made all sail for Rodriguez, where the squadron arrived on the 3d of November, and found lying there the division of troops from Bombay. On the 6th, arrived the division from Madras, under convoy of the Psyche and Cornwallis. On the 8th, Rear-Admiral Drury sailed with the Russel, Phaeton, Bucephalus, to resume his command in India: on the 12th arrived the division from Bourbon, under convoy of the Ceylon.

The divisions from Bengal and the Cape not arriving by the 20th, the season being so far advanced, and the anchorage (surrounded by reefs) by no means secure, more particularly for so large a number of ships, I determined on weighing with the whole fleet on the morning of the 22d, proposing the convoy should cruize to windward until joined by one or other of the divisions. Very fortunately intelligence was received on the night of the 21st, that the Bengal division, under convoy of the Illustrious, was in the offing. General Abercromby deemed it, as well as myself, advisable they should not anchor; but that, having communicated with the convoy, and given them such supplies as they might essentially require, we should proceed to the attack of the Isle of France, without waiting the junction of the troops expected from the Cape. The whole fleet accordingly weighed from the anchorage, and on the morning of the 29th bore up for the point of debarkation it had been determined to occupy in Grande Baye, about twelve miles to windward of Port Louis, where the Africaine leading in, and the several ships of war following with the convoy, according to a previous arrangement, the whole fleet was at anchor by ten o'clock, a. m. consisting of nearly seventy sail; and the army, with their artillery, stores, and ammunition, the several detachments of marines serving in the squadron, with a large body of seamen, disembarked the same day, without a single loss or accident. A division of ships still maintained a vigilant blockade of the port; another division remained for the protection of the convoy at the anchorage; and a third, under my immediate command, shifted their station as circumstances required, to keep up a more effectual communication with the army as it advanced, and which was dependant for its supplies of provisions and stores wholly on the resources of the navy.

On the 2d instant, the Governor-General De Caen proposed terms of capitulation, and, commissioners being appointed on either side, a capitulation was signed and ratified on the 3d instant, at the British head-quarters, a copy of which I have the honour to transmit for their lordships' information.

* Russel, Clorinde, Doris, Phaeton, Bucephalus, Cornelia, Hesper.

In a combined operation of this nature, the ultimate success of which must essentially, in a great degree, be made to depend upon a zealous and emulative co-operation and support through each gradation; and in the present instance, where these features have been so eminently conspicuous in every rank, and in every situation and circumstance, the recommendation of particular individuals to their lordships' more immediate notice may be deemed superfluous.

It is, however, from a sense of justice that I record the services of Captain Beaver, of his Majesty's ship Nisus, whom I intrusted with the superintendance of the whole arrangements for the disposition and debarkation of the army, and whose abilities and experience on similar occasions particularly qualified him to undertake this important duty. Nor should I omit to bear testimony to the unwearied exertions of Captain Patterson, of his Majesty's ship Hesper, and of Lieutenant B. Street, commanding the government armed ship Emma, who were employed for many successive nights in sounding, and (as it has been proved) gained a perfect knowledge of the anchorage of the enemy's coast, and who were equally strenuous in their services in various ways on shore.

I beg also to recommend to their lordships' notice Lieutenant Edward Lloyd, who volunteered his services under the immediate eye of the commander of the forces, and in this, as well as many former instances, has received the most honourable testimonies of his gallantry.

I have the honour to transmit a copy of a letter addressed to me by captain Montague, of the royal navy, who commanded the first division of the seamen landed, as well as two extracts from general orders issued at head-quarters. From the absence of some of the ships, I have not been able to collect the returns of the number of marines and seamen landed, or of the loss, but I have the satisfaction to know it has been very inconsiderable.

The return of shipping, as correctly stated as I have yet been able to collect it, I have the honour to enclose. Various considerations have impelled me to dispatch the Menelaus with the least delay possible; and having entrusted these communications to the care of Captain Rowley, who will be the bearer of them to their lordships, I beg to refer their lordships to him for every further particular, and to add that his long and arduous services on this station have established a just claim to any honourable distinction it may please their lordships or the country to bestow on him.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. Bertie.

Terms of Capitulation.

We, the undersigned, Major-General Henry Warde, and Commodore Josias Rowley, nominated on the part of his Britannic Majesty by Vice-Admiral Albemarle Bertie, commander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels employed at the Cape of Good Hope, and the seas adjacent, and Lieutenant-General the Honourable John Abercromby, commander of his Britannic Majesty's forces on the

one part; and Martin Vandermaesen, general of division, member of the legion of honour, commandant of the troops of his Imperial and Royal Majesty the Emperor of France, at the Isle of France, and Mr. Victor Duprere, Capitaine de Vaisseau of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, nominated on the part of Charles de Caen, grand officer of the legion of honour, general of division, captain-general of the French settlements to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope on the other part; being severally and respectively armed with full powers to settle a treaty for the capitulation and surrender of the Isle of France, and all its dependencies, to the arms of his Britannic Majesty, do agree as follows:—

Art. I. The troops of his Imperial and Royal Majesty the Emperor of France, forming the garrison of the Isle of France, the officers and non-commissioned officers, the officers of the imperial and royal marine, and the crews of the ships of war, shall not be considered as prisoners of war, neither the civil authorities.

Answer.—The land and sea forces, officers, subalterns and prisoners, shall not be considered as prisoners of war.

Art. II. The troops of his Imperial and Royal Majesty shall retain their arms and colours, without ammunition, and all their personal effects and baggage, to the extent of that which, upon honour, shall be declared private property.

Answer.—They shall take away their effects and baggage.

Art. III. The troops of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and the crews of the ships of the imperial and royal marine, shall be sent, with their families, to a port in European France.

Answer.—They shall be conveyed, together with their families, to a port in the French empire.

Art. IV. For the above conveyance, I shall keep the four imperial frigates La Manche, La Bellone, L'Astrée, and La Minerve, as well as the Victor and Entreprenante corvettes, with their officers, crews, guns, stores, and provisions.

Answer.—Altogether inadmissible. The crews of the ships of war of the imperial and royal marine are provided for by the preceding article.

Art. V. To the above ships shall be added six transport vessels, to be selected by me, for our conveyance, with the necessary provisions for the crews and passengers.

Answer.—Proper vessels shall be forthwith equipped as cartels, at the expense of the British government, provisioned and stored to convey the French garrison, and the crews of the ships of war, to European France. The same vessels to be at liberty to proceed to any port of England without delay.

Art. VI. These conditions being agreed to, I shall give up the colony and all its dependencies, the magazines, &c. Inventories shall be taken of all the articles belonging to the Emperor, and to be preserved for him and restored at a peace.

Answer.—The colony and its dependencies shall be ceded unconditionally; no power being

vested in the parties contracting to determine its future destination. Inventories shall be taken by commissioners, to be appointed on behalf of the contracting parties, of all public magazines and stores, which shall be given up to the forces of his Britannic Majesty in their actual state, and without deterioration.

Art. VII. The property of the inhabitants shall be respected.

Answer.—All private property shall be respected.

Art. VIII. The inhabitants shall preserve their religion, laws, and customs.

Answer.—The inhabitants shall preserve their religion, laws, and customs.

Art. IX. The colonists shall have the option, during two years to come, to quit the colony with their respective private property.

Answer.—They shall enjoy, during two years, the liberty of quitting the colony with their property in order to proceed to any place they may wish.

Art. X. The wounded or sick that it shall be necessary to leave in the hospitals shall be treated the same as the subjects of his Britannic Majesty: French surgeons shall be permitted to remain with them, and they shall afterwards be sent to France at the expense of the British government.

Answer.—The wounded who may be left in the hospitals shall be treated in the same manner as the subjects of his Britannic Majesty.

Additional Instructions.

Art. I. The public functionaries of the French government of the Isle of France shall be permitted to remain in the colony for a reasonable period, to regulate and discharge their public accounts with the colonists.

Art. II. The morning of the 3d of December instant, at six o'clock a. m. possession shall be given to the troops of his Britannic Majesty of the forts of Du Mas, and the lines of the town of Port Napoleon, down to the bastion Fanfaron.

Art. III. The morning of the 4th of December instant, at six o'clock, a. m. the Isle of Tonnelien, Fort Blanc, and the whole of the batteries of the harbour of Port Napoleon, and all the shipping, both ships of war and privateers, and merchant or other shipping of every description whatsoever, shall be given up to the naval and military forces of his Britannic Majesty; and all shipping lying in any other creek, port, or harbour of the Island, shall equally be considered as the property of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. IV. The troops of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and the crews of the ships of war and privateers, shall retire to the barracks of the town, where they shall continue until their final embarkation.

Art. V. That the subsistence of the French garrison, both officers and men, as well as of the officers and crews of the ships of war, so long as they shall remain here, shall be assured and provided for by the British government; the expenses arising therefrom shall be considered as an advance for which the French government is pledged.

Art. VI. That on the surrender

of the Port, as stipulated by the third additional article, all English prisoners of war, of whatever description, now in the Isle of France, shall be liberated.

Art. VII. That if any difference shall arise in the interpretation of any part of the foregoing, it shall be interpreted in favour of the French government.

This done and agreed at the British head-quarters, at Pamplemonus, at one o'clock, a. m. the 3d day of Dec. 1810.

(Signed) VANDERMAESEN, General of Division.
HENRY WARDE, Major-General.
JOSIAS ROWLEY, Commodore.
J. DUPRERE, Capit. de Vaisseau.

Approuvé et ratifié, la presente.

DE CAEN, Capit. General.
CHARLES de COETLOGON, Secretary to the Commissioners.

List of Ships, &c. in Port Napoleon, at the Reduction of the Isle of France, December, 1810.

French frigate, L'Astrée, of 44 guns, and 1100 tons.

French frigate La Bellone, of 48 guns, and 1050 tons.

French frigate La Manche, of 44 guns, and 1050 tons.

French frigate La Minerve, of 51 guns, and 1200 tons.

English frigate Iphigenia, of 36 guns, and 950 tons.

English frigate Nereide, of 36 guns and 900 tons.

French sloop Le Victor, of 22 guns, and 400 tons.

French brig L'Entreprenant, of 14 guns, and 300 tons.

And a number of merchant ships, many of them English prizes.

Supplement to the London Gazette Extraordinary, Wednesday, Feb. 13.—Friday, Feb. 15.

A Dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received from the Honourable Major General Abercromby, by the Earl of Liverpool, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, dated Port Louis, Isle of France, December 7, 1810.

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that the Isle of France surrendered, by capitulation, on the 3d instant to the united force under the command of Vice-Admiral Bertie and myself.

I must refer your lordship for the particulars of the operations which led to this fortunate event to the copy of my official letter to the Right Honourable the Governor-General, which, together with other documents, I have now the honour to transmit to your lordship.

In conformity with the instructions which I had the honour to receive from Lord Minto, I have placed Mr. Farquhar in charge of the government; and I confidently trust, that, in having adopted this measure, I shall not incur the displeasure of his Majesty's government.

This dispatch will be delivered to your lordship by Captain Hewitt, my aid-de-camp; and I believe your lordship will find him perfectly qualified to afford you

every information which you may require, in respect to the late operations of this force.

To the Right Honourable Gilbert Lord Minto, &c.

My Lord,

I had the honour to inform your lordship, in my dispatch of the 21st ult. that although the divisions from Bengal and the Cape of Good Hope had not arrived at the rendezvous, it had been determined that the fleet should proceed to sea on the following morning, as from the advanced season of the year, and the threatening appearance of the weather, the ships could no longer be considered secure in their anchorage at Rodriguez; and I did myself the honour to state to your lordship, the measures which it was my intention to pursue, even if we should still be disappointed in not being joined by so large a part of the armament.

Early on the morning of the 22d, Vice-Admiral Bertie received a communication from Captain Broughton, of his Majesty's ship Illustrious, announcing his arrival off the island with the convoy from Bengal. The fleet weighed at day-light, as had been originally arranged, and in the course of that day a junction having been formed with this division, the fleet bore up for the Isle of France.

The greatest obstacles opposed to an attack on this island, with a considerable force, have invariably been considered to depend on the difficulty of effecting a landing, from the reefs which surround every part of the coast, and the supposed impossibility of being enabled to find anchorage for a fleet of transports.

These difficulties were fortunately removed by the indefatigable exertions of Commodore Rowley, assisted by Lieutenant Street, of the Staunch gun-brig, Lieutenant Blackiston, of the Madras Engineers, and the masters of his Majesty's ships Africaine and Boadicea. Every part of the leeward side of the island was minutely examined and sounded, and it was discovered that a fleet might anchor in the narrow passage formed by the small island of the Gunners' Coin and the main land; and that at this spot there were openings through the reef, which would admit several boats to enter abreast. These obvious advantages fixed my determination, although I regretted that circumstances would not allow of the disembarkation being effected at a shorter distance from Port Louis.

Owing to light and baffling winds, the fleet did not arrive in sight of the island until the 28th; and it was the morning of the following day before any of the ships came to an anchor.

Every arrangement for the disembarkation having been previously made, the first division, consisting of the reserve, the grenadier company of the 59th regiment, with two six-pounders and two howitzers, under the command of Major-General Warde, effected a landing in the Bay of Mapon, without the smallest opposition, the enemy having retired from Fort Marlastri, situated at the head of Grand Bay, and the

nearest port to us which they occupied.

As soon as a sufficient part of the European force had been formed, it became necessary to move forward, as the first five miles of the road lay through a very thick wood, which made it an object of the utmost importance not to give the enemy time to occupy it.

Lieutenant-Colonel Smyth having been left with his brigade to cover the landing-place, with orders to follow next morning, the column marched about 4 o'clock, and succeeded in gaining the more open country, without any efforts having been made by the enemy to retard our progress; a few shot only having been fired by a small piquet, by which Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, Lieutenant Ash, of his Majesty's 12th regiment, and a few men of the advanced guard, were wounded. Having halted for a few hours during the night, the army again moved forward before day-light, with the intention of not halting till arrived before Port Louis; but the troops having become extremely exhausted, not only from the exertion which they had already made, but from having been almost totally deprived of water, of which this part of the country is destitute, I was compelled to take up a position at Moulin à Poudre, about five miles short of the town.

Early the next morning, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, with his brigade, was detached to seize the batteries at Tombeau and Tortue, and open a communication with the fleet; as it had been previously arranged that we were to draw our supplies from those two points.

The main body of the army, soon after it had moved off its ground, was attacked by a corps of the enemy, which, with several field-pieces, had taken a strong position, very favourable for attempting to make an impression on the head of the column, as it showed itself at the end of a narrow road, with a thick wood on each flank. The European flank battalions, which formed the advanced guard, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the 33d regiment, and under the general direction of General Warde, formed with as much regularity as the bad and broken ground would admit of, charged the enemy with the greatest spirit, and compelled him to retire with the loss of his guns, and many killed and wounded. This advantage was gained by the fall of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, a most excellent and valuable officer, as well as Major O'Keeffe, of the 12th regiment, whom I have also every reason sincerely to regret.

In the course of the forenoon the army occupied a position in front of the enemy's lines, just beyond the range of cannon-shot. On the following morning, while I was employed in making arrangements for detaching a corps to the southern side of the town, and placing myself in a situation to make a general attack, General de Caen proposed to capitulate. Many of the articles appeared to Vice-Admiral Bertie and myself to be perfectly inadmissible; but the French governor having in the course of the

same day, acceded to our terms, a capitulation for the surrender of this colony and its dependencies was finally concluded.

Your lordship will perceive that the capitulation is in strict conformity with the spirit of your instructions, with a single exception, that the garrison is not to be made prisoners of war.

Although the determined courage and high state of discipline of the army, which your lordship has done me the honour to place under my command, could leave not the smallest doubt in my mind in respect to the issue of an attack upon the town, I was nevertheless prevailed upon to acquiesce in this indulgence being granted to the enemy, from the desire of sparing the lives of many brave officers and soldiers, out of regard to the interests of the inhabitants of this island, having long laboured under the most degrading misery and oppression, (and knowing confidently your lordship's further views in regard to this army), added to the late period of the season, when every hour became valuable; I considered these to be motives of much more national importance, than any injury that could arise from a small body of troops, at so remote a distance from Europe, being permitted to return to their own country, free from any engagement. In every other particular, we have gained all which could have been acquired, if the town had been carried by assault.

During the course of this short service, the enemy has not afforded an opportunity to the army in general for displaying the ardent zeal and animated courage with which every individual is inspired; but it is nevertheless my duty to represent to your lordship, in the strongest terms, the merits of every corps under my command. The officers and men (European as well as native) have cheerfully and patiently submitted to the greatest fatigues and privations. During the advance of the army, the troops were unable, for the space of twenty-four hours, to procure a sufficient supply of water; but this trying circumstance did not produce a single murmur, or the smallest mark of discontent or disapprobation.

I feel myself particularly indebted to Lieutenant-Colonels Picton, Gibbs, Kelso, Keating, M'Leod, and Smyth, who commanded the different brigades, as well as to Major Taynton, the senior officer of the artillery, of whose services I was deprived by a wound which he received on the day the army occupied a position before this town.

Although I have every reason to be satisfied with the zeal of the heads of departments, I feel it a particular duty incumbent upon me to express, in the most pointed manner, the obligations which I owe to Dr. Harris, the superintending surgeon, and to the medical staff in general, for their unremitting attention, in discharge of the important duty reposed in them.

I have received every assistance from Lieutenant Gregory, my military secretary, and the whole of my personal staff.

To Major Caldwell, of the Madras engineers, and who accompanied me from India, I am indebted for the most able and assi-

duous exertions. Since his arrival amongst these islands he has been indefatigable in procuring the necessary information, in respect to the defence of this colony, and through his means I was put in possession of an accurate plan of the town, some time previous to the disembarkation of the army; and I trust your lordship will permit me to recommend to your lordship's protection this valuable and experienced officer.

It is not in my power to do justice to the merits of Major-General Warde; I have on every occasion received from him the most cordial co-operation and assistance; and during the short operations of the army, he was constantly at the head of the column, directing the advanced guard, and animating the soldiers by his personal example.

The most perfect harmony and cordiality have subsisted between the navy and army; and I have received every assistance from Vice-Admiral Bertie, and the squadron under his command.

The arrangements connected with the disembarkation were conducted in the most able and judicious manner by Captain Beaver, of his Majesty's frigate Nisus; and during the subsequent operations of the army, I am indebted to him for his unremitting attention and assiduous exertions in landing the necessary stores and provisions.

To Captain Briggs, of his Majesty's ship Clorinde, and to Captain Lye, of the Doris, who were employed under the orders of Captain Beaver, my most grateful acknowledgments are due for the services they performed, as well as to the officers and seamen under their command.

A body of seamen was landed from the fleet, under the command of Captain Montague; the exertions which were used to bring forward the guns through a most difficult country were such as to attract the admiration of the whole army, and fully entitle Captain Montague, Lieutenant Lloyd, of the Africaine, and every officer and sailor, to the encomiums I can pass on their conduct.

The battalion of marines, under the command of Captain Liardet, supported the reputation of this distinguished corps.

This dispatch will be delivered to your lordship by my aid-de-camp, Lieutenant M'Murdo of the Bombay establishment, who will afford your lordship any further information you may require respecting the late operations of the army.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. Abercromby,
Maj.-Gen.

True Copy. A. E. Gregory,
Military Secretary to the
Commander of the Forces.

[*Here follows a return of ordnance taken, of which the following is an abstract:*]

29 thirty-six pounders, 81 twenty-four pounders, 46 eighteen pounders, 22 twelve-pounders, 31 mortars. Total ordnance, 209.

(Signed) D. Ross, Captain,
Senior officer of artillery.

N. B. The ordnance are in excellent order, and the whole of the batteries completely equipped with shot, ammunition, and every other requisite for service.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Monday, March 25th, 1811.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were last night received at the Earl of Liverpool's office, addressed to his lordship by Lieutenant-General Graham, dated Isla de Leon, 6th and 10th of March, 1811.

Isla de Leon, March 6th.

My Lord,

Captain Hope, my first aide-de-camp will have the honour of delivering this dispatch, to inform your lordship of the glorious issue of an action fought yesterday by the division under my command against the army commanded by Marshal Victor, composed of the two divisions Rufin and Laval.

The circumstances were such as compelled me to attack this very superior force. In order as well to explain to your lordship the circumstances of peculiar disadvantage under which the action was begun, as to justify myself from the imputation of rashness in the attempt, I must state to your lordship, that the allied army, after a night-march of sixteen hours from the camp near Veger, arrived in the morning of the 5th, on the low ridge of Barrosa, about four miles to the southward of the mouth of the Santi Petri river. This height extends inland about a mile and a half, continuing on the north the extensive healthy plain of Chiclana. A great pine-forest skirts the plain, and circles round the height at some distance, terminating down to Santi Petri; the intermediate space between the north side of the height and the forest being uneven and broken.

A well-conducted and successful attack on the rear of the enemy's lines near Santi Petri, by the van-guard of the Spanish army under Brigadier-General Ladrizabel, having opened the communication with the Isla de Leon, I received General la Pena's directions to move down from the position of Barrosa to that of the Torre de Bermesa, about halfway to the Santi Petri river, in order to secure the communication across the river, over which a bridge had been lately established. This latter position occupies a narrow woody ridge, the right on the sea-cliff, the left falling down to the Almanza creek, on the edge of the marsh. A hard sandy beach gives an easy communication between the western points of these two positions.

My division being halted on the eastern slope of the Barrosa height, we marched about twelve o'clock through the wood towards the Bermesa (cavalry patroles having previously been sent towards Chiclana, without meeting with the enemy). On the march I received notice that the enemy had appeared in force on the plain, and was advancing towards the heights of Barrosa.

As I considered that position as the key of that of Santi Petri, I immediately counter-marched, in order to support the troops left for its defence; and the alacrity with which this manœuvre was executed served as a favourable omen. It was however impossible in such intricate and difficult ground to preserve order in the

columns, and there never was time to restore it entirely.

But before we could get ourselves quite disentangled from the wood, the troops on the Barrosa hill were seen returning from it, while the enemy's left wing was rapidly ascending. At the same time his right wing stood on the plain, on the edge of the wood, within cannon-shot. A retreat in the face of such an enemy, already within reach of the easy communication by the sea-breach, must have involved the whole allied army in all the danger of being attacked during the unavoidable confusion of the different corps arriving on the narrow ridge of Bermesa nearly at the same time.

Trusting to the known heroism of British troops, regardless of the numbers and position of their enemy, an immediate attack was determined on. Major Duncan soon opened a powerful battery of ten guns in the centre. Brigadier-General Dilkes, with the brigade of guards, Lieutenant-Colonel Browne's (of the 28th) flank battalion, Lieutenant Colonel Norcott's two companies of the 2d rifle corps, and Major Acheson, with a part of the 67th foot (separated from the regiment in the wood), formed on the right.

Colonel Wheatly's brigade, with three companies of the Coldstream guards, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson (separated likewise from his battalion in the wood), and Lieutenant-Colonel Barnard's flank battalion, formed on the left.

As soon as the infanty was thus hastily got together, the guns advanced to a more favourable position, and kept up a most destructive fire.

The right wing proceeded to the attack of General Rufin's division on the hill, while Lieutenant-Colonel Barnard's battalion and Lieutenant-Colonel Bushe's detachment of the 20th Portuguese, were warmly engaged with the enemy's tirailleurs on our left.

General Laval's division, notwithstanding the havoc made by Major Duncan's battery, continued to advance in very imposing masses, opening his fire of musquetry, and was only checked by that of the left wing. The left wing now advanced, firing; a most determined charge by the three companies of guards, and the 87th regiment, supported by all the remainder of the wing, decided the defeat of General Laval's division.

The eagle of the 8th regiment of light infantry, which suffered immensely, and a howitzer, rewarded this charge, and remained in possession of Major Gough, of the 87th regiment. These attacks were zealousy supported by Colonel Belson with the 28th regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost with a part of the 67th.

A reserve formed beyond the narrow valley, across which the enemy was closely pursued, next shared the same fate, and was routed by the same means.

Meanwhile the right wing was not less successful; the enemy, confident of success, met General Gilkes on the ascent of the hill, and the contest was sanguinary; but the undaunted perseverance of the brigade of guards, of Lieut. Col. Browne's battalion, and of Lieut. Col. Norcott's and Major Acheson's detachment, overcame every obstacle, and General Ru-

fin's division was driven from the heights in confusion, leaving two pieces of cannon.

No expressions of mine could do justice to the conduct of the troops throughout. Nothing less than the almost unparalleled exertions of every officer, the invincible bravery of every soldier, and the most determined devotion to the honour of his Majesty's arms in all, could have achieved this brilliant success, against such a formidable enemy, so posted.

In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action, the enemy was in full retreat. The retiring divisions met, halted, and seemed inclined to form: a new and more advanced position of our artillery quickly dispersed them.

The exhausted state of the troops made pursuit impossible. A position was taken on the eastern side of the hill; and we were strengthened on our right by the return of the two Spanish battalions that had been attached before to my division, but which I had left on the hill, and which had been ordered to retire.

These battalions (Walloon guards and Ciudad Real) made every effort to come back in time, when it was known that we were engaged.

I understand, too, from General Whittingham, that with three squadrons of cavalry he kept in check a corps of infantry and cavalry that attempted to turn the Barrosa height by the sea. One squadron of the 2d hussars, King's German legion under Captain Busche, and directed by Lieut. Col. Ponsonby (both had been attached to the Spanish cavalry), joined in time to make a brilliant and most successful charge against a squadron of French dragoons, which was entirely routed.

An eagle, six pieces of cannon, the General of division Rufin, and the General of brigade Rousseau, wounded and taken; the chief of the staff Gen. Bellegarde, an aide-de-camp of Marshal Victor, and the colonel of the 8th regiment, with many other officers, killed, and several wounded and taken prisoners; the field covered with the dead bodies and arms of the enemy, attest that my confidence in this division was nobly repaid.

Where all have so distinguished themselves, it is scarcely possible to discriminate any as the most deserving of praise. Your lordship will, however, observe how gloriously the brigade of guards, under Brigadier General Dilkes, with the commanders of the battalions, Lieut. Col. the Hon. C. Onslow, and Lieut. Col. Sebright (wounded,) as well as the three separated companies under Lieut. Jackson, maintained the high character of his Majesty's household troops—Lieut. Col. Browne, with his flank battalion, Lieut. Colonel Norcott, and Major Acheson, deserve equal praise.

And I must equally recommend to your lordship's notice Colonel Wheatley, with Colonel Belson, Liet. Col. Prevost, and Major Gough, and the officers of the respective corps composing his brigade.

The animated charges of the 87th regiment were most conspicuous; Lieutenant Col. Barnard (twice wounded), and the officers of his flank battalion, executed the duty of skirmishing in advance

with the enemy in a masterly manner, and were ably seconded by Lieut. Colonel Bushe, of the 20th Portuguese, who (likewise twice wounded), fell into the enemy's hands, but was afterwards rescued. The detachment of this Portuguese regiment behaved admirably throughout the whole affair.

I owe too much to Major Duncan, and the officers and corps of the royal artillery, not to mention them in terms of the highest approbation; never was artillery better served.

The assistance I received from the unwearied exertions of Lieut. Col. Macdonald and the officers of the Adjutant general's department, of Lieutenant Colonel the Hon. C. Cathcart, and the officers of the Quarter-master general's department; of Captain Birch and Captain Nicholas, and the officers of the royal engineers, of Captain Hope, and the officers of my personal staff (all animating by their example), will ever be most gratefully remembered. Our loss has been severe: as soon as it can be ascertained by the proper return, I shall have the honour of transmitting it; but much as it is to be lamented, I trust it will be considered as a necessary sacrifice, for the safety of the whole allied army.

Having remained some hours on the Barrosa heights, without being able to procure any supplies for the exhausted troops, the commissariat mules having been dispersed on the enemy's first attack of the hill, I left Major Ross, with the detachment of the 3d battalion of the 95th, and withdrew the rest of the division, which crossed the Santi Petri river early the next morning.

I cannot conclude this dispatch without earnestly recommending to his Majesty's gracious notice for promotion, Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Browne, Major of the 28th foot, Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Norcott, Major of the 95th, Major Duncan, royal artillery, Major Gough of the 87th, Major the Honourable E. Acheson of the 67th, and Capt. Birch of the royal engineers, all in the command of corps or detachments on this memorable service; and I confidently trust that the bearer of this dispatch, Captain Hope (to whom I refer your lordship for further details) will be promoted, on being permitted to lay the eagle at his Majesty's feet.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS GRAHAM, Lieut. Gen.

P. S. I beg leave to add, that two Spanish officers, Captains Miranda and Naughton, attached to my staff, behaved with the utmost intrepidity. T. G.

Isla de Leon, March 10.

My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit to your lordship the return of the killed and wounded in the action of the 5th inst. and I have the satisfaction to add, that the wounded in general are doing well.

By the best account that can be collected from the wounded French officers, the enemy had about 8000 men engaged. Their loss, by reports from Chiclana, in killed, wounded and prisoners, is supposed to amount to 3000; I have no doubt of its being very great.

I transmit, too, a return of the

ordnance in our possession, and also the most accurate note that can be obtained of prisoners, most of whom are wounded. They are so dispersed in different hospitals, that an exact return has not yet been obtained.

I have the honour to be, &c.
THOMAS GRAHAM, Lieut. Gen.

P. S. Detachments of cavalry and infantry have been daily employed in carrying off the wounded, and burying the dead, till the evening of the 8th inst. by which time all the enemy's wounded that could be found among the brushwood and heath were brought in.

Return of the nature and number of pieces of ordnance taken in the action of Barrosa, on the 5th of March, 1811.

2 Seven-inch howitzers, 3 heavy eight-pounders, 1 four-pounder, with their ammunition-waggons, and a proportion of horses.

(Signed) A. DUNCAN,
Major Royal Artillery.

Return of prisoners of war taken in the action of Barrosa, on the 5th of March, 1811.

2 General officers, 1 field officer, 9 captains, 8 subalterns, 420 rank and file.

N. B. The General of brigade Rousseau and 2 captains, since dead of their wounds.

JOHN MACDONALD, Dep. Adj. Gen.

Return of killed, wounded and missing of the troops under the command of Lieut. General Graham, in the action of Barrosa, with the French corps de armée, commanded by Marshal Victor, on the 5th of March, 1811.

Total—2 Captains, 5 ensigns, 6 serjeants, 2 drummers, 187 rank and file, 24 horses, killed; 5 lieut. colonels, 1 major, 14 captains, 26 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, 1 staff, 45 serjeants, 4 drummers, 936 rank and file, 42 horses, wounded.

Grand total of individuals killed and wounded—1243.

J. MACDONALD, Lieut. Col.
Dep. Adjutant-General.

London Gazette Extraordinary.
Sunday April 7.

Downing Street, April 6.

Captain Camac arrived this morning with dispatches from Lord Viscount Wellington, to the Earl of Liverpool, dated Villa Seca, 14th, and Louzao, 16th ult. of which the following are extracts:—

Villa Seca, March 14, 1811.

The enemy retired from their position which they had occupied at Santarem and the neighbourhood in the night of the 5th inst. I put the British army in motion to follow them on the morning of the 6th. Their first movements indicated an intention to collect a force at Thomar; and I therefore marched upon that town, on the 8th, a considerable body of troops, formed of a part of Marshal Sir William Beresford's corps, under Major-General the Hon. William Stewart, which had crossed the Tagus at Abrantes, and afterwards the Zezere, and of the 4th and 6th, and part of the 1st division of infantry, and two bri-

gades of British cavalry. The enemy, however, continued his march towards the Mondego, having one corps, the 2d, on the road of Espinhel; General Loison's division on the road of Anciao, and the remainder of the army towards Pombal. These last were followed, and never lost sight of, by the light division and the royal dragoons, and the 1st hussars, who took from them about 200 prisoners.

On the 9th the enemy collected in front of Pombal the 6th corps, with the exception of General Loison's division, the 8th corps, and the 9th corps, and General Montbrun's division of cavalry. The hussars, which, with the royal dragoons and light division, were immediately in front of the enemy's army, distinguished themselves in a charge which they made on this occasion, under the command of Colonel Arenschildt. A detachment of the 16th light dragoons, under Lieut. Weyland, which had been in observation of the enemy near Leyria, made prisoners a detachment, consisting of 30 dragoons, on that morning; and had followed the enemy from Leyria, and arrived on the ground just in time to assist their friends the hussars in this charge. I could not collect a sufficient body of troops to commence an operation upon the enemy till the 11th. On that day, the 1st, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th, and the light division of infantry, and General Pack's brigade, and all the British cavalry, joined upon the ground immediately in front of the enemy, who had commenced their retreat from their position during the night. They were followed by the light division, the hussars and royals, and Brigadier-General Pack's brigade under the command of Major-General Sir William Erskine and Major-General Slade, and made an attempt to hold the ancient castle of Pombal, from which they were driven; but the 6th corps and General Montbrun's cavalry, which formed the rear-guard, supported by the 8th corps, held the ground on the other side of the town, the troops not having arrived in time to complete dispositions to attack them before it was dark. Upon this occasion Lieutenant-Colonel Elder's battalion of Portuguese caçadores distinguished themselves. The enemy retired in the night; and on the 12th, the 6th corps, with General Montbrun's cavalry, took up a strong position at the end of a defile between Redinha and Pombal, with their right in a wood upon the Soure river, and their left extending towards the high ground above the river of Redinha. This town was in their rear. I attacked them in this position on the 12th, with the 3d and 4th light divisions of infantry, and Brigadier-General Pack's brigade, and the cavalry, the other troops being in reserve. The post in the wood upon their right was first forced by Sir William Erskine with the light division. We were then able to form the troops in the plain beyond the defile; and the 3d division under Major-General Picton were formed in two lines in the centre, having General Pack's brigade supporting their right, and communicating with the 3d division; and the light division in two lines on the left. These troops were supported in

the rear by the British cavalry; and the 1st, 5th, and 6th divisions were in reserve. The troops were formed with great accuracy and celerity, and Lieutenant-General Sir B. Spencer led the line against the enemy's position on the heights, from which they were immediately driven, with the loss of many men killed and wounded, and some prisoners. Major-General Sir William Erskine particularly mentioned the conduct of the 52d regiment, and Colonel Elder's caçadores, in the attack of the wood; and I must add, that I have never seen the French infantry driven from a wood in a more gallant style. There was but one narrow bridge, and a ford close to it, over the Redinha river, over which our light troops passed with the enemy; but as the enemy commanded these passages with cannon, some time elapsed before we could pass over a sufficient body of troops to make a fresh disposition to attack the heights on which they had again taken post. The 3d division crossed, however, and manœuvred again upon the enemy's left flank, while the light infantry and cavalry, supported by the light division, drove them upon their main body at Condeixa. The light infantry of Major-General Picton's division, under Lieutenant Colonel Williams, and the 4th caçadores, under Colonel de Regoa, were principally concerned in this operation. We found the whole army yesterday, with the exception of the second corps, which was still at Espinhal, in a very strong position at Condeixa; and I observed, that they were sending off their baggage by the road of Ponte de Murcella. From this circumstance I concluded that Colonel Trant had not given up Coimbra; and that they had not been able to detach troops to force him from the place. I therefore marched the 3d division, under Major-General Picton, through the mountains upon the enemy's left, towards the only road open for their retreat; which had the immediate effect of dislodging them from the strong position of Condeixa; and the enemy encamped last night at Cazal Nova in the mountains, about a league from Condeixa.

We immediately communicated with Coimbra, and made prisoners a detachment of the enemy's cavalry which were upon the road.

We found the 6th and 8th corps formed in a very strong position near Cazal Nova this morning, and the light division attacked and drove in their out-posts: but we could dislodge them from their positions only by movements on their flanks. Accordingly I moved the 4th division under Major General Cole upon Panella, in order to secure the passage of the river Esa, and the communication with Espinhel, near which place Major-General Nightingall had been in observation of the movements of the 2d corps since the 10th; and the 3d division, under Major-General Picton, more immediately round the enemy's left, while the light division and Brigadier-General Pack's brigade, under Major-General Sir W. Erskine, turned their right; and Major-General Alexander Campbell, with the 6th division, supported the light troops by which they were attacked in front.

These troops were supported by the cavalry and by the 1st and 5th divisions, and Colonel Ashworth's brigade in reserve.

These movements obliged the enemy to abandon all the positions which they successively took in the mountains; and the two corps d'armée, composing the rear-guard, were flung back upon the main body at Miranda de Corvo, upon the river Esa, with considerable loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners. In the operations of this day, the 43d, 52d, and 95th regiments, and 3d caçadores, under the command of Colonels Drummond and Beckwith, and Major Patrickson, Lieutenant Rolonel Ross, and Majors Gilmour and Stewart particularly distinguished themselves; as also the light infantry battalions of General Picton's division under Lieut. Colonel Williams, and the 4th caçadores under Colonel de Regoa, and the troops of horse-artillery under the command of Captains Ross and Bull. The result of these operations has been that we have saved Coimbra and Upper Beira from the enemy's ravages, and we have opened the communications with the northern provinces, and we have obliged the enemy to take for their retreat the road by Ponte de Murcella, in which they may be annoyed by the militia acting in security upon their flank, while the allied army will press upon their rear. The whole country, however, affords many advantageous positions to a retreating army, of which the enemy have shewn that they know how to avail themselves.

They are retreating from the country as they entered it, in one solid mass; covering their rear on every march by the operations of either one or two corps-d'armée, in the strong positions which the country affords; which corps-d'armée are closely supported by the main body. Before they quitted their position, they destroyed a part of their cannon and ammunition; and they have since blown up whatever the horses were unable to draw away. They have no provisions excepting what they plunder on the spot; or, having plundered, what the soldiers carry on their backs; and live cattle. I am concerned to be obliged to add to this account, that their conduct throughout this retreat has been marked by a barbarity seldom equalled and never surpassed. Even in the towns of Torres Novas, Thomar, and Pernes, in which the head-quarters of some of the corps had been for four months, and in which the inhabitants had been induced, by promises of good treatment, to remain, they were plundered, and many of their houses destroyed on the night the enemy withdrew from their position; and they have since burnt every town and village through which they have passed. The convent of Alcobaça was burnt by order from the French head-quarters. The bishop's palace, and the whole town of Leyria, in which General Drouet had his head quarters, shared the same fate; and there is not an inhabitant of the country of any class or description, who has had any dealing or communication with the French army, who has not had reason to repent of it, and to complain of them.

This is the mode in which the

promises have been performed, and the assurances have been fulfilled, which were held out in the proclamation of the French Commander in Chief; in which he told the inhabitants of Portugal, that he was not come to make war upon them, but with a powerful army of 110,000 men, to drive the English into the sea. It is to be hoped that the example of what has occurred in this country will teach the people of this and of other nations, what value they ought to place on such promises and assurances, and that there is no security for life, or for any thing which renders life valuable, excepting in decided resistance to the enemy. I have the honour to enclose returns of killed and wounded in the several affairs with the enemy since they commenced their retreat. I have received the most able and cordial assistance throughout these operations from Lieut. General Sir Brent Spencer, and Marshal Sir W. Beresford, whom I had requested to cross the Tagus, and who has been with me since the 11th instant; from Major-General, Sir W. Erskine, Picton, Cole, and Campbell; Major-Gen. Slade and Major-General the Hon. C. Colville, and the general and other officers commanding brigades under their orders respectively. I am particularly indebted to the Quarter-master-general Colonel Murray for the assistance I have received from him, and the deputy Adjutant-general the Hon. Col. Packenham, and the officers of the Adjutant and Quarter-master-general's department, as also to those of my personal staff, who have given me every assistance in their power.

I am sorry to inform your lordship that Badajos surrendered on the 11th instant.

Louzao, March 16.

Major-General Cole joined Major-General Nightingall at Espinhell on the afternoon of the 14th, and this movement, by which the Esa was passed, and which gave us the power of turning the strong position of Miranda de Corvo, induced the enemy to abandon it on that night. They destroyed at this place a great number of carriages, and buried and otherwise destroyed or concealed, the ammunition which they had carried; and they likewise burnt much of their baggage: and the road throughout the march from Miranda is strewed with the carcases of men and animals, and destroyed carriages and baggage. We found the enemy's whole army yesterday in a very strong position on the Ceira, having one corps as an advanced guard in front of Foy d'Aronce on this side of the river. I immediately made arrangements to drive in the advanced guard, preparatory to the movements which it might be expected to make to cross the Ceira this morning. Brigadier General Pack's brigade had been detached in the morning through the mountains to the left, as well to turn the enemy in his position at Miranda de Corvo, as in view to any others they might take up on this side of the Ceira. The light division, under Major-General Sir W. Erskine was ordered to possess some heights immediately above Foy d'Aronce, while Major

General Picton's division was moved along the great road to attack the left of the enemy's position, and of the village.

The 6th division, under Major-General Campbell, and the hussars and 16th light dragoons, supported the light division, and the 1st division and the 14th and royal dragoons, the third. These movements succeeded in forcing the enemy to abandon his strong positions on this side of the Ceira, with considerable loss. The Colonel of the 39th regiment was made prisoner. The light troops of General Picton's division under Lieutenant Colonel Williams, and those of Major General Nightingall's brigade, were principally engaged on the right, and the 98th regiment in front of the light division; and these troops behaved in the most gallant manner. The horse artillery, likewise, under Captains Ross and Bull, distinguished themselves upon this occasion. The troops took much baggage and some ammunition carriages in Foy d'Aronce. I had been prevented from moving till a late hour in the morning by the fog; and it was dark by the time we gained possession of the last position of the enemy's advanced guard. In the night the enemy destroyed the bridge on the Ceira, and retreated, leaving a small rear-guard on the river.

From the London Gazette, Tuesday, April 9.

[Transmitted by Vice-Admiral Sir James Saumarez.]

Fort York, Island of Anholt, March 27, 1811.

Sir, I reported to you in my letter of the 10th ultimo my having received information of an intended attack on this Island by the Danes. On the 8th instant I received corroboration of this intelligence; but as every exertion had been made to complete the works as well as our materials would allow, and as piquets were nightly stationed from one extreme of the Island to the other, in order to prevent surprise, I waited with confidence the meditated attack.

Yesterday his Majesty's ship Tartar anchored on the north side of the Island. The enemy's flotilla and army, consisting in all of nearly four thousand men, have this day, after a close combat of four hours and a half, received a most complete and decisive defeat, and are fled back to their ports, with the loss of three pieces of cannon and upwards of five hundred prisoners; a number greater by one hundred and fifty men than the garrison I command.

I am now to detail the proceedings of the day. In the morning just before dawn, the out-piquets on the south side of the Island made the signal for the enemy's being in sight. The garrison was immediately put under arms, and I lost not a moment in proceeding with the brigade of howitzers, and two hundred infantry, accompanied by Captain Torrens (who had hitherto acted as major-commandant to the battalion), in order to oppose their landing. On ascending an elevation, for the purpose of reconnoitring, I discovered the landing had already been effected, under the cover of darkness and a fog, and that the enemy were ad-

vancing rapidly and in great numbers.

On both wings the enemy now far outflanked us, and I saw that if we continued to advance, they would get between us and our works, I instantly ordered a retreat, which was effected in good order, and without loss, although the enemy were within pistol shot of our rear, and seemed determined to enter our batteries by storm; but Fort Yorke and Massareene batteries opened such a well-directed fire of grape and musketry, that the assailants were obliged to fall back and shelter themselves under the sand-hills. As the day lightened, we perceived that the enemy's flotilla, consisting of 18 gun boats, had taken up a position on the south-side of the Island at point-blank shot. I ordered the signal to be made to the Tartar and Sheldrake that the enemy had landed, upon which these vessels immediately weighed, and under a heavy press of sail used every endeavour to beat up the south-side, but the extent of shoals threw them out so many miles, that it was some hours before their intention could be accomplished.—The gun-boats now opened a very heavy fire on our works, while a column of about six hundred men crossed the island to the westward, and took up a position on the northern shore, covered by hillocks of sand, by breaks and inequality of ground. Another column made many attempts to carry the Massareene battery by storm, but were as often repulsed, and compelled to cover themselves under hillocks of sand, which on this island are thrown up by every gale.

The column on the south-side had now succeeded in bringing up a field-piece against us, and Captain Holloway, who had commanded at the advanced post, joined us by water. I had been under great apprehensions that this officer had fallen into the hands of the enemy; but finding, after several gallant attempts, that he was cut off from reaching head-quarters by land, he, with the coolest judgment, launched a boat, and landed his party under Fort Yorke amidst the acclamations of the garrison. Immediately afterwards Lieutenant H. L. Baker, who, with Lieutenant Turnbull, of the royal marines, and some brave volunteers, had in the Anholt schooner, gone on the daring enterprize of destroying the enemy's flotilla in his ports, bore down along the north-side of the island. Things were in this position when the column on the northern shore, which, divided by the sand-hills, had approached within fifty paces of our lines, made another desperate effort to carry the Massareene battery by storm; the column to the south-east also pushed on, and the reserve appeared on the hills ready to support them; but while the commanding officer was leading on his men with great gallantry, a musket ball put a period to his life. Panic struck by the loss of their chief, the enemy again fell back, and sheltered themselves behind the sand-hills. At this critical moment Lieutenant Baker, with great skill and gallantry, anchored his vessel on their flank, and opened a well-directed fire. The sand-hills being no longer a protection, and finding it impossible either to advance or retreat, the

assailants hung out a flag of truce, and offered to surrender upon terms: but I would listen to nothing but an unconditional surrender, which, after some deliberation, was complied with.

In the mean time the gun-boats on the south-side which had been much galled by the fire of Fort Yorke and Massareene battery, got under weigh, and stood to the westward, and the column of the enemy which had advanced on the south-side, finding their retreat no longer covered by the flotilla, also hung out a flag of truce, and I sent out an officer to meet it. I was asked to surrender; the reply that I returned, it is unnecessary to mention. The enemy finding my determination, sought permission to embark without molestation; but I would listen to nothing but an unconditional submission; and I have the pleasure to inform you, that this corps also laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The prisoners, which were now more numerous than my small garrison, were no sooner secured, than operations were commenced against the reserve, which had been seen retreating to the westward of the island.

I took the field with Major Torrens (who, though wounded, insisted on accompanying me) and Lieutenant and Adjutant Steele; but as our prisoners were so numerous, and as we had no place of security in which to place them, I could only employ on this occasion the brigade of howitzers under Lieutenants R. C. Steele and Pezant, of the royal marine artillery, and part of the light company commanded by Lieutenant Turnbull. When we arrived at the west end of the island, we found that the enemy had formed on the beach, and were protected by 14 gun-boats towed close to the shore. To attack such a force, with four howitzers and forty men, seemed an useless sacrifice of brave men's lives: I therefore, with the advice of Major Torrens, halted on the hills, while I reluctantly saw the reserve embarked under cover of the gun-boats, and the flotilla take a final leave of the island.

I am happy to say, our loss has not been so considerable as might have been expected from so desperate an attack, we having only two killed and thirty wounded. The enemy has suffered severely; we have buried between thirty and forty of their dead, and have received in the hospital twenty-three of their wounded, most of them have undergone amputations, three since dead of their wounds, besides a great number which they carried off the field to their boats. Major Melsteat, the commandant, fell in the field; Captain Borgan, the next in command, wounded in the arm; Captain Prutz, adjutant-general to the commander of the forces in Jutland, lost both his legs; since dead.

The most pleasing part of my duty is to bear testimony to the zeal, energy, and intrepidity of the officers and men I had the honour to command: to particularize would be impossible; the same ardour inspired the whole. To Lieutenant Baker, next in command, who will have the honour of delivering this dispatch, and

will give you every information you may require, I am much indebted; his merit and zeal as an officer, which I have some years been acquainted with, and his volunteering with me on this service, claim my warmest esteem. Captain Torrens, the senior officer of the royal marines, and who acted as commandant of the garrison, bore a conspicuous part on this day, and although wounded, I did not lose his valuable service and able support. The discipline and state of perfection to which he had brought the battalion is highly creditable to him as an officer. Lieutenant R. C. Steele, senior officer of royal marine artillery, also claims my warmest acknowledgments for the arrangements he made, which enabled us to keep up so heavy and destructive a fire. Captain Steele, Lieutenant and Quarter-Master Fischer, senior Subaltern, Lieutenant and Adjutant Steele, Lieutenants Stewart, Gray, Ford, Jellico, Atkinson, and Curtayne, all merit my warmest acknowledgments for the assistance they afforded me. Lieutenant Bezant, of the royal marine artillery, deserves every commendation I can give him for his cool and able judgment in the direction of the guns on the Massareene battery. Lieutenant Turnbull, who acted as captain of the light company, when we pursued the reserve, manifested such zeal and energy, that I have no doubt, had we brought the enemy again to action, he would have borne a very conspicuous part.

I cannot sufficiently express my thanks to Captains Baker and Stewart of the Tartar and Sheldrake, for their great exertion to get round to the flotilla; and had the wind the least favoured them, they would have destroyed the whole.

I am happy to add, that the property belonging to the merchants has been fully protected without meeting with the least loss.

The expedition sailed from the Randers, commanded by Major Melsteat (an officer of great distinction), and consisted of the following corps—2d battalion of Jutland sharp-shooters, 4th battalion 2d regiment of Jutland yagers, 1st regiment of Jutland infantry, with some others, the names of which cannot be ascertained.

I have the honour to enclose the articles of surrender, a return of killed and wounded, and a list of Danish officers killed and taken. Also a return of ordnance stores taken.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) J. W. Maurice,
Commandant.

To Vice-Ad. Sir J. Saumarez,
Bart. K. B.

The commanding officer of the troops of his Danish majesty, occupied in the attack of Anholt, agrees to surrender prisoner of war at discretion, with all the troops, to the forces of his Britannic Majesty; with the reserve that their personal property shall be retained by them, and that, at the convenience of the commander of the Island of Anholt, a cartel with unsealed letters shall be sent to Jutland. Given at Anholt, the 27th of March, 1811.

(Signed) Borgen, Captain and
Commander of the

Danish troops on Anholt.

J. W. Maurice, Captain Royal Navy, Governor and Commandant of the Island of Anholt.

A return of the killed and wounded at the garrison of Anholt, March 27, 1811.

Total killed and wounded, 32.

An account of Danish officers killed and taken in the attack of the 27th of March, 1811.

Killed: 1 major, 2 captains, 1 first lieutenant.

Taken: 5 captains, 2 adjutants, 9 lieutenants, 404 rank and file, exclusive of wounded belonging to the under-mentioned corps:

2d Battalion of Jutland sharpshooters; 4th battalion, 2d regiment Jutland yagers; 4th battalion 1st regiment Jutland infantry.

Return of ordnance stores captured from the enemy in the attack of the 27th of March, 1811.

One brass ordnance field carriage, 4-pounder, two 4-inch mortars, 484 muskets and bayonets complete, 470 swords, 16,000 musket-ball cartridges, 14 4-inch shells, fixed.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Sunday, May 26, 1811.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were this day received at the Earl of Liverpool's office, addressed to his lordship by Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. dated Villa Formosa, 8th and 10th of May.

Villa Formosa, May 8, 1811.

My Lord,

The enemy's whole army, consisting of the 2d, 6th, and 8th corps, and all the cavalry which could be collected in Castille and Leon, including about 900 of the imperial guard, crossed the Agueda at Ciudad Rodrigo on the 2d instant.

The battalions of the 9th corps had been joined to the regiments to which they belonged in the other three corps, excepting a division consisting of battalions belonging to regiments in the corps doing duty in Andalusia, which division likewise formed part of the army.

As my object in maintaining a position between the Coa and the Agueda, after the enemy had retired from the former, was to blockade Almeida, which place I had learnt, from intercepted letters and other information, was ill supplied with provisions for its garrison, and as the enemy were infinitely superior to us in cavalry, I did not give any opposition to their march, and they passed the Azava on that evening in the neighbourhood of Espeja, Carpio, and Gallegos.

They continued their march on the 3d in the morning towards the Duas Casas, in three columns, two of them, consisting of the 2d and 8th corps, to the neighbourhood of Alameda and Fort Conception; and the third, consisting of the whole of the cavalry and the 6th, and that part of the 9th

corps which had not already been drafted into the other three.

The allied army had been cantoned along the river Duas Casas, and on the sources of the Azava, the light division at Gallegos and Espeja. This last fell back upon Fuentes de Honor, on the Duas Casas, with the British cavalry, in proportion as the enemy advanced, and the 1st, 3d, and 7th divisions were collected at that place; and the 6th division, under Major-General Campbell, observed the bridge at Alameda; and Major-General Sir William Erskine, with the 5th division, the passages of the Duas Casas, at Fort Conception and Aldea D'Obispo. Brigadier-General Pack's brigade, with the Queen's regiment from the 6th division, kept the blockade of Almeida; and I had prevailed upon Don Julian Sanchez to occupy Nave d'Aver with his corps of Spanish cavalry and infantry.

The light division were moved in the evening to join General Campbell, upon finding that the enemy were in strength in that quarter; and they were brought back again to Fuentes de Honor on the morning of the 5th, when it was found that the 8th corps had joined the 6th on the enemy's left.

Shortly after the enemy had formed on the ground on the right of the Duas Casas, on the afternoon of the 3d they attacked with a large force the village of Fuentes de Honor, which was defended in a most gallant manner by Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, of the 5th battalion 60th regiment, in command of the light infantry battalions belonging to Major-General Picton's division, supported by the light infantry battalion in Major-General Nightingall's brigade, commanded by Major Dick, of the 42d regiment, and the light infantry battalion in Major-General Howard's brigade, commanded by Major M'Donnell, of the 92d regiment, and the light infantry battalion of the King's German legion, commanded by Major Ally, of the 3d battalion of the line, and by the 2d battalion of the 83d regiment, under Major Carr. These troops maintained their positions; but having observed the repeated efforts which the enemy were making to obtain possession of the village, and being aware of the advantage which they would derive from its possession in their subsequent operations, I reinforced the village successively with the 71st regiment, under the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan, and the 79th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, and the 24th regiment, under Major Chamberlain. The former, at the head of the 71st regiment, charged the enemy, and drove them from the part of the village of which they had obtained a momentary possession.

Nearly at this time Lieutenant-Colonel Williams was unfortunately wounded, but I hope not dangerously, and the command devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, of the 79th regiment. The contest continued till night, when our troops remained in possession of the whole.

I then withdrew the light infantry battalions and the 83d regiment, leaving the 71st and 79th regiments only in the village, and the 2d battalion 24th regiment to support them.

On the 4th, the enemy recon-

noitred the positions which we had occupied on the Duas Casas river, and during that night they moved General Junot's corps from Alameda to the left of the position occupied by the 6th corps, opposite to Fuentes de Honor.

From the course of the reconnoisance of the 4th, I had imagined the enemy would endeavour to obtain possession of Fuentes de Honor, and of the ground occupied by the troops behind that village, by crossing the Duas Casas at Poya Velho, and in the evening I moved the 7th division, under Major-General Houston, to the right, in order, if possible, to protect that passage.

On the morning of the 5th, the 8th corps appeared in two columns, with all the cavalry, on the opposite side of the valley of the Duas Casas to Poya Velho; and, as the 6th and 9th corps also made a movement to their left, the light division, which had been brought back from the neighbourhood of Alameda, was sent with the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton to support Major-General Houston, while the 1st and 3d divisions made a movement to their right along the ridge between the Turon and Duas Casas rivers, corresponding to that of the 6th and 9th corps on the right of the Duas Casas.

The 8th corps attacked Major-General Houston's advanced guard, consisting of the 85th regiment under Major M'Intosh, and the 2d Portuguese caçadores under Lieutenant-Colonel Nixon, and obliged them to retire; and they retired in good order, although with some loss. The 8th corps being thus established in Poya Velho, the enemy's cavalry turned the right of the 7th division between Poya Velho and Nave D'Aver, from which last place Don Julian Sanchez had been obliged to retire; and the cavalry charged.

The charge of the advanced guard of the enemy's cavalry was met by two or three squadrons of the different regiments of British dragoons, and the enemy were driven back, and Colonel La Motte, of the 18th chasseurs, and some prisoners, taken. The main body were checked and obliged to retire by the fire of Major-General Houston's division; and I particularly observed the Chasseurs Britanniques under Lieutenant-Colonel Eustace as behaving in the most steady manner; and Major-General Houston mentions in high terms the conduct of a detachment of the Duke of Brunswick's light infantry. Notwithstanding that this charge was repulsed, I determined to concentrate our force towards the left, and to move the 7th and light divisions, and the cavalry from Poya Velho, towards Fuentes de Honor, and the other two divisions.

I had occupied Poya Velho and that neighbourhood, in hopes that I should be able to maintain the communication across the Coa by Sabugal, as well as provide for the blockade, which objects, it was now obvious, were incompatible with each other, and I therefore abandoned that which was the least important, and placed the light division in reserve, in the rear of the left of the 1st division, and the 7th division on some commanding ground beyond

the Turon, which protected the right flank and rear of the 1st division, and covered our communication with the Coa, and prevented that of the enemy with Almeida, by the roads between the Turon and that river.

The movement of the troops upon this occasion was well conducted, although under very critical circumstances, by Major-General Houston, Brigadier-General Crauford, and Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton. The 7th division was covered in its passage of the Turon by the light division under Brigadier-General Craufurd, and this last, in its march to join the 1st division, by the British cavalry.

Our position thus extended on the high ground from the Turon to the Duas Casas. The 7th division, on the left of the Turon, covered the rear of the right; the 1st division, in two lines, were on the right; Colonel Ashworth's brigade, in two lines, in the centre; and the 3d division, in two lines, on the left. The light division and British cavalry in reserve, and the village of Fuentes de Honor in front of the left. Don Julian's infantry joined the 7th division in Frenada; and I sent him with his cavalry to endeavour to interrupt the enemy's communication with Ciudad Rodrigo. The enemy's efforts on the right part of our position, after it was occupied as I have above described, were confined to a cannonade, and to some charges with their cavalry upon the advanced posts.

The picquets of the 1st division under Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, of the 3d regiment of guards, repulsed one of these; but as they were falling back, they did not see the direction of another in sufficient time to form to oppose it, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hill was taken prisoner, and many men were wounded and some taken, before a detachment of the British cavalry could move up to their support.

The 2d battalion, 42d regiment, under Lord Blantyre, also repulsed a charge of the cavalry directed against them.

They likewise attempted to push a body of light infantry down the ravine of the Turon to the right of the 1st division, which were repulsed by the light infantry of the guards, under Lieutenant Guise, aided by five companies of the 95th under Captain O'Hara.

Major-General Nightingall was wounded in the course of the cannonade, but I hope not severely.

The enemy's principal effort was throughout this day again directed against Fuentes de Honor; and notwithstanding that the whole of the 6th corps was at different periods of the day employed to attack this village, they could never gain more than a temporary possession of it. It was defended by the 24th, 71st, and 79th regiments, under the command of Colonel Cameron; and these troops were supported by the light infantry battalions in the 3d division, commanded by Major Woodgate; the light infantry battalions in the 1st division, commanded by Major Dick, Major Macdonald, and Major Ally; the 6th Portuguese caçadores, commanded by Major Pinto; by the light companies in Colonel Champlemonde's Portuguese brigade under Colonel

Sutton; and those in Colonel Ashworth's Portuguese brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Pynn; and by the picquets of the 3d division, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Trench. Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron was severely wounded in the afternoon, and the command in the village devolved upon the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan.

The troops in Fuentes de Honor were besides supported, when pressed by the enemy, by the 74th regiment under Major Russel Manners, and the 88th regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, belonging to Colonel Mackinnon's brigade; and on one of these occasions the 88th, with the 71st and 79th, under the command of Colonel Mackinnon, charged the enemy, and drove them through the village; and Colonel Mackinnon has reported particularly the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, Brigade-Major Wilde, and Lieutenant and Adjutant Stewart of the 88th regiment.

The contest again lasted in this quarter till night, when our troops still held their post; and from that time the enemy have made no fresh attempt on any part of our position.

The enemy manifested an intention to attack Major-General Sir W. Erskine's post at Aldea del Bispo on the same morning, with a part of the second corps, but the Major-General sent the second battalion of the Lusitanian legion across the ford of the Duas Casas, which obliged them to retire.

In the course of last night the enemy commenced to retire from their position on the Duas Casas; and this morning at day-light the whole were in motion. I cannot yet decide whether this movement is preparatory to some fresh attempt to raise the blockade of Almeida, or is one of decided retreat; but I have every reason to hope, that they will not succeed in the first, and that they will be obliged to have recourse to the last.

Their superiority in cavalry is very great, owing to the weak state of our horses from recent fatigue and scarcity of forage; and the reduction of numbers in the Portuguese brigade of cavalry with this part of the army, in exchange for a British brigade sent into Estremadura with Marshal Sir William Beresford, owing to the failure of the measures reported to have been adopted to supply the horses and men with food on the service. The result of a general action brought on by an attack upon the enemy by us might, under these circumstances, have been doubtful; and if the enemy had chosen to avoid it, or if they had met it, they would have taken advantage of the collection of our troops to fight this action, to throw relief into Almeida.

From the great superiority of force to which we have been opposed upon this occasion, your lordship will judge of the conduct of the officers and troops. The actions were partial, but very severe; and our loss has been great. The enemy's loss has also been great; and they left 400

killed in the village of Fuentes de Honor, and we have many prisoners.

I particularly request your lordship's attention to the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, and the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan, and to that of Colonel Mackinnon, and Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, of the 24th regiment, and of the several officers commanding battalions of the line and of light infantry, which supported the troops in Fuentes de Honor. Likewise to that of Major M'Intosh, of the 85th regiment; of Lieutenant-Colonel Nixon, of the 2d caçadores; of Lieutenant-Colonel Eustace, of the chasseurs Britanniques; and of Lord Blantyre.

Throughout these operations I have received the greatest assistance from Lieutenant-General Sir Brent Spencer, and all the general officers of the army; and from the adjutant and quarter-master-general, and the officers of their several departments, and those of my personal staff.

From intelligence from Marshal Sir William Beresford, I learn that he has invested Badajos, on the left of the Guadiana, and is moving there stores for the attack of the place.

I have the honour to inform you, that the intelligence has been confirmed, that Joseph Buonaparte passed Valladolid, on his way to Paris, on the 27th of April. It is not denied by the French officers that he his gone to Paris.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) WELLINGTON.

Villa Formosa, May 10, 1811.

My Lord,

The enemy retired on the 8th to the woods between Espeja Gallegos and Fuentes de Honor, in which position the whole army were collected on that day and yesterday, with the exception of that part of the second corps which continued opposite Alameda. Last night the whole broke up, and retired across the Azava, covering their retreat by their numerous cavalry; and this day the whole have retired across the Agueda, leaving Almeida to its fate.

The second corps retired by the bridge of Barba del Pueno, and the ford of Val d'Espino, on the Agueda.

Our advanced posts are upon the Azava, and on the lower Agueda; and the army will be to-morrow in the cantonments on the Duas Casas.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WELLINGTON.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, under the command of Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. in the affair at Fuentes Onoros, on the evening of the 3d of May, 1811.

Total British loss—1 Captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 19 rank and file, and 4 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 7 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 1 staff, 10 serjeants, 1 drummer, 145 rank and file, and 6 horses, wounded; 21 rank and file, and 1 horse missing.

Total Portuguese loss—1 Ser-

jeant and 13 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 staff, 1 serjeant, and 25 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant and 1 rank and file, missing.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing of the army under the command of Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, K.B. in action with the French army on the 5th of May, 1811.

Total British loss—1 Captain, 7 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 129 rank and file, 45 horses, killed; 2 general staff, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 majors, 15 captains, 21 lieutenants, 7 cornets or ensigns, 2 staff, 50 serjeants, 4 drummers, 766 rank and file, 95 horses, wounded; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 226 rank and file, 6 horses, missing.

Portuguese loss—5 serjeants, 1 drummer, 44 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 lieutenants, 4 cornets or ensigns, 11 serjeants, 140 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 7 drummers, 43 rank and file, missing.

General total—1 captain, 7 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 13 serjeants, 3 drummers, 173 rank and file, and 45 horses, killed; 2 general staff, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 4 majors, 15 captains, 23 lieutenants, 11 cornets, or ensigns, 2 staff, 61 serjeants, 4 drummers, 906 rank and file, and 95 horses, wounded; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 9 serjeants, 9 drummers, 269 rank and file, and 5 horses, missing.

London Gazette Extraordinary, *Monday, June 3.*

Letter from Marshal Beresford to Lieutenant-General Viscount Wellington.

Albuera, May 18, 1811.

My Lord,

I have infinite satisfaction in communicating to your lordship, that the allied army, united here under my orders, obtained on the 16th instant, after a most sanguinary contest, a complete victory over that of the enemy, commanded by Marshal Soult; and I shall proceed to relate to your lordship the circumstances.

In a former report I have informed your lordship of the advance of Marshal Soult from Seville, and I had in consequence judged it wise entirely to raise the siege of Badajoz, and prepare to meet him with our united forces, rather than, by looking to two objects at once, to risk the loss of both. Marshal Soult, it appears, had been long straining every nerve to collect a force which he thought fully sufficient to his object for the relief of Badajoz; and for this purpose he had drawn considerable numbers from the corps of Marshal Victor and General Sebastiani, and also, I believe, from the French army of the centre. Having thus completed his preparations, he marched from Seville on the 10th inst. with a corps then estimated at fifteen or sixteen thousand men, and was joined on descending into Estramadura by the corps under General Latour Maubourg, stated to be five thousand men. His Excellency General Blake, as soon as he learnt the advance of Marshal Soult, in strict conformity to the plan proposed by your lordship, proceeded to form his

junction with the corps under my orders, and arrived at Valverde in person on the 14th instant, where, having consulted with his Excellency and General Castanos, it was determined to meet the enemy, and to give him battle.

On finding the determination of the enemy to relieve Badajos, I had broken up from before that place, and marched the infantry to the position in front of Valverde, except the division of the Honourable Major-General G. L. Cole, which, with 2000 Spanish troops, I left to cover the removal of our stores.

The cavalry, which had according to orders, fallen back as the enemy advanced, was joined at Santa Martha by the cavalry of General Blake; that of General Castanos, under the Count de Penne Villamur, had been always with it.

As remaining at Valverde, though a stronger position, left Badajoz entirely open, I determined to take up a position (such as could be got in this widely open country) at this place; thus standing directly between the enemy and Badajoz.

The army was therefore assembled here on the 15th instant. The corps of General Blake, though making a forced march to effect it, only joined in the night, and could not be placed in its position till the morning of the 16th instant, when General Cole's division, with the Spanish brigade under Don Carlos d'Espagne, also joined, and a little before the commencement of the action. Our cavalry had been forced on the morning of the 15th instant to retire from Santa Martha and joined here. In the afternoon of that day the enemy appeared in front of us. The next morning our disposition for receiving the enemy was made, being formed in two lines, nearly parallel to the river Albuera, on the ridge of the gradual ascent rising from that river, and covering the roads to Badajoz and Valverde; though your lordship is aware, that the whole face of this country is every where passable for all arms. General Blake's corps was on the right, in two lines; its left, on the Valverde road, joined the right of Major-General the Honourable William Stewart's division, the left of which reached the Badajoz road; where commenced the right of Major-General Hamilton's division, which closed the left of the line. General Cole's division, with one brigade of General Hamilton's, formed the second line of the British and Portuguese army.

The enemy, on the morning of the 16th, did not long delay his attack; at eight o'clock he was observed to be in movement, and his cavalry was seen passing the rivulet of Albuera, considerably above our right; and shortly after he marched out of the wood opposite to us a strong force of cavalry, and two heavy columns of infantry, pointing them to our front, as if to attack the village and bridge of Albuera: during this time, under cover of his vastly superior cavalry, he was filing the principal body of his infantry over the river beyond our right, and it was not long before his intention appeared to be to turn us by that flank, and cut us off from Valverde. Major-General

Cole's division was therefore ordered to form an oblique line to the rear of our right, with his own right thrown back, and the intention of the enemy to attack our right becoming evident, I requested General Blake to form part of his first line, and all his second, to that front, which was done.

The enemy commenced his attack at nine o'clock, not ceasing at the same time to menace our left; and after a strong and gallant resistance of the Spanish troops, he gained the heights upon which they had been formed: meanwhile the division of the Honourable Major-General William Stewart had been brought up to support them; and that of Major-General Hamilton brought to the left of the Spanish line, and formed in contiguous close columns of battalions, to be movable in any direction. The Portuguese brigade of cavalry, under Brigadier-General Otway, remained at some distance on the left of this, to check any attempt of the enemy below the village.

As the heights the enemy had gained raked and entirely commanded our whole position, it became necessary to make every effort to retake and maintain them; and a noble one was made by the division of General Stewart, headed by that gallant officer. Nearly at the beginning of the enemy's attack, a heavy storm of rain came on, which, with the smoke from the firing, rendered it impossible to discern any thing distinctly. This, with the nature of the ground, had been extremely favourable to the enemy in forming his columns, and in his subsequent attack.

The right brigade of General Stewart's division, under Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne, first came into action, and behaved in the most gallant manner; and finding that the enemy's column could not be shaken by fire, proceeded to attack it with the bayonet; and, while in the act of charging a body of Polish lancers (cavalry) which the thickness of the atmosphere and the nature of the ground had concealed, (and which was, besides, mistaken by those of the brigade, when discovered, for Spanish cavalry, and therefore not fired upon), turned it; and being thus attacked unexpectedly in the rear was unfortunately broken, and suffered immensely. The 31st regiment, being the left one of the brigade, alone escaped this charge, and under the command of Major L'Estrange kept its ground, until the arrival of the 3d brigade, under Major-General Hoghton. The conduct of this brigade was most conspicuously gallant; and that of the 2d brigade, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie was not less so: Major-General Hoghton, cheering on his brigade to the charge, fell pierced by wounds. Though the enemy's principal attack was on this point of the right, he also made a continual attempt upon that part of our original front at the village and bridge, which were defended in the most gallant manner by Major-General Baron Alten and the light infantry brigade of the German legion, whose conduct was, in every point of view,

conspicuously good. This point now formed our left, and Major-General Hamilton's division had been brought up there; and he was left to direct the defence of that point, whilst the enemy's attack continued on our right, a considerable proportion of the Spanish troops supporting the defence of this place. The enemy's cavalry, on his infantry attempting to force our right, had endeavoured to turn it; but by the able manœuvres of Major-General the Honourable William Lumley, commanding the allied cavalry, though vastly inferior to that of the enemy in number, his endeavours were foiled. Major-General Cole, seeing the attack of the enemy, very judiciously bringing up his left a little, marched in line to attack the enemy's left, and arrived most opportunely to contribute, with the charges of the brigades of General Stewart's division, to force the enemy to abandon his situation, and retire precipitately, and to take refuge under his reserve;—here the Fuzileer brigade particularly distinguished itself. He was pursued by the allies to a considerable distance, and as far as I thought it prudent, with his immense superiority of cavalry; and I contented myself with seeing him driven across the Albuera.

I have every reason to speak favourably of the manner in which our artillery was served, and fought; and Major Hartman commanding the British, and Major Dickson commanding the Portuguese, and the officers and men, are entitled to my thanks. The four guns of the horse-artillery, commanded by Captain Lefebure, did great execution on the enemy's cavalry; and one brigade of Spanish artillery (the only one in the field) I saw equally gallantly and well served: we lost in the misfortune which occurred to the brigade commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne (whom General Stewart reports to have acted, and was then acting, in a most noble manner, leading on the brigade in admirable order) one howitzer, which the enemy, before the arrival of the gallant General Hoghton's brigade, had time to carry off, with two hundred or three hundred prisoners of that brigade. After he had been beaten from this his principal attack, he still continued that near the village, on which he never could make any impression, or cross the rivulet, though I had been obliged to bring a very great proportion of the troops from it, to support the principal point of attack; but the enemy seeing his main attack defeated, relaxed in his attempt there also. The Portuguese division of Major-General Hamilton, in every instance evinced the utmost steadiness and courage, and manœuvred equally well with the British.

Brigadier General Harvey's Portuguese brigade, belonging to General Cole's division, had an opportunity of distinguishing itself when marching in line across the plain, by repulsing with the utmost steadiness a charge of the enemy's cavalry.

It is impossible to enumerate every instance of discipline and valour shewn on this severely contested day; but never were troops that more valiantly or more gloriously maintained the

honour of their respective countries. I have not been able to particularize the Spanish divisions, brigades, or regiments that were particularly engaged, because I am not acquainted with their denominations or names; but I have great pleasure in saying that their behaviour was most gallant and honourable; and though, from the superior number and weight of the enemy's force, that part of them that were in the position attacked were obliged to cede the ground, it was after a gallant resistance, and they continued in good order to support their allies; and I doubt not, his Excellency General Blake will do ample justice on this head, by making honourable mention of the deserving.

The battle commenced at nine o'clock, and continued without interruption, till two in the afternoon, when the enemy having been driven over the Albuera, for the remainder of the day there was but cannonading and skirmishing.

It is impossible by any description to do justice to the distinguished gallantry of the troops, but every individual most nobly did his duty, and which will be well proved by the great loss we have suffered, though repulsing the enemy; and it was observed, that our dead, particularly the 57th regiment, were lying, as they had fought, in ranks, and every wound was in the front.

The Honourable Major-general William Stewart most particularly distinguished himself, and conduced much to the honour of the day; he received two contusions, but would not quit the field. Major-general the Honourable G. L. Cole is also entitled to every praise; and I have to regret being deprived for some time of his services, by the wound he has received. The Honourable Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, commanding the 2d brigade, 2d division, and Major L'Estrange, 31st regiment, deserve to be particularly mentioned; and nothing could exceed the conduct and gallantry of Colonel Inglis, at the head of his regiment. To the Honourable Major-general William Lumley, for the very able manner in which he opposed the numerous cavalry of the enemy, and foiled him in his object, I am particularly indebted. To Major-general Hamilton, who commanded on the left, during the severe attack upon our right, I am also much indebted; and the Portuguese brigade of Brigadier-generals Fonseca and Archibald Campbell deserve to be mentioned. To Major-general Alten, and to the excellent brigade under his orders, I have much praise to give; and it is with great pleasure I assure your lordship, that the good and gallant conduct of every corps, and of every person, was in proportion to the opportunity that offered for distinguishing themselves. I know not an individual who did not do his duty.

I have, I fear, to regret the loss to the service of Colonel Collins, commanding a Portuguese brigade, his leg having been carried off by a cannon shot. He is an officer of great merit; and I deeply lament the death of Major-general Hoghton, and of those two pro-

mising officers Lieutenant-colonel Sir William Myers and Lieutenant-colonel Duckworth.

It is most pleasing to me to inform your lordship, not only of the steady and gallant conduct of our allies, the Spanish troops, under his Excellency General Blake, but also to assure you that the most perfect harmony has subsisted between us; and that General Blake not only conformed in all things to the general line proposed by your lordship, but in the details, and in whatever I suggested to his Excellency, I received the most immediate and cordial assent and co-operation; and nothing was omitted on his part, to ensure the success of our united efforts; and during the battle, he most essentially, by his experience, knowledge, and zeal, contributed to its fortunate result.

His Excellency the Captain-general Castanos, who had united the few troops he had in a state to be brought into the field, to those of General Blake, and placed them under his orders, assisted in person in the field; and not only on this, but on all occasions, I am much indebted to General Castanos, who is ever beforehand in giving whatever can be beneficial to the success of the common cause.

Though I unfortunately cannot point out the corps, or many of the individuals of the Spanish troops, that distinguished themselves, yet I will not omit to mention the name of General Vallesteros, whose gallantry was most conspicuous, as of the corps he had under his command; and the same of General Zayas and of Don Carlos D'Espagne. The Spanish cavalry have behaved extremely well; and the Count de Penne Villamur is particularly deserving to be mentioned.

I annex the return of our loss in this hard contested day: it is very severe, and in addition to it is the loss of the troops under his Excellency General Blake, who are all killed, missing, and wounded, but of which I have not the return. The loss of the enemy, though I cannot know what it is, must be still more severe. He has left on the field of battle about two thousand dead, and we have taken from nine hundred to one thousand prisoners. He has had five generals killed and wounded; of the former, Generals of division Werle and Pesim; and Gazan and two others amongst the latter. His force was much more considerable than we had been informed of, as I do not think he displayed less than from twenty to twenty-two thousand infantry, and he certainly had four thousand cavalry, with a numerous and heavy artillery. His overbearing cavalry cramped and confined all our operations, and with his artillery saved its infantry, after its rout.

He retired after the battle to the ground he had been previously on, but occupying it in position; and on this morning, or rather during the night, commenced his retreat on the road he came, towards Seville, and has abandoned Badajoz to its fate. He left a number of his wounded on the ground he had retired to, and to which we are administering what assistance we can. I have sent

our cavalry to follow the enemy, but in that arm he is too powerful for us to attempt any thing against him in the plains he is traversing.

Thus we have reaped the advantage we proposed from our opposition to the attempts of the enemy; and whilst he has been forced to abandon the object for which he has almost stripped Andalusia of troops, instead of having accomplished the haughty boasts with which Marshal Soult harangued his troops on leaving Seville, he returns there with a curtailed army, and, what perhaps may be still more hurtful to him, with a diminished reputation.

In enumerating the services received from the officers of my own staff, I must particularly call your lordship's attention to those of Brigadier-general d'Urban, quarter-master-general to the Portuguese army; and which I cannot sufficiently praise, though I can appreciate. On all occasions I have felt the benefits of his talents and services, and more particularly on this, where they very essentially contributed to the success of the day: and I cannot here omit the name of Lieutenant-colonel Hardinge, deputy quarter-master-general to the Portuguese troops, whose talents and exertions deserve my thanks. To Brigadier-general Mozinho, adjutant-general of the Portuguese army, and to Lieutenant-colonel Rooke, assistant adjutant-general to the united British and Portuguese force, and to Brigadier-general Lemos, and to the officers of my own personal staff, I am indebted for their assistance.

To the services of Lieutenant-colonel Arbuthnot (major in his Majesty's service), I am also much indebted, and he is the bearer of this to your lordship, and is fully enabled to give you any further information you may desire, and is most deserving of any favour your lordship may be pleased to recommend him for to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) W. C. BERESFORD,
Marshal and Lieut.-gen.

P. S. Major-general Hamilton's division, and Brigadier-general Madden's brigade of Portuguese cavalry, march to-morrow morning to re-invest Badajoz on the south-side of the Guadiana.

W. C. B.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing of the corps of the army under the command of Lieutenant-general Viscount Wellington, K. B. under the immediate orders of Marshal Sir William Carr Beresford, K. B. in the battle with the French army commanded by Marshal Soult, at Albuera, on the 16th May, 1811.

Total British loss—1 general staff, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 7 captains, 13 lieutenants, 9 ensigns, 31 serjeants, 4 drummers, 815 rank and file, 54 horses, killed: 7 general staff, 4 lieutenant-colonels, 4 majors, 43 captains, 81 lieutenants, 20 ensigns, 6 staff, 132 serjeants, 9 drummers, 2426 rank and file, 26 horses, wounded: 1 major, 4 captains, 8 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 28 serjeants, 10 drummers, 492 rank and file, 17 horses, missing.

Total Portuguese loss—1 general staff, 1 staff, 2 serjeants, 98 rank and file, 9 horses, killed; 1

general staff, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 5 captains, 5 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 staff, 14 serjeants, 1 drummer, 230 rank and file, 9 horses, wounded; 1 drummer, 25 rank and file, missing.

General Total.—2 general staff, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 7 captains, 13 lieutenants, 9 ensigns, 1 staff, 33 serjeants, 4 drummers, 913 rank and file, 63 horses killed; 8 general staff, 5 lieutenant-colonels, 5 majors, 48 captains, 86 lieutenants, 22 ensigns, 7 staff, 146 serjeants, 10 drummers, 2656 rank and file, 35 horses wounded; 1 major, 4 captains, 8 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 28 serjeants, 11 drummers, 517 rank and file, 17 horses, missing.

From the London Gazette, Saturday, June 15.

Downing-street, June 15.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been this day received at Lord Liverpool's office, addressed to his Lordship by Lord Wellington, dated Quinta de Gramicha, May 30;—

"We invested Badajoz on the 25th instant, on the right of the Guadiana; and the ordnance and stores for the siege having been brought forward, we broke ground last night. The enemy have retired their main body upon Llerena, and hold the advanced posts of their cavalry at Usagre. I enclose the copy of the report of Major-General the Honourable William Lumley, of a very gallant affair of the cavalry near that place on the 25th. The Major-General has reported, that he received very great assistance, upon this occasion, from Major Holmes, of the 3d dragoon guards, who was acting in the department of the Adjutant-general, and from Lieutenant Heathcote, of the royal dragoons, who was acting in the department of the Quarter-master-general, as well as from the officers mentioned in his report."

Camp, near Usagre, two A. M. May 26.

Sir,

As will have been stated to you yesterday verbally by the officer I sent for that purpose, I have the honour to acquaint you, that having, as I before reported, driven the enemy's rear guard from Usagre, I occupied that post on the night of the 24th, by placing the Spanish troops in front of the town, with their tiradores well in advance towards the enemy, and the Portuguese and British cavalry, with the four six-pounders in rear of the place; a small brook, hollow and deep ravine, and narrow defile, being on this side of the town. About six o'clock yesterday morning it was reported to me, that the enemy's cavalry were advancing in force, and that there was reason to believe they were accompanied by artillery and infantry. Conceiving reports might exaggerate the fact, and not wishing to yield the post to inferior numbers, the 13th light dragoons and Colonel Otway's Portuguese brigade of cavalry were ordered across the ravine to the left of the town, through the narrow fords and passes which had been previously reconnoitred; and Brigadier-General Madden's brigade of Por-

tuguese cavalry in like manner to the right, with orders to retire by the same passes, if necessary: the heavy brigade of British with the guns being still in reserve behind the town. Upon the nearer approach of the enemy, it was evident they were advancing with the whole of their cavalry and five or six heavy guns (eight-pounders). This being ascertained, and upon opening their first gun, the line was ordered to retire, which they did slowly, in excellent order, and without loss; the Spanish troops filing on the main road, through the town, which had been left open for them. A smart cannonade now commenced from the opposite heights, the superiority of numbers and weight of metal decidedly in favour of the enemy; but the superior skill and well-directed aim of Captain Lefevre and his corps, with only four six-pounders, was most pre-eminently conspicuous. The enemy now committed a most daring attempt, or rather an error, for which they were severely punished. In spite of two of our guns, which bore directly for a few paces on the road, three of their chosen regiments, 4th, 20th, and 26th, dashed through the town, and formed rapidly on the flank of the 3d dragoon guards, which corps, concealed by a small hill, I verily believe they did not see, and in front of the 4th dragoons, themselves presenting two fronts. A charge of 3d dragoon guards was at this moment ordered on the right; and a simultaneous movement of the 4th dragoons, directed most judiciously by Brigadier-General Long, at the same moment on the left, where I had requested him to remain, decided the point. The enemy wavered before our cavalry reached them; but almost in the same instant they were overturned, and apparently annihilated. The affair took place so near the brook and bridge which immediately leads into the town, and which I had forbid the cavalry to enter, that it was impossible for them to pursue; it is difficult, therefore, to decide upon the enemy's loss; many, severely wounded, escaped through the town, others threw themselves off their horses, and escaped over the brook and through the gardens; but besides 78 prisoners, 29 lay dead on the spot, many were also observed lying dead on the bridge and in the first street; and a peasant reports, that from 30 to 50 were sent off wounded to their rear, on horses and cars. I must not omit to state, that a portion of the Count de Penne Villamur's Spanish cavalry gallantly supported the charge on the left of the 3d dragoon guards, as I am informed Brigadier-General Madden's brigade did on the right: but the dust caused by the charge was so great, I was myself unable to observe on that flank. I am positively assured, from the report of the prisoners, that the enemy had 13 regiments of cavalry in the field, which, though not exceeding from 200 to 300 men each, gave them so great a superiority over the force under my orders, composed of three nations, many of them as yet but little known to each other in cavalry movements, that I feel fully justified in not placing a deep ravine and defile in my rear, and at-

tempting to defend the town, which is only defensible by infantry, from an attack on the other side.

I have the peculiar satisfaction to add, that the advantage gained has been almost bloodless on our part, although occasionally for a few seconds of necessity exposed to the range of artillery, and a charge made against a corps d'elite of the enemy, who, on the other hand, visibly suffered from our artillery, in addition to those lost in the charge. I feel myself under the highest obligation to Brigadier-General Long, for his zealous, well-timed, and active exertions during the day, as well as for his assistance at all times. To Brigadier-General Loy, commanding the Spanish cavalry (the Count de Penne Villamur being sick at Villa Franca), and to Brigadier-General Madden, commanding the Portuguese division, I am highly indebted for their readiness in obeying, and promptitude in executing my orders; to the Honourable Colonel de Grey, commanding the British brigade of heavy cavalry, and to Colonel Otway, commanding the Portuguese brigade, both under the orders of Brigadier-General Long; to Colonel Lord Edward Somerset, commanding the 4th dragoons; to Colonel Head, commanding the 13th light dragoons; to Major Weston, commanding the 3d dragoon guards (Sir G. Calcraft being sick at Villa Franca); and to Captain Lefevre, of the royal horse artillery, my very best thanks are due, as well as to every officer and soldier, for the promptitude and steadiness with which every, even retrograde, movement was performed in the face of a superior enemy.

The advantage gained will not only in some degree lessen the enemy's superior cavalry, but will, I trust, still farther tend to render him fearful and timid in all his movements.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) W. Lumley, Major-Gen.
Marshal Sir W. Beresford, &c.

From the London Gazette.

Admiralty-Office, September 24.

[Transmitted by Rear Admiral Foley.]

Naiad, off Boulogne, Sep. 21.

Sir,

Yesterday morning, while this ship was at anchor off this place, much bustle was observed among the enemy's flotilla, moored along shore, close under the batteries of their bay, which seemed to indicate that some affair of moment was in agitation. At about noon, Buonaparte, in a barge, accompanied by several officers, was distinctly seen to proceed along their line to the centre ship; which immediately hoisted the imperial standard at the main, and lowered it at his departure, substituting for it a Rear Admiral's flag:—he afterwards visited others, and then continued in his boat for the rest of the evening.

Since it is so much within the well-known custom of that personage to adopt measures that confer supposed eclat on his presence, I concluded that something of that kind was about to take place. Accordingly, seven praams, each having twelve 24-pounders, long guns, with 120 men, and

commanded by Rear Admiral Baste, stood towards this ship; being expressly ordered by the French Ruler, as I have since learned, to attack us. As the wind was S. W. with a very strong flood-tide setting to the N. E. while the enemy bore nearly South from us, it was clear that by weighing we could only increase our distance from him; so that our only chance of closing with him at all was by remaining at an anchor.

The Naiad, therefore, quietly awaited his attack in that position, with springs on her cable.

It was exclusively in the enemy's own power to chuse the distance: each ship of his squadron stood within gun shot, gave us successively her broadsides, tacked from us, and in that mode continuously repeated the attack. After this had so continued for three quarters of an hour, 10 brigs (said to have four long 24-pounders) and one sloop (said to have two such guns), also weighed and joined the ships in occasionally cannonading us, which was thus kept up for upwards of two hours without intermission, and returned, I humbly hope, with sufficient effect by this ship.

At slack water the Naiad weighed her anchor and stood off, partly to repair some trivial damages, but chiefly by getting to windward, to be better enabled to close with the enemy, and get within shore of some, at least, of his flotilla. After standing off a short time, the Naiad tacked, and made all sail towards them; but at about sun-set it became calm, when the enemy took up his anchorage under the batteries eastward of Boulogne, while the Naiad resumed hers in her former position.

In this affair not a British subject was hurt; and the damages sustained by this ship are too trifling for me to mention. I have indeed to apologize for dwelling so long on this affair; but my motive is the manner in which I understand it has been magnified by the enemy, and the extraordinary commendations which have been lavished on the Frenchmen engaged in it by their Ruler. It is fitting, therefore, that his Majesty's government should know the real state of the case; and the Lords of the Admiralty may rest assured, that every officer and man on board the Naiad did zealously and steadily fulfil his duty.

I have, &c.

PHILIP CARTERET, Capt.

Naiad, off Boulogne, Sep. 21.

Sir,

This morning, at seven, that part of the enemy's flotilla which was anchored to the eastward of Boulogne, consisting of seven praams and 15 smaller vessels, chiefly brigs, weighed and stood out on the larboard tack, the wind being S. W.; apparently to renew the same kind of distant cannonade which took place yesterday: different, however, from yesterday, for there was now a weather-tide. The Naiad, therefore, weighed, and getting well to windward, joined the brigs Rinaldo, Redpole, and Castilian, with the Viper cutter, who had all zealously turned to windward in the course of the night, to support

the Naiad in the expected conflict. We all lay to on the larboard tack, gradually drawing off shore, in the hope of imperceptibly inducing the enemy also to withdraw further from the protection of his formidable batteries.

To make known the senior officer's intention, no other signals were deemed necessary, but "to prepare to attack the enemy's van," then standing out, led by Rear Admiral Baste, and "not to fire until quite close to the enemy."

Accordingly the moment the French admiral tacked in shore, having reached his utmost distance, and was giving us his broadsides, the King's small squadron bore up together with the utmost rapidity, and stood towards the enemy under all the sail each could conveniently carry, received a shower of shot and shells from the flotilla and batteries, without returning any until within pistol-shot, when the firing on both sides his Majesty's cruisers threw the enemy into inextricable confusion. The French Admiral's praam was the principal object of attack by this ship; but as that officer in leading had of course tacked first, and thereby acquired fresh way, and was now under much sail, pushing with great celerity for the batteries, it became impossible to reach him without too greatly hazarding his Majesty's ship. Having, however, succeeded in separating a praam from him, which had handsomely attempted to succour his chief, and which I had intended to consign to the particular care of Captains Anderson and M'Donald, of the Rinaldo, and Redpole, while the Castilian attacked others, it now appeared best preferably to employ this ship in effectually securing her.

The Naiad accordingly ran her on board; Mr. Grant, the master, lashed her along-side; the small arms men soon cleared her decks, and the boarders, sword in hand, completed her subjugation. Nevertheless, in justice to our brave enemy, it must be observed, that his resistance was most obstinate and gallant; nor did it cease until fairly overpowered by the overwhelming force we so promptly applied. She is named La Ville de Lyons, was commanded by a Mons. Barbaud, who was severely wounded, and has on board a Mons. La Coupe, who, as Commodore of a division, was entitled to a broad pendant. Like the other praams she has 12 long guns 24-pounders (French): but she had only 112 men, 60 of whom were soldiers of the 72d regiment of the line. Between 30 and 40 have been killed and wounded.

Meanwhile the three brigs completed the defeat of the enemy's flotilla; but I lament to say that the immediate proximity of the formidable batteries whereunto we had now so nearly approached, prevented the capture or destruction of more of their ships or vessels. But no blame can attach to any one on this account; for all the commanders, officers, and crews, did bravely and skilfully perform their duty. If I may be permitted to mention those who served more immediately under my own eye, I must eagerly and fully testify to the merits of, and zealous support I received from,

Mr. Greenlaw, the first lieutenant of this ship, as well as from all the officers of every description, brave seamen and royal marines, whom I have the pride and pleasure of commanding.

I have the honour herewith to enclose reports of our loss, which I rejoice to find so comparatively trivial, and that lieutenant Charles Cobb, of the Castilian, is the only officer that has fallen.

I have, &c.

P. CARTERET, Capt.

Admiralty-Office, Nov. 16.

[Transmitted by Captain Beaver.]

His Majesty's ship Astrea, off Foul Point, Madagascar, May 21, 1811.

Sir,

I had the honour of communicating to you, from off Round Island, my determination to quit that station, in order to follow the three enemy's frigates with troops on board, which had appeared off Mauritius on the 7th instant, and also my reasons for supposing they would push for a near point, perhaps Tamatave. I have now the satisfaction to report to you, that the enemy were discovered on the morning of the 20th instant, far to windward, and well in with the land, near Foul Point, Madagascar. The signal to chase was promptly obeyed by his Majesty's ships Phœbe, Galatea, and Racehorse sloop. The weather was most vexatiously variable during the whole of the day, which, combined with the efforts of the enemy to keep to windward, rendered it impossible to close them until nearly four o'clock, when (the Astrea being about a mile a head, and to windward) they wore together, kept away, and evinced a disposition to bring us to action. The enemy then commenced firing, I regret to say, at a long range, which soon so effectually produced a calm to leeward, as to render our squadron unmanageable for three hours. No exertion was omitted to bring his Majesty's ships into close action, during this very critical and trying period; but all was ineffectual. The enemy's rear frigate neared the Astrea a little, who lay on the water almost immoveable, only occasionally bringing guns to bear; while his van and centre ship, preserving a light air, succeeded in rounding the quarter of the Phœbe and Galatea, raking them with considerable effect for a long time. At this, his favourite distance, the enemy remained until nearly dark, when a light air enabled the Phœbe to close the near frigate, in a good position to bring her to a decisive action. In half an hour she was beaten. Her night signals drew the other two frigates to her assistance; the Phœbe was in consequence obliged to follow the Galatea, which ship brought up the breeze to me. At this time I was hailed by Captain Losack, who informed me, that the Galatea had suffered very considerably; and as she was passing under my lee, I had the mortification to see her mizen, and soon after, her foretopmasts fall. Having shot a head, she made the night signal of distress, and being in want of immediate assistance, I closed to ascertain the cause, when I was again hailed by Captain Losack, and informed that

the Galatea was so totally disabled as to prevent her head being put towards the enemy to renew the action, as I before had directed. My determination was immediately communicated to Captain Hillyar to recommence action, when the Phœbe was in a state to support me. She was promptly reported ready, although much disabled. The Astrea then wore, and led towards the enemy, followed by the Racehorse and Phœbe; the conduct of which ship, as a British man of war, did honour to all on board. The enemy was soon discovered a little a-head, and his leading ship, the Commodore, was brought to close action by the Astrea. In twenty-five minutes she struck, and made the signal to that effect, having previously attempted to lay us athwart hawse, under a heavy fire of grape and musketry from all parts of the ship. Another frigate on closing, struck, and made the signal also; but on a shot being fired at her from her late commodore, she was observed trying to escape. Chace was instantly given, and continued till two o'clock in the morning, with all the sail both ships were enabled, from their disabled state, to carry; when I judged it advisable, as she gained on us, to wear, for the purpose of covering the captured ship, and forming a junction (if possible) with the Galatea. At this moment the Phœbe's foretop-mast fell; sight of the Galatea or captured ship was not regained until daylight, when, to the credit of Lieutenants Roger (Second of the Astrea) and Drury (R. M.) who with five men were all that could be put on board the latter in a sinking boat, she was observed making an effort to join us, a perfect wreck. The captured frigate proves to be La Renommée, of the first class (as are the other two), of 44 guns, and 470 men (200 of whom were picked troops) commanded by Capitaine de Vaisseau (with Commodore's rank) Roquebert, officier de la Legion d'Honneur, who fell while gallantly fighting his ship. The senior officer of the troops, Colonel Barrois, Member de la Legion d'Honneur, is dangerously wounded. The ship that struck and escaped was La Clorinde; the one disabled by the Phœbe, La Nereide; having each 200 troops on board, besides their crews. This squadron escaped from Brest on the night of the 2d of February, and was destined to reinforce Mauritius, having arms and various other warlike stores on board. I beg to apologise for so lengthened a detail; but few actions have been fought under such a variety of peculiarly trying and vexatious difficulties. I am, however, called upon by my feelings and a sense of my duty, to bear testimony to the meritorious conduct of the officers and ships' companies of his Majesty's ships Phœbe and Astrea. To the discipline of the former I attribute much; but as Captain Hillyar's merit as an officer is so generally, and, by you, so particularly appreciated, it is needless for me to comment on it, further than to observe, that the separation of the Galatea was amply compensated by the exertion manifested in the conduct of the ship he had the honour to command. To the officers, seamen, and marines, of the

Astrea, I am for ever indebted; their cool and steady conduct when in close action with the enemy, and on fire in several places from his wadding, merits my admiration (particularly having been so recently formed.) A difference in the personal exertion of each officer was not distinguishable; but I cannot allow the efforts and judgment of Lieutenant John Baldwin, first of this ship, to pass without particular encomium; I received the greatest assistance from him, and also from Mr. Nellson, the master. The moment the Phœbe and Astrea are in a state to get to windward, the prisoners exchanged, and la Renommée rendered sea-worthy, I shall proceed off Tamatave for farther information, as I have reason to think it in possession of the enemy. I have the honour to transmit returns of the killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ships. The loss on board La Renommée is excessive—145 killed and wounded. Galatea having parted company, no return.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. M. SCHOMBERG, Captain.

Captain Beaver, his Majesty's ship Nisus, senior officer, at the Isle of France.

List of killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ship Astrea, in action with the enemy on the 20th of May, off Madagascar.

2 Seamen killed; 1 lieutenant, 11 seamen, 3 marines, 1 boy, wounded.—Total killed and wounded—18.

(Signed) C. M. SCHOMBERG, Captain.

List of the killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ship Phœbe in action with the enemy, on the 20th of May, off Madagascar.

7 Seamen killed; 1 midshipman, 21 seamen, 2 marines, wounded.—Total killed and wounded—31.

(Signed) JAMES HILLYAR, Captain.

List of killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ship Galatea, Woodley Losack, Esq. Captain, in action with the French squadron off the Isle of Madagascar, on the 20th of May.

16 Killed, 45 wounded—Total killed and wounded, 61.

(Signed) WOODLEY LOSACK, Captain.

N. B. Transmitted by Captain Beaver, of the Nisus.

His Majesty's ship Astrea, at anchor, Tamatave, Madagascar, May 28.

Sir,

In my letter of the 20th instant, detailing the action between his Majesty's ships under my orders and those of the enemy, I had the honour to inform you, that it was my intention to reconnoitre this port, as I had received information that the enemy had landed and surprised the garrison, on his first arrival on the coast. The state of his Majesty's ships Astrea and Phœbe did not admit of their beating up quickly against the currents and very variable winds; the Racehorse sloop was therefore dispatched in advance, to sum-

mon the garrison of Tamatave to immediately surrender. On the evening of the 24th instant, Capt. De Rippe rejoined me, reporting his having seen a large frigate anchored in that port; a strong gale prevented his Majesty's ships from getting in sight of her until the afternoon of the 25th instant, when every thing being ready to force the anchorage, I stood in, and observed an enemy's frigate, placed in a most judicious position within the reefs of the port, for the purpose of enfilading the narrow passage between them, supported by a strong fort in her van, within half musket shot, full of troops; there were also new works in forwardness, to flank the anchorage. Not having any body of local knowledge in either of his Majesty's ships, and it being almost impracticable to sound the passage between the reefs, which was intricate, and completely exposed to the whole concentrated fire of the enemy within grape distance, I judged it expedient, under existing circumstances (both ships being full of prisoners, and having a proportion of men absent in La Renommée, besides sick and wounded), to defer, until necessary, risking his Majesty's ships. I therefore summoned the garrison and frigate to immediately surrender; when, after the usual intercourse of flag of truce, I have the honour to inform you, that the fort of Tamatave, its dependencies, the frigate, and vessels in the port, together with the late garrison (a detachment of the forty-second regiment) were surrendered to, and taken possession of by his Majesty's ships under my orders. I was induced to grant the terms (a copy of which, together with the summons, and answer thereto, I have the honour to enclose), in order to prevent the destruction of the fort of Tamatave, the frigate, and vessels—a measure they intended to adopt. The enemy's frigate proves to be la Nereide (one of the finest, only two years old) of 44 guns, and 470 men (200 of whom are choice troops), commanded by Capitaine le Maresqueir, Member de la Legion d'Honneur, who fell in the action of the 20th inst. in which she suffered very considerably, having 130 men killed and wounded. She was much engaged by the Phœbe. The crew of La Nereide, together with the French garrison of Tamatave, I intend sending to the Mauritius as soon as possible, fifty excepted, who are too severely wounded to survive removal. The whole detachment of his Majesty's 22d regiment retaken, being ill of the endemic fever of this country, I mean to embark on board the Nereide, so soon as she is in a state to receive them; when, after having dismantled the fort, and embarked the guns, &c. I shall proceed with her under convoy to the Mauritius, in company with the Phœbe.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. M. SCHOMBERG, Captain.

Captain Beaver, his Majesty's ship Nisus, senior officer at the Isle of France.

London Gazette Extraordinary.
Monday, Dec. 2.

Captain Hill, aide-de-camp to

Lieut. Gen. Hill, arrived, December 1, at the Earl of Liverpool's office with a dispatch, addressed to his lordship by General Viscount Wellington, dated Frenada, 6th of November, 1811, of which the following is an extract :—

I informed your lordship, in my dispatches of the 23d and 30th of October, of the orders which I had given to Lieut. Gen. Hill to move into Estremadura with the troops under his command, and with his progress to the 26th of October.

He marched on the 27th by Aldea del Cano to Alcuesca ; and on the 28th, in the morning, surprised the enemy's troops under General Girard at Arroyo del Molino, and dispersed the division of infantry and cavalry which had been employed under the command of that general, taking Gen. Brune, the Duc d'Aremberg, and about one thousand three hundred prisoners, three pieces of cannon, &c. and having killed many in the action with the enemy, and in the subsequent pursuit. General Girard escaped, wounded ; and, by all accounts which I have received, General Dubrocoskie was killed.

I beg to refer your lordship for the details of Lieutenant General Hill's operations to the 30th of October, to his dispatch to me of that date from Merida, a copy of which I enclose. I have frequently had the pleasure to report to your lordship the zeal and ability with which Lieutenant General Hill had carried into execution the operations intrusted to his charge ; and I have great satisfacton in repeating my commendations of him, and of the brave troops under his command, upon the present occasion, in which the ability of the general, and the gallantry and discipline of the officers and troops, have been conspicuous.

I send with General Hill's dispatch a plan of the ground and of the operations on the 28th of October, by Captain Hill, the general's brother and aide-de-camp, who attended him in the action, and will be able to give your lordship any further details which you may require. I beg leave to recommend him to your protection.

Merida, Oct. 30, 1811

My Lord,

In pursuance of the instructions which I received from your lordship, I put a portion of the troops under my orders in motion on the 22d instant, from their cantonments in the neighbourhood of Portalegre, and advanced with them towards the Spanish frontier.

On the 22d the head of the column reached Albuquerque, when I learnt that the enemy, who had advanced to Aliseda, had fallen back to Arroyo del Puerco, and that the Spaniards were again in possession of Aliseda.

On the 24th, I had a brigade of British infantry, half a brigade of Portuguese artillery (six pounders), and some of my cavalry, at Aliseda ; and the remainder of my cavalry, another brigade of British infantry, and half a brigade of Portuguese six pounders, at Casa de Cantillana, about a league distant.

On the 25th, the Count de Penne Villamur made a reconnoissance with his cavalry, and

drove the enemy from Arroyo del Puerco. The enemy retired to Malpartida, which place he occupied as an advanced post, with about three hundred cavalry and some infantry, his main body being still at Caceres.

On the 26th, at day-break, the troops arrived at Malpartida, and found that the enemy had left that place, retiring towards Caceres, followed by a small party of the 2d hussars, who skirmished with his rear-guard. I was shortly afterwards informed that the whole of the enemy's force had left Caceres; but the want of certainty as to the direction he had taken, and the extreme badness of the weather, induced me to halt the Portuguese and British troops at Malpartida for that night. The Spaniards moved on to Caceres.

Having received certain information that the enemy had marched on Torre Mocha, I put the troops at Malpartida in motion on the morning of the 27th, and advanced by the road leading to Merida, through Aldea del Cano and Casa de Don Antonio, being a shorter route than that followed by the enemy, and which afforded a hope of being able to intercept and bring him to action; and I was here joined by the Spaniards from Caceres. On the march, I received information, that the enemy had only left Torre Mocha that morning, and that he had again halted his main body at Arroyo del Molino, leaving a rear-guard at Albala, which was a satisfactory proof that he was ignorant of the movements of the troops under my command.

I therefore made a forced march to Alcuesca that evening, where the troops were so placed as to be out of sight of the enemy, and no fires were allowed to be made. On my arrival at Alcuesca, which is within a league of Arroyo del Molino, every thing tended to confirm me in my opinion that the enemy was not only in total ignorance of my near approach, but extremely off his guard; and I determined upon attempting to surprize, or at least, to bring him to action, before he should march in the morning; and the necessary dispositions were made for that purpose.

The town of Arroyo del Molino is situated at the foot of one extremity of the Sierra of Montanches; the mountain running from it to the rear, in the form of a crescent, almost every where inaccessible, the two points being about two miles asunder. The Truxillo road runs round that to the eastward.

The road leading from the town to Merida runs at right angles with that from Alcuesca, and the road to Medellin passes between those to Truxillo and Merida. The ground over which the troops had to manœuvre being a plain, thinly scattered with oak and cork trees, my object of course was to place a body of troops so as to cut off the retreat of the enemy by any of these roads.

The troops moved from their bivouack near Alcuesca, about two o'clock in the morning of the 28th, in one column right in front, direct on Arroyo del Molino, and in the following order:—Major-General Howard's brigade of infantry, (1st battalion 50th, 71st, and 92d regiments, and one com-

pany of the 60th); Colonel Wilson's brigade, (1st battalion 28th, 2d battalion 34th, and 2d battalion 39th, and one company of the 60th,) 6th Portuguese regiment of the line, and 6th Caçadores under Col. Ashworth, the Spanish infantry under Brigadier-General Morillo, Major-General Long's brigade of cavalry (2d hussars, 9th and 13th light dragoons), and the Spanish cavalry under the Conde de Penne Villamur. They moved in this order until within half a mile of the town of Arroyo del Molino, when, under cover of a low ridge, the column closed, and divided into three columns. Major-Gen. Howard's brigade, and three six-pounders under Lieut. Colonel Stewart, supported by Brigadier-Gen. Morillo's infantry, the left; Colonel Wilson's brigade, the Portuguese infantry under Col. Ashworth, two six-pounders, and a howitzer, the right, under Major-General Howard; and the cavalry, the centre.

As the day dawned, a violent storm of rain and thick mist came on, under cover of which the columns advanced in the direction, and in the order which had been pointed out to them. The left column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, marched direct upon the town; the 71st, one company of the 60th and the 92d regiment, at quarter distance; and the 50th in close column somewhat in the rear, with the guns as a reserve.

The right column, under Major-General Howard, having the 39th regiment as a reserve, broke off to the right, so as to turn the enemy's left; and having gained about the distance of a cannon-shot to that flank, it marched in a circular direction upon the further point of the cresent on the mountain above-mentioned.

The cavalry, under Lieutenant-General Sir William Erskine, moved between the two columns of infantry ready to act in front, or move round either of them, as occasion might require.

The advance of our columns was unperceived by the enemy, until they approached very near, at which moment he was filing out of the town upon the Merida road; the rear of his column, some of his cavalry, and part of his baggage, being still in it; one brigade of his infantry had marched for Medellin an hour before daylight.

The 71st and 92d regiments charged into the town with three cheers, and drove the enemy every where at the point of the bayonet, having a few of their men cut down by the enemy's cavalry.

The enemy's infantry which had got out of the town, had, by the time these regiments arrived at the extremity of it, formed into two squares, with the cavalry on their left; the whole were posted between the Merida and Medellin roads, fronting Alcuesca. The right square being formed within half-musket-shot of the town, the garden-walls of which were promptly lined by the 71st light infantry, while the 92d regiment filed out and formed line on their right, perpendicular to the enemy's right flank, which was much annoyed by the well-directed fire of the 71st. In the mean time, one wing of the 50th regiment occupied the town, and secured the prisoners; and the other wing, along with the three six-pounders,

skirted the outside of it; the artillery, as soon as within range, firing with great effect upon the squares.

Whilst the enemy was thus occupied on his right, Major-Gen. Howard's column continued moving round his left; and our cavalry advancing, and crossing the head of their column, cut off the enemy's cavalry from his infantry, charging it repeatedly, and putting it to the rout. The 13th light dragoons, at the same time, took possession of the enemy's artillery. One of the charges made by the two squadrons of the 2d hussars, and one of the 9th light dragoons, was particularly gallant; the latter commanded by Captain Gore, the whole under Major Bussche, of the hussars. I ought previously to have mentioned, that the British cavalry having, through the darkness of the night and the badness of the road, been somewhat delayed, the Spanish cavalry, under the Count de Penne Villamur, was, on this occasion, the first to form upon the plain, and engaged the enemy until the British were enabled to come up.

The enemy was now in full retreat, but Major-Gen. Howard's column having gained the point to which it was directed, and the left column gaining fast upon him, he had no resource but to surrender, or to disperse and ascend the mountain. He preferred the latter, and ascending near the eastern extremity of the ascent, and which might have been deemed inaccessible, was followed closely by the 28th and 34th regiments; whilst the 39th regiment, and Colonel Ashworth's Portuguese infantry, followed round the foot of the mountain by the Truxillo road, to take him again in flank. At the same time, Brigadier-General Morillo's infantry ascended at some distance to the left, with the same view.

As may be imagined, the enemy's troops were by this time in the utmost panic; his cavalry was flying in every direction, the infantry threw away their arms, and the only effort of either was to escape. The troops under Major-General Howard's command, as well as those he had sent round the point of the mountain, pursued them over the rocks, making prisoners at every step, until his own men became so exhausted and few in number, that it was necessary for him to halt and secure the prisoners, and leave the farther pursuit to the Spanish infantry under General Morillo; who, from the direction in which they had ascended, had now become the most advanced: the force General Girard had with him at the commencement, which consisted of 2,500 infantry, and 600 cavalry, being at this time totally dispersed. In the course of these operations, Brigadier-Gen. Campbell's brigade of Portuguese infantry (the 4th and 10th regiments), and the 18th Portuguese infantry, joined from Casa de Don Antonio, where they had halted for the preceding night; and as soon as I judged they could no longer be required at the scene of action, I detached them with the brigade consisting of the 50th, 71st, and 92d regiments, and Major-General Long's brigade of cavalry, towards Merida. They reached St. Pedro that night, and entered Me-

rida this morning; the enemy having, in the course of the night, retreated from hence in great alarm to Almendralego. The Count de Penne Villamur formed the advanced guard with his cavalry, and had entered the town previous to the arrival of the British.

The ultimate consequences of these operations I need not point out to your lordship; their immediate result is the capture of one general of cavalry (Brune), one colonel of cavalry (the Prince D'Aremberg), one lieutenant-colonel (chief of the etat-major), one aide-de-camp of General Girard, two lieutenant colonels, one commissaire de guerre, thirty captains and inferior officers, and upwards of one thousand non-commissioned officers and soldiers, already sent off under an escort to Portalegre: the whole of the enemy's artillery, baggage, and commissariat, some magazines of corn, which he had collected at Caceres and Merida, and the contribution of money which he had levied on the former town, besides the total dispersion of General Girard's corps. The loss of the enemy in killed must also have been severe; while that on our side was comparatively trifling, as appears by the accompanying return, in which your lordship will lament to see the name of Lieutenant Strenuwitz, aide-de-camp to Lieutenant General Sir William Erskine, whose extreme gallantry led him into the midst of the enemy's cavalry, and occasioned his being taken prisoner.

Thus has ended an expedition, which, although not bringing into play to the full extent the gallantry and spirit of those engaged, will, I trust, give them a claim to your lordship's approbation. No praise of mine can do justice to their admirable conduct; the patience and good-will shewn by all ranks during forced marches in the worst of weather; their strict attention to the orders they received; the precision with which they moved to the attack; and their obedience to command during the action: in short, the manner in which every one has performed his duty from the first commencement of the operation, merits my warmest thanks; and will not, I am sure, pass unobserved by your lordship.

To Lieutenant General Sir William Erskine I must express my obligations for his assistance and advice upon all occasions; to Major General Howard, who dismounted and headed his troops up the difficult ascent of the Sierra, and throughout most ably conducted his column; and to Major General Long, for his exertions at the head of his brigade, I feel myself particularly indebted. I must also express my obligations to Colonel Wilson, Colonel Ashworth, and Lieutenant Colonel Stewart, commanding brigades, for the able manner in which they led them; Lieutenant Colonel Cameron, the Honourable Lieutenant Colonel Cadogan, the Honourable Lieutenant Colonel Abercromby, and Lieutenant Colonels Fenwick, Muter, and Lindsay, Majors Harrison and Bussche, Major Parke, commanding the light companies, and Captain Gore, commanding the 9th light dragoons, Major

Hartmann, commanding the artillery, Lieutenant Colonel Grant and Major Birmingham of the Portuguese service, Captain Arresaga, of the Portuguese artillery, whose guns did so much execution, severally merit my warmest approbation by their conduct; and I must not omit to mention the exertions made by Brigadier General Campbell and his troops, to arrive in time to give their assistance.

General Giron, the chief of General Castanos's staff, and second in command of the 5th Spanish army, has done me the honour to accompany me during these operations; and I feel much indebted to him for his assistance and valuable advice.

Brigadier General the Count de Penne Villamur, Brigadier General Morillo, Colonel Downie, and the Spanish officers and soldiers in general, have conducted themselves in a manner to excite my warmest approbation.

To Lieutenant Colonel Rooke, assistant adjutant general, and Lieutenant Colonel Offeney, assistant quarter master general, for the able manner in which they have conducted their departments; and also for the valuable assistance and advice which I have at at all times received from them; to the officers of the adjutant and quarter master general's departments; to Captain Squire, of the royal engineers for his intelligence and indefatigable exertions during the whole operation; and to Captain Currie and my personal staff, my warmest thanks are due.

This dispatch will be delivered to your lordship by Captain Hill, my first aide-de-camp, to whom I beg to refer your lordship for all further particulars.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. Hill, Lieutenant General.

To Gen. Visc. Wellington.

P. S. Since writing the above report, a good many more prisoners have been made, and I doubt not but the whole will amount to thirteen or fourteen hundred.

Brigadier General Morillo has just returned from the pursuit of the dispersed, whom he followed for eight leagues. He reports, that besides those killed in the plain, upwards of six hundred dead were found in the woods and mountains.

General Girard escaped in the direction of Serena, with two or three hundred men, mostly without arms, and is stated by his own aide-de-camp to be wounded.

Return of killed wounded, and missing, of a corps of the army under the command of General Viscount Wellington, K. B. commander of the forces, under the immediate orders of Lieutenant General R. Hill, engaged with the French near Arroyo del Molino, on the 28th of October, 1811.

Total British loss—7 rank and file, 5 horses, killed; 1 lieutenant colonel, 2 majors, 4 captains, 4 serjeants, 47 rank and file, 11 horses, wounded; 1 general staff, missing.

Total Portuguese loss—6 rank and file wounded.

London Gazette Extraordinary, *Tuesday, Dec.* 17.

Letter from Lieutenant General

Sir Samuel Auchmuty to Lord Minto, Governor General of India.

Head-quarters, Weltevreede, August 31, 1811.

My Lord,

After a short but arduous campaign, the troops you did me the honour to place under my orders have taken the capital of Java, have assaulted and carried the enemy's formidable works at Cornelis, have defeated and dispersed their collected force, and have driven them from the kingdoms of Bantam and Jacatra. This brilliant success over a well appointed and disciplined force, greatly superior in numbers, and in every respect well equipped, is the result of the great zeal, gallantry, and discipline of the troops; qualities which they have possessed in a degree, certainly never surpassed. It is my duty to lay before your lordship the details of their success; but it is not in my power to do them the justice they deserve, or to express how much their country is indebted to them for their great exertions.

Your lordship is acquainted with the reasons that induced me to attempt a landing in the neighbourhood of Batavia. It was effected without opposition at the village of Chillingching, twelve miles east of the city, on the 4th instant. My intention was to proceed from thence by the direct road to Cornelis, where the enemy's force was said to be assembled in a strongly fortified position, and to place the city of Batavia in my rear, from whence alone I could expect to derive supplies equal to the arduous contest we were engaged in. As some time was required to make preparations for an inland movement, I judged it proper to reconnoitre the road by the coast leading to Batavia, and observe how far it would be practicable to penetrate by that route. I was aware that it was extremely strong, and, if well defended, nearly impracticable. Advancing with part of the army, I had the satisfaction to find that it was not disputed with us; and the only obstacle to our progress was occasioned by the destruction of the bridge over the Anjol river. I approached the river on the 6th, and observing, during that evening, a large fire in Batavia, I concluded it was the intention of the enemy to evacuate the city; and with this impression I directed the advance of the army under Colonel Gillespie, to pass the river in boats on the succeeding night. They lodged themselves in the suburbs of the city, and a temporary bridge was hastily constructed on the morning of the 8th, capable of supporting light artillery. On that day the burghers of Batavia applied for protection, and surrendered the city without opposition, the garrison having retreated to Weltevreede.

The possession of Batavia was of the utmost importance. Though large store-houses of public property were burnt by the enemy, previous to their retreat, and every effort made to destroy the remainder, we were fortunate in preserving some valuable granaries, and other stores. The city, although abandoned by the principal inhabitants, was filled

with an industrious race of people, who could be particularly useful to the army. Provisions were in abundance, and an easy communication preserved with the fleet.

In the night of the 8th, a feeble attempt was made by the enemy, to cut off a small guard I had sent for the security of the place; but the troops of the advance had, unknown to them, reinforced the party early in the evening, and the attack was repulsed. The advance, under Colonel Gillespie, occupied the city on the 9th.

Very early on the morning of the 10th, I directed Colonel Gillespie, with his corps, to move from Batavia towards the enemy's cantonment at Weltevreede, supported by two brigades of infantry, that marched before break of day through the city and followed his route. The cantonment was abandoned, but the enemy were in force a little beyond it, and about two miles in advance of their works at Cornelis. Their position was strong, and defended by an abbatis, occupied by three thousand of their best troops, and four guns of horse artillery; Colonel Gillespie attacked it with spirit and judgment; and, after an obstinate resistance, carried it at the point of the bayonet, completely routed their force, and took their guns. A strong column from their works advanced to their support, but our line being arrived, they were instantly pursued, and driven under shelter of their batteries.

In this affair, so creditable to Colonel Gillespie, and all the corps of the advance, the grenadier company of the 78th, and the detachment of the 89th regiment, particularly distinguished themselves, by charging and capturing the enemy's artillery. Our loss was trifling, compared with the enemy's, which may be estimated at about 500 men, with Brigadier General Alberti dangerously wounded.

Though we had hitherto been successful, beyond my most sanguine expectations, our further progress became extremely difficult, and somewhat doubtful.

The enemy, greatly superior in numbers, was strongly entrenched in a position, between the great river Jacatra and the Sloken, an artificial watercourse, neither of which were fordable. This position was shut up by a deep trench, strongly palisaded. Seven redoubts, and many batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, occupied the most commanding grounds within the lines. The fort of Cornelis was in the centre, and the whole of the works was defended by a numerous and well organized artillery. The season was too far advanced, the heat too violent, and our numbers insufficient, to admit of regular approaches. To carry the works by assault was the alternative, and on that I decided. In aid of this measure, I erected some batteries, to disable the principal redoubts, and for two days kept up a heavy fire from twenty 18-pounders and eight mortars and howitzers. Their execution was great; and I had the pleasure to find, that though answered at the commencement of each day, by a far more numerous artillery, we daily silenced their nearest batteries,

considerably disturbed every part of their position, and were evidently superior in our fire.

At dawn of day, on the 26th, the assault was made. The principal attack was intrusted to that gallant and experienced officer, Colonel Gillespie. He had the infantry of the advance, and the grenadiers of the line with him, and was supported by Colonel Gibbs, with the 59th regiment and the 4th battalion of Bengal volunteers. They were intended, if possible, to surprise the redoubt, No. 1, constructed by the enemy beyond the Sloken, to endeavour to cross the bridge over that stream with the fugitives, and then to assault the redoubts, within the lines; Colonel Gillespie attacking those to the left, and Colonel Gibbs to the right. Lieutenant Colonel M'Leod, with six companies of the 69th, was directed to follow a path, on the bank of the great river; and when the attack had commenced on the Sloken, to endeavour to possess himself of the enemy's left redoubt No. 2. Major Tule, with the flank corps of the reserve, reinforced by two troops of cavalry, four guns of horse artillery, two companies of the 69th, and the grenadiers of the reserve, was directed to attack the corps at Camporg Maylayo, on the west of the great river, and endeavour to cross the bridge at that post.

The remainder of the army, under Major General Wetherall, was at the batteries, where a column, under Colonel Wood, consisting of the 78th regiment, and the 5th volunteer battalion, was directed to advance against the enemy in front, and at a favourable moment, when pressed by the other attacks, to force his way, if practicable, and open the position for the line.

The enemy was under arms, and prepared for the combat; and General Jansens, the commander in chief, was in the redoubt where it commenced. Colonel Gillespie, after a long detour through a close and intricate country, came on their advance, routed it in an instant, and with a rapidity never surpassed, under a heavy fire of grape and musquetry, possessed himself of the advanced redoubt, No. 3. He passed the bridge with the fugitives, under a tremendous fire; and assaulted, and carried with the bayonet, the redoubt, No. 4, after a most obstinate resistance. Here the two divisions of the column separated. Colonel Gibbs turned to the right, and with the 59th and part of the 78th, who had now forced their way in front, carried the redoubt, No. 1. A tremendous explosion of the magazine of this work (whether accidental or designed is not ascertained) took place at the instant of its capture, and destroyed a number of gallant officers and men, who at the moment were crowded on its ramparts, which the enemy had abandoned. The redoubt, No. 2, against which Lieutenant Colonel M'Leod's attack was directed, was carried in as gallant a style: and, I lament to state, that most valiant and experienced officer fell at the moment of victory. The front of the position was now open, and the troops rushed in from every quarter.

During the operations on the right, Colonel Gillespie pursued his advantage to the left, carrying

the enemy's redoubts towards the rear; and being joined by Lieut. Colonel M'Leod, of the 59th, with part of that corps, he directed him to attack the park of artillery, which that officer carried in a most masterly manner, putting to flight a body of the enemy's cavalry that formed, and attempted to defend it. A sharp fire of musketry was now kept up by a strong body of the enemy, who had taken post in the lines in front of Fort Cornelis; but were driven from them, the fort taken, and the enemy completely dispersed. They were pursued by Colonel Gillespie, with the 14th regiment, a party of Sepoys, and the seamen from the batteries, under Captain Sayer, of the royal navy. By this time the cavalry and horse artillery had effected a passage through the lines, the former commanded by Major Travers, and the latter by Captain Noble; and, with the gallant Colonel at their head, the pursuit was continued, till the whole of the enemy's army was killed, taken, or dispersed.

Major Tule's attack was equally spirited, but after routing the enemy's force at Camporg Maylayo, and killing many of them, he found the bridge on fire, and was unable to penetrate further.

I have the honour to enclose a return of the loss sustained, from our landing on the 4th to the 26th inclusive: sincerely I lament its extent, and the many valuable and able officers that have unfortunately fallen; but when the prepared state of the enemy, their numbers, and the strength of their positions, are considered, I trust it will not be deemed heavier than might be expected. Their's has greatly exceeded it. In the action of the 26th, the numbers killed were immense, but it has been impossible to form any accurate statement of the amount. About 1000 have been buried in the works, multitudes were cut down in the retreat, the rivers are choked up with dead, and the huts and woods were filled with the wounded, who have since expired. We have taken near 5000 prisoners, among whom are three General officers, 34 field officers, 70 captains, and 150 subaltern officers. General Jansens made his escape with difficulty, during the action, and reached Buitenzorg, a distance of 30 miles, with a few cavalry, the sole remains of an army of 10,000 men. This place he has since evacuated, and fled to the eastward. A detachment of our troops is in possession of it.

The superior discipline and invincible courage, which have so highly distinguished the British army, were never more fully displayed; and I have the heartfelt pleasure to add, that they have not been clouded by any acts of insubordination.

I have the honour to enclose a copy of the orders I have directed to be issued, thanking the troops in general for their services, and particularizing some of the officers, who, from their rank or situations, were more fortunate than their equally gallant companions, in opportunities of distinguishing themselves, and serving their Sovereign and their country. But I must not omit noticing to your lordship the very particular merit of Colonel Gillespie, to whose assistance in planning the principal

attack, and to whose gallantry, energy, and judgment in executing it, the success is greatly to be attributed.

To the general staff of the army, as well as my own staff, I feel myself particularly indebted. The professional knowledge, zeal, and activity of Colonel Eden, Quarter Master General, have been essentially useful to me; but I cannot express how much I have benefited by the able assistance and laborious exertions of Colonel Agnew, the Adjutant General, an officer whose active and meritorious services have frequently attracted the notice and received the thanks of the governments in India.

It is with particular pleasure I assure your lordship, that I have received the most cordial support from the Honourable Rear Admiral Stopford and Commodore Broughton, during the period of their commanding the squadron. The former was pleased to allow a body of 500 seamen, under that valuable officer Captain Sayer, of the Leda, to assist at our batteries. Their services were particularly useful; and I have the satisfaction to assure you, that both the artillery and engineers were actuated by the same zeal, in performing their respective duties, that has been so conspicuous in all ranks and departments, though from the deficiency of the means at their disposal, their operations were unavoidably embarrassed with uncommon difficulties.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) S. Auchmuty,
Lieut. Gen.

General return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the army, commanded by his Excellency Sir Samuel Auchmuty, since its landing on the island of Java on the 4th of August, 1811, till the 26th of August, 1811; since when no casualties have occurred.

Total killed, Europeans, 1 lieutenant colonel, 3 captains, 9 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 2 staff serjeants, 6 serjeants, 91 rank and file; natives, 2 jemindars, 2 havildars, 23 rank and file.

Total wounded, Europeans, 3 lieutenant colonels, 2 majors, 14 captains, 36 lieutenants, 7 ensigns, 1 staff serjeant, 32 serjeants, 2 drummers, 513 rank and file; natives, 2 subildars or serangs, 4 jemindars, 9 havildars, 1 drummer, 107 rank and file.

Total missing, 13 rank and file.

Total horses, 14 killed; 21 wounded; 3 missing.

(Signed) P. A. Agnew,
Adjutant General.

Memorandum of the number and rank of officers prisoners of war.

3 Brigadiers, 5 colonels, 4 majors, 21 lieutenant colonels, 1 commissary of war 1st class, 1 assistant commissary of war 1st class, 2 assistant commissaries of war 2d class, 70 captains, 134 lieutenants, 7 Amboynese lieutenants, 3 native lieutenants, 5 subadjutants, 1 cadet.

N. B. From the number of prisoners hourly arriving, and the many wounded, whom it has not yet been possible to collect, the actual number of prisoners must considerably exceed the above statement, which includes the commandants of cavalry, artillery,

and engineers of the army of Java, with three aides-de-camp of the Governor General and Commandant in chief.

(Signed) J. A. Agnew,
Adj. Gen.

Head-quarters, Weltevreede,
August 31, 1811.

Return of Ordnance found in the citadel and arsenal at Batavia and Weltevreede, and taken between the 10th and 26th of August by the army under the command of Lieutenant General Sir Samuel Auchmuty.

In the citadel of Batavia on the 8th of August, 50 brass guns, 180 iron guns, 230 iron and brass cannons and mortars, 4000 shot, 280 shells.—In the arsenal at Weltevreede, on the 10th, 64 brass guns, 30 brass mortars, 1 brass howitzer, 213 iron guns, 308 iron and brass cannons and mortars, 18,397 shot, 20,496 shells.—Field-pieces of horse artillery, taken in the actions on the 10th of August, 4 brass guns.

Taken in Cornelis the 26th of August.—Horse artillery, with limber, &c. taken in field of battle, 24 brass guns, 5 brass howitzers, 29 iron and brass cannons and mortars.—In the arsenal, 23 brass guns, 2 brass mortars, 11 brass howitzers, 10 iron guns, 46 iron and brass cannons and mortars.—On the batteries, 41 brass guns, 3 brass mortars, 2 brass howitzers, 101 iron guns, 130 iron and brass cannons and mortars.

Total, 209 brass guns, 35 brass mortars, 19 brass howitzers, 504 iron guns, 743 iron and brass cannons and mortars.

(Signed) P. A. Agnew,
Major Gen.

Head-quarters, Weltevreede,
Aug. 31, 1811.

N. B. Shot and shells not counted, in great quantity.

PRICE OF STOCKS FOR THE YEAR 1811.

N.B. The highest and lowest prices of each Stock in the course of any month are set down in that month.

1811.	Bank Stock	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct. cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	5 p. ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	India Stock	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Omn.	Irish 3 p. ct.	Imp. 3 p. ct.	Lottery Tickets
January	244	67 1/8	67 1/3	83 1/8	100 3/4	100 3/4	17 1/4	178	28 pr.	72 1/8	66 3/4	66	14 pr.	5 3/8 dis	97 1/2	65 1/4	22*l* 14*s*
	240	65 7/8	65 3/4	81 3/4	98 1/4	100	17 7/8	176 3/4	19 pr.	71 5/8	65 5/8	65 1/2	1 pr.	3 7/8 dis	96	64	
February	251	66 5/8	66 1/8	83 3/8	98 7/8	101	17 1/16	179 1/2	28 pr.	71 7/8	66 3/8	66 3/8	10 pr.	5 1/8 dis	97 1/4	65 1/8	22 15
	241 3/4	66	65 3/4	82 3/4	97 7/8	100 3/4	17 3/4	177	24 pr.	70 1/4	65 1/2	65 1/2	3 pr.	4 1/4 dis	96 3/4	64 5/8	
March	245 1/4	66 3/4	65 3/4	83 1/4	98	101	17 1/16	178	27 pr.	71 1/8	65 7/8	65 1/4	15 pr.	7 1/4 dis		64 7/8	22 10
	243 1/2	65 1/4	64 1/8	82	96 3/4		17 1/2	177 1/4	21 pr.	69		64	2 pr.	5 dis		63	
April	240 1/4	65 1/2	64 7/8	80 1/2	97 7/8	98 5/8	17 5/8	182 1/4	31 pr.	70 1/4	64 7/8	64 5/8	10 pr.	7 dis	94	63 7/8	22 10
	238	63	64 1/4	79 1/8	96		17 7/11	178 1/2	17 pr.	69 1/7	63 1/4	64	1 pr.	6 1/8 dis	93 1/4	63 3/4	
May	248	64 3/8	65 1/8	80 1/8	97 3/8	99 1/8	17 3/16	183 1/4	24 pr.	70 1/4	64 1/4	65 1/4	5 pr.	1 1/4 pr.		62 7/8	22 10
	241 7/8	63 1/8	64 3/4	79 1/8	96 1/4		16 7/8	182	14 pr.	69 1/8	63 7/8	64 3/4	1 dis.	1/4 pr.		62 1/8	
June	240 1/2	63 3/4	64 1/2	80 1/8	97 1/8	100 3/8	16 7/8	183	20 pr.		63 1/2	64	4 pr.	1/2 pr.	93 3/4	62 1/4	
	235	62	64 3/8	79 1/4	97	99 5/8	16 1/16	182 3/4	12 pr.		62 1/8		3 dis.	1 3/4 dis		61 3/8	
July	241 7/8	63 1/4	62 3/4		97	100 3/8	16 3/8	176	21 pr.	68 1/4	63	62 3/8	6 pr.	1 dis	93 5/8	61 3/4	
	232 1/2	62 1/4	61 1/8		93 1/8	100 1/8	16 1/16	174 3/4	11 pr.	67	62 1/4	61 1/4	2 dis.	2 1/2 dis	93 3/8	61	
August	241 3/4	64 1/2	64 1/4	80 7/8	96	100 7/8	17	183 3/4	19 pr.	68	63	62 7/8	6 pr.	1 1/2 dis	94 1/2	62 3/4	
	236	62 7/8	62 1/2	79 3/8	93 3/4	100 3/8	16 1/16	175	10 pr.	67 1/4	62 1/4		1 pr.	1/8 dis		61 1/2	
September	238 1/2	64 3/8	64 5/8	81 1/8	96 1/2	101 1/4	17 1/16	183	18 pr.	68 3/4	64 3/8	64	5 pr.	3/4 pr.	94 1/2	63 1/8	
	238	64 3/8	63 3/4	80 7/8	94 7/8	101	17	182 1/2	14 pr.		64 1/8	63 1/8	1 pr.	1/8 dis		62 1/8	
October	233 1/2	64 3/4	63 3/4	80 7/8	96 1/8	99 3/8	16 7/16	182	19 pr.	68 1/4	62 3/4	63 1/2	6 pr.	1 dis	92 1/8	62 3/8	
	230 1/2	62 1/4	63 1/8	78 1/4	94	98 3/4	16 1/8	181 1/2	13 pr.	63 3/8	62	63	4 dis.	1/8 dis			
November	233	63 1/4	64 1/4	79 1/8	97 1/4	99 3/4	16 3/4	185 1/4	19 pr.	69 1/2	63	64	6 p	5/8 pr.	93 1/2	61 5/8	
	231	62 1/8	63 1/8	78 3/8	95 5/8	99 1/2	16 1/2	183	14 pr.	68 1/2	62 5/8	62 5/8	1 dis.	1 dis	93	60 7/8	
December	231 1/2	63	63 5/8	78 5/8	96 3/4	100 1/4	16 3/8		17 pr.	68 7/8	62 7/8	62	5 pr.	1 7/8 dis	92 3/8	61	
	230	62 3/8	63 1/8	78 1/4	96 1/8	99 5/8	16 1/4		14 pr.	68 5/8	62 1/4	62 7/8	par.	7/8 dis		60 5/8	

An Account of the Ordinary Revenues and Extraordinary Resources

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Reciept within the Year.	Rate per Centum for which the Gross Revenue was collected.
ORDINARY REVENUES.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
PERMANENT AND ANNUAL TAXES.		
Customs, ... Great Britain,	9,676,009 4 7¾	7 14 9
Excise, ... Great Britain,	20,617,266 8 0	3 6 11
Stamps, ... Great Britain,	5,396,882 11 5¾	2 14 3
Land and Assessed Taxes, ... Great Britain,	7,399,442 1 0¾	3 17 1
Post Office, ... Great Britain,	1,709,869 1 9½	21 12 2
1s. in the Pound on Pensions and Salaries, } Great Britain,	19,288 7 2½	1 4 11
6d. in the Pound on Pensions and Salaries, } Great Britain,	17,650 8 8½	1 1 8
Hackney Coaches, ...	30,909 0 0	10 3 7
Hawkers and Pedlars, ...	23,282 18 11	10 5 5
TOTAL Permanent and Annual Duties, ...	44,890,600 1 9½	5 0 4
Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue, ... Alienation Fines, ...	8,571 10 0	- -
Post Fines, ...	2,032 5 0	- -
Seizures, ...	26,044 6 10	- -
Compositions and Proffers, ...	595 4 11	- -
Crown Lands, carried forward to page * 260, }	82,507 16 2¾	- -

constituting the Public Income of Great Britain for the Year 1811.

Charges of Management.	Drawbacks, Management, &c. being the Total Payments out of the Gross Revenue.	Net Produce applicable to National Objects, including the Balances of 1810.	Rate per Centum for which the Net Produce of the Revenue was collected.
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1,016,877 19 1½	2,288,658 7 11½	7,835,236 5 6¼	9 14 3
898,099 16 5	1,895,435 4 8¼	19,003,970 16 5¾	3 12 3
152,116 5 7	312,978 11 1½	5,291,224 9 10½	2 17 6
291,801 7 0¼	291,801 7 0¼	7,280,919 4 8½	4 0 2
414,114 16 9½	438,048 10 3½	1,478,505 3 1½	28 0 2
330 15 10	330 15 10	26,201 4 11¼	1 5 3
240 12 9	640 12 9	21,480 6 6½	1 2 4
3,182 1 3	3,182 1 3	28,076 9 1½	11 6 8
2,431 4 6½	2,431 4 6½	21,240 16 7	11 8 11
2,779,191 19 3¾	5,233,506 15 5¾	40,986,860 16 10½	5 11 10
1,147 8 0	1,147 8 0	9,570 10 9	- - -
219 0 2	219 0 2	5,357 12 11½	- - -
- - -	- - -	26,044 6 10½	- - -
- - -	- - -	595 4 11	- - -
2,666 13 8½	2,666 13 8½	85,858 12 0¾	- - -

An Account of the Ordinary Revenues and Extraordinary Resources

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Receipt within the Year. £.	s.	d.	Rate per Centum for which the Gross Revenue was collected. £.	s.	d.
Brought forward—Crown Lands,	82,507	16	2¾	5	0	4
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.						
War Taxes: Customs, Great Britain,	3,013,723	2	4½	-		-
War Taxes: Excise, Great Britain,	6,543,953	1	0	-		-
War Taxes: Property Tax, Great Britain,	13,220,355	4	5	-		-
War Taxes: Arrears of Income Duty, &c.	14,541	9	6¼	-		-
Lottery, Net Profit, (of which one-third part is for the service of Ireland,)	304,000	0	0	-		-
Monies paid on Account of the Interest of Loans raised for the Service of Ireland,	2,752,796	11	10	-		-
On Account of the Commissioners, appointed by Act 35 Geo. III. cap. 127, and 37 Geo. III. cap. 27, for Issuing Exchequer Bills for Grenada, &c.	31,000	0	0	-		-
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices,	73,324	17	11¼	-		-
Surplus Revenue of the Isle of Man,	1,595	0	8	-		-
On Account of the Interest, &c. of a Loan granted to the Prince Regent of Portugal,	57,170	3	0	-		-
Imprest Money, repaid by sundry Public Accountants, &c. including Interest,	40,301	9	7¾	-		-
Other Monies paid to the Public,	50,476	0	9	-		-
TOTAL, independent of Loans,	71,113,588	6	0	-		-
Loans paid into the Exchequer, (of which the Sum of 4,500,000l. is for the Service of Ireland,)	16,636,375	3	9	-		-
GRAND TOTAL, £	87,749,963	9	9	-		-

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 25th March, 1812.

constituting the Public Income of Great Britain for 1811—*Continued.*

Charges of Management.	Drawbacks, Management, &c. being the Total Payment out of the Gross Revenue.	Net Produce applicable to National Objects, including the Balances of 1810.	Rate per Centum for which the Net Produce of the Revenue was collected.
£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
- - -	379,804 1 6½	2,633,919 0 10	
22,583 13 10¼	108,167 19 9½	6,484,964 19 7¼	
269,567 16 9½	269,567 16 9½	13,437,649 19 8½	
205 4 6	205 4 6	14,336 5 0½	
21,000 0 0	22,613 12 0	281,386 8 0	
- - -	- - -	2,752,796 11 10	
- - -	- - -	31,000 0 0	
- - -	- - -	73,324 17 11¾	
- - -	- - -	1,595 0 8	
- - -	- - -	57,170 3 0	
- - -	- - -	40,301 9 7¾	
- - -	- - -	50,476 0 9	
3,096,581 16 4	6,017,898 11 11¾	66,673,208 1 5	
- - -	- - -	16,636,375 3 9	
3,096,581 16 4	6,017,898 11 11¾	83,609,583 5 2	

RD. WHARTON.

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums.			Total.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
I, For Interest, &c. on the Permanent Debt of Great Britain, unredeemed; including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years,	19,733,598 4 8¼			
For Charges of Management thereon,	- -	207,030 16 5¼		
For Interest, &c. on Loans raised for the Service of Ireland; including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years,	1,921,748 16 10			
For Charges of Management thereon,	- -	16,875 4 10		
For Interest, &c. on Imperial Loans; including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years,	421,028 7 9			
For Charges of Management thereon,	- -	4,146 12 6		
For Interest on Portuguese Loans,	24,469 11 9			
For Charges of Management thereon,	- -	297 2 3		
	22,100,845 1 0¼	228,349 16 0¼		
There was also applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt, £. 1,000,000 0 0				
The usual grant, 200,000 0 0				
Expired Annuities, { 54,880 14 6 / 25,000 0 0 } 79,880 14 6				
Annuities for Lives, expired or unclaimed, for 3 Years, 50,952 15 7				
Part of the Annual Appropriation for the Redemption of 12,000,000l.; part of 14,200,000l. Loan 1807, 626,255 10 5				
Interest on Capitals transferred for Life Annuities, at 3l. per Cent. 41,348 13 0				
Returned from account of Life Annuities, the Nominees having died prior to their being set apart for payment, 161 8 0				
Interest on Debt of Gr. Britain Redeemed, 5,407,342 7 10				
Do. Ireland Do. 241,867 8 8				
Do. Imperial Do. 34,050 12 3				
Do. Portugal Do. 2,396 1 8				
Annuity at 1l. per Cent. on Part of Capitals created since 5th January, 1793, 4,818,604 9 0¾	12,502,860 0 11¼			
Carried forward,	34,603,705 2 0			

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums.			Total.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Brought forward.....	34,603,705 2 0			
Whereof was applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt,.....	12,502,860 0 11¾			
Total on account of Interest, ...	- -	22,100,845 1 0¼		
Do.....Charges of Management,.....	- -	228,349 16 0¼		
Do.....Reduction of the National Debt,..	- -	12,502,860 0 11¾		
			34,832,054 18 0½	
II. The Interest on Exchequer Bills,.....	- -	- -	1,556,735 0 5½	
III. The Civil List,.....	- -	958,000 0 0		
IV. The other Charges on the Consolidated Fund, viz.....				
Courts of Justice,.....	- -	78,306 15 4½		
Mint,.....	- -	10,837 13 0		
Allowances to the Royal Family, Pensions, &c.	- -	299,981 1 5½		
Salaries and allowances,.....	- -	66,640 13 9½		
Bounties	- -	58,637 8 2½		
			1,472,403 11 9½	
V. The Civil Government of Scotland,.....	- -	- -	109,693 6 1	
VI. The other Payments in Anticipation of the Exchequer Receipts; viz.				
Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.....	- -	395,975 2 7		
Pensions on the Hereditary Revenue, ...	- -	27,700 0 0		
Militia and Deserters Warrants, ...	- -	172,874 2 6		
			596,549 5 1	
VII. The Navy; viz.				
Wages: Wages of Officers and Seamen, £.2,721,000 0 0				
Wages: Half Pay to Sea Officers and Bounty to Chaplains,..... 291,000 0 0				
Wages: Wages to his Majesty's Dock and Rope Yards,..... 918,000 0 0				
	3,930,000 0 0			
General Services: Building of Ships, Purchase of Stores of every Description, Repairing of Ships, Purchase of Ships taken from the Enemy, Head Money, &c. 4,126,291 15 1				
General Services: Bills of Exchange, Imprests, Salaries, Pensions, &c.... 1,464,881 15 2				
	5591,173 10 3			
		9,521,173 10 3		
Carried forward,.....	- -	9,521,173 10 3	68,067,486 2 5½	

Heads of Expenditure	Sums. £.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	Total £.	s.	d.
Brought forward,	-	-		9,521,173	10	3	38,067,436	5	5½			
The Victualling Department,	-	-		6,079,280	1	1						
The Transport Do. for Transports, Prisoners of War, and Sick and Wounded Seamen,	3,538,225	3	6									
Miscellaneous Services,	402,000	0	0									
VIII. The Ordnance,	-	-		3,940,225	3	6						
							19,540,678	14	10			
IX. The Army;							4,557,509	8	6			
Ordinary Services. For Regulars, Fencibles, Militia, Invalids, Volunteer Corps, Chaplains, Recruiting, &c. and Supernumerary Officers	10,284,751	0	0									
Storekeeper General,	49,400	0	0									
Commissary in Chief,	1,648,260	0	0									
Barracks,	383,269	0	0									
Staff Officers and Officers of Garrisons,	232,836	0	0									
Half-Pay,	172,725	0	0									
Widows Pensions and Compassionate List	57,839	0	0									
Chelsea Hospital,	403,744	0	0									
Exchequer Fees,	116,003	0	0									
Pay of Public Offices,	147,648	0	0									
Miscellaneous Services, including Medicine and Hospital Incidents, Bat, Baggage, &c. and Contingencies	256,988	0	0									
				13,753,163	0	0						
Extraordinary Services,				10,116,196	0	0	23,869,359	0	0			
X; Loans, Remittances, and Advances to other Countries; viz.												
Ireland,				4,432,292	15	3						
Sicily,				275,000	0	0						
Portugal, Spain,				2,702,747	0	0						
							7,410,039	15	3			
XI. Miscellaneous Services,												
At Home,				1,711,309	17	11						
Abroad,				251,326	10	3¼						
							1,962,636	8	2¾			
Deduct Loan, &c. for Ireland,							4,432,292	15	3	95,907,659	8	3¼
Deduct also so much repaid for Interest, and 1l. per Cent. on Portuguese Loan of 600,000.							57,170	3	0			
										4,489,462	18	3
							£. *			91,418,196	10	0¼

* This includes the sum of £.425,175 0 3, for Interest, &c. paid on Imperial Loans.

An Account of the Value of all Imports into, and all Exports from, Ireland, for three Years, ending 5th January 1812.

	Official Value of Imports.	Official Value of	
		Irish Produce and Manufactures exported.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandize exported.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Year ending 5th Jan. 1810,	7,471,417 5 1	5,408,910 19 9¼	330,933 5 4
. 1811,	6,564,578 8 —½	5,471,012 15 —¼	627,472 16 10½
. 1812,	7,231,603 15 10¼	5,833,996 9 7½	256,415 4 9¼

Note.—The real value of Irish Produce and Manufactures exported in the Year ending the 5th of January, 1812, computed at the Average Prices current, amounted to . . . £. 11,567,219 15 10

Inspector General's Office of Imports and Exports, Custom House, Dublin, 29th February, 1812.

H. B. HAUTENVILLE.

An Account of the Ordinary Revenue and Extraordinary Resources

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Receipt within the Year. £.	s.	d.	Rate Per Centum for which the Gross Revenue was collected. £.	s.	d.
ORDINARY REVENUE.						
Customs,	2,420,425	17	9¼	17	5	9⅛
Excise,	2,244,661	1	2	14	8	2⅞
Stamps,	743,619	2	1¾	6	4	11⅝
Post Office,	205,265	19	5	53	12	8½
Poundage Fees,	25,370	14	2½	—		—
Pells Fees,	5,074	2	1¼	—		—
Casualties	2,926	19	3¼	—		—
Total Ordinary Revenue, £.	5,647,343	16	1	—		—
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.						
Gain by Exchange on sums received from Great Britain	4,041	0	9	—		—
From the Commissioners of the Navy, on account of Advances made by several Collectors in Ireland, for Seamen's Wages, &c.	52,219	8	0½	—		—
From the Paymasters General, on Account of Advances made by several Collectors in Ireland for Half-pay to reduced Officers, and Pensions to Officers Widows on British Establishment,	3,337	13	3½	—		—
From Great Britain, being One-third of the Profit on the Lotteries of 1810,	112,937	10	0	—		—
From several County Treasurers, per the Receiver-General on account of Fines levied on Parishes for deficiencies in their proportion of men for the Militia,	2,872	6	2½	—		—
From several County Treasurers, per the Receiver-General on account of Advances made by the Treasury for Improving Post Roads,	14,913	4	9¼	—		—
From the Treasurer of the County of Cavan, paid to the Collector of Cavan on account of Advances made by the Treasury for building a new Gaol in said County,	916	13	9	—		—
From Great Britain in part of £. 4,500,000 British, for the Public Service in Ireland, pursuant to 51 Geo. III. c. 49,	2,780,353	0	10	—		—
Other monies paid to the Public,	8,876	12	10¼	—		—
APPROPRIATED DUTIES FOR LOCAL OBJECTS.						
Linen Manufacture,	88	18	2	—		—
Improvement of Dublin,	10,216	15	10	—		—
Repairs of the Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings,	1,843	17	6	—		—
Lagan Navigation,	5,624	10	4	—		—
Inns of Court,	1,391	0	0	—		—
Lighthouses,	18,262	18	5	—		—
Total independent of the Loans, £.	8,665,239	6	10¼	—		—
Loans paid into the Exchequer, in the Year ending 5th Jan. 1812,	3,127,246	6	6¼	—		—
Grand Total, £.	11,792,485	13	4½	—		—

Treasury Chambers, Feb. 29th, 1812.

constituting the Public Income of Ireland for the Year 1811.

Charges of Management.			Drawbacks, Management, &c. being the Total Payments out of the Gross Revenue.			Net Produce applicable to National Objects, including the Balances of 1810.			Rate Per Centum for which the Net Revenue was collected.		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
418,475	5	2¾	534,311	10	0	1,999,315	6	8	20	18	0¾
323,481	17	7¾	489,201	9	10¼	2,515,783	1	8⅞	16	16	9
46,020	0	0¾	58,457	6	0¼	829,218	2	5½	6	13	3¼
110,095	18	4	127,679	9	7½	111,201	7	11			
..	..	..	..	..	..	25,370	14	2½			
..	..	..	..	..	..	5,074	2	1¼			
..	..	..	..	..	..	2,926	19	3¼			
898,073	1	3¼	1,209,649	15	6	5,488,887	13	11⅛			
..	..	..	..	..	..	4,041	0	9			
..	..	..	..	..	..	52,219	8	0½			
..	..	..	..	..	..	3,337	13	3½			
..	..	..	..	..	..	112,937	10	0			
..	..	..	..	..	..	2,872	6	2½			
..	..	..	..	..	..	14,913	4	9½			
..	..	..	..	..	..	916	13	9			
..	..	..	..	..	..	2,780,353	0	10			
..	..	..	..	..	..	8,876	12	10¼			
..	..	..	..	..	..	889	7	4			
..	..	..	..	..	..	10,266	17	2			
..	..	..	..	..	..	2,236	0	2			
191	2	10	1,992	15	6	4,224	11	9¼			
..	..	..	..	..	..	1,391	0	0			
..	..	..	..	..	..	18,262	18	5			
898,264	4	1¼	1,211,642	11	0	8,505,925	19	5⅞			
..	..	..	..	..	..	3,127,246	6	6¼			
898,264	4	1¼	1,211,642	11	0	11,633,172	5	10⅛			

Public Expenditure of Ireland in the Year 1811.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	SUMS.		
I. For INTEREST on the FUNDED DEBT of IRELAND, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years; also 1*l.* per Cent. for the Reduction of the Capital created by Loans since 1797,	£. s. d. 4,391,264 10 —	£. s. d.	£. s. d
For charge of Management thereon,	.. ..	20,687 9 11½	
There was also applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt	67,635 8 4		
	4,458,899 18 4		
Whereof was applied towards the Reduction of the National Debt	1,430,800 18 7½		
TOTAL on account of Interest,	3,028,098 19 8½		
Ditto, for Charge of Management	20687 9 11½		
Ditto, on account of the Reduction of the National Debt,	1,430,800 18 7½		
		.. ..	4,479,587 8 3
II. For INTEREST on EXCHEQUER BILLS,	.. ..	.. ..	18,451 5 —
III. Issues for the separate Service of Ireland,	.. ..	.. ..	1,664,725 1 11
IV. Issues from Appropriated Funds for Local Purposes,	.. ..	.. ..	28,276 13 7
V. CIVIL LIST,	141,615 12 2¾		
V. PENSIONS,	87,842 — 9		
V. Other PERMANENT CHARGES,	219,078 3 2¾		
		448,535 16 2½	
VI. PAYMENT IN ANTICIPATION OF EXCHEQUER RECEIPT:—viz.			
£. s. d.			
Bounties from Customs, 20,236 15 7			
Bounties from Excise, 37,973 14 7			
	58,210 10 2		
Militia, Deserters Warrants, &c.	92,005 9 5½		
		150,215 19 7¾	
VII. ORDNANCE,	.. ..	512,579 7 1	
VIII. ARMY.—Ordinary service; viz.			
Regulars, Militia, and Volunteer Corps	2,052,625 18 7¼		
Commissariat Establishment,	227,405 4 7¼		
Barracks,	442,885 2 —¾		
Staff Officers and Officers of Garrisons,	85,885 5 2¼		
Half-Pay, Supernumerary, and retired Officers,	28,647 6 8¼		
Officers' Widows,	5,431 4 1¾		
Royal Hospital, Kilmainham,	76,544 13 1½		
Public Officers, their Deputies, Clerks, and contingent Expences,	17,327 9 11¾		
Superannuated Officers,	3,830 15 10¼		
	2,940,583 — 3		
Extraordinary Service,	216,662 8 1½		
		3,157,245 8 4½	
IX. MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES,	.. ..	728,440 14 8¾	
Lastly, VOTE OF CREDIT,	.. ..	172,568 3 2¾	
			5,169,585 9
		TOTAL £.	11,360,625 18

Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle, 2d March, 1812.

G. CAVENDISH.

An Account of the Value of all Imports into, and of all Exports from Great Britain, for Three Years, ending the 5th January 1812.

	Official Value of Imports.		Official Value of Exports.	
	From Europe, Africa, and America.	From East Indies and China.	British Produce and Manufactures.	Foreign Merchandize.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Year ending 5th Jan. 1810.	30,409,384	3,363,025	35,104,132	15,182,768
. 1811,	36,427,722	4,708,413	34,923,575	10,946,284
. 1812,	24,525,071	(*)	24,109,931	8,279,698

Note.—The real Value of British Produce and Manufactures exported from Great Britain, according to the Average Prices Current, and the Declarations of the Exporters, in the Year ending the 5th of January, 1812, amounted to.... £. 34,917,281

* The Account of Imports from the East Indies and China cannot yet be stated.

Custom House, London,
23d March, 1812.

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector-General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain.

The Regency Bill as passed.

The following is a copy of the Regency Bill as it passed the two Houses:

An act to provide for the administration of the royal authority, and for the care of his majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his majesty's illness; and for the resumption of the exercise of the royal authority by his majesty.

Whereas by reason of the severe indisposition with which it hath pleased God to afflict the king's most excellent majesty, the personal exercise of the royal authority by his majesty is for the present so far interrupted, that it becomes necessary to make provision for assisting his majesty in the administration and exercise of the royal authority, and also for the care of his royal person during the continuance of his majesty's indisposition, and for the resumption of the exercise of the royal authority by his majesty; Be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That his royal highness George Augustus Frederick Prince of Wales shall have full power and authority, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, and under the stile and title of "regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," to exercise and administer the royal power and authority to the crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland belonging, and to use, execute, and perform all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government and administration of the same, which lawfully belong to the king of the said United Kingdom to use, execute, and perform: subject to such limitations, exceptions, regulations, and restrictions, as are herein-after specified and contained; and all and every act and acts which shall be done by the said regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, by virtue and in pursuance of this act, and according to the powers and authorities hereby vested in him, shall have the same force and effect to all intents and purposes as the like acts would have if done by his majesty himself, and shall to all intents and purposes be full and sufficient warrant to all persons acting under the authority thereof; and all persons shall yield obedience thereto, and carry the same into effect, in the same manner and for the same purposes as the same persons ought to yield obedience to and carry into effect the like acts done by his majesty himself; any law, course of office, or other matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. And be it further enacted, That as to all authorities given and appointments made in the name and in the behalf of his majesty, and all other acts, matters, and things usually done under the authority of the royal sign manual, the signature of the regent in the form following, that is to say, "George P. R." or in cases where the royal signature has usually been affixed in initials only, then in the form "G. P. R.,"

shall be as valid and effectual, and have the same force and effect as his majesty's royal sign manual, and shall be deemed and taken to be to all intents and purposes his majesty's royal sign manual, and be obeyed as such.

III. And be it further enacted, That when his majesty shall by the blessing of God be restored to such a state of health as to be capable of resuming the personal exercise of his royal authority, and shall have declared his royal will and pleasure thereupon, as herein-after provided, all and every the powers and authorities, given by this act, for the exercise and administration of his royal power and authority, or for the using, executing, and performing the authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, which belong to the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to use, execute, and perform, or for the care of his majesty's royal person, shall cease and determine; and no act, matter, or thing, which, under this act, and previous to such declaration might be done in the administration of his majesty's royal power and authority, or in the using, exercising, or performing any such authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, or administration as aforesaid, or in the care of his majesty's royal person, by virtue and in pursuance of this act, shall, if done after such declaration of his majesty's royal will and pleasure, be thenceforth valid or effectual.

IV. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That all persons holding any offices or places, or pensions, during his majesty's pleasure, at the time of such declaration, under any appointment or authority of the regent, or her Majesty, under the provisions of this act, shall continue to hold the same, and to use, exercise, and enjoy all the powers, authorities, privileges, and emoluments thereof, notwithstanding such declaration of the resumption of the royal authority by his majesty, unless and until his majesty shall declare his royal will and pleasure to the contrary; and all orders, acts of government, or administration of his majesty's royal authority, made, issued, or done by the said regent, before such declaration, shall be and remain in full force and effect, until the same shall be countermanded by his majesty.

V. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That no acts of regal power, prerogative, government, or administration of government, of what kind or nature soever, which might lawfully be done or executed by the king's most excellent majesty, personally exercising his royal authority, shall, during the continuance of the regency by this act established, be valid and effectual, unless done and executed in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, by the authority of the said regent, according to the provisions of this act, and subject to the limitations, exceptions, regulations, and restrictions hereinafter contained.

VI. And be it further enacted, That the said regent, before he shall act or enter upon his said office, of regent, shall take the following oaths:—

'I do sincerely promise and

swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty king George.

'So help me GOD.

'I do solemnly promise and swear, That I will truly and faithfully execute the office of regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, according to an act of parliament passed in the 51st year of the reign of his majesty king George the Third, intituled, An act [here insert the title of this act;] and that I will administer, according to law, the power and authority vested in me by virtue of the said act; and that I will in all things, to the utmost of my power and ability, consult and maintain the safety, honour, and dignity of his majesty, and the welfare of his people.

'So help me GOD.

'I do faithfully promise and swear, That I shall inviolably maintain and preserve the settlement of the true protestant religion, with the government, worship, discipline, rights, and privileges of the church of Scotland, as established by the laws made there in prosecution of the claim of right, and particularly by an act, intituled, "An act for securing the protestant religion, and presbyterian church government," and by the acts passed in the parliament of both kingdoms, for union of the two kingdoms.

'So help me GOD.'

Which oaths shall be taken before his majesty's most honourable privy council; who are hereby required and empowered to administer the same, and to enter the same in the books of the said privy council.

VII. And be it further enacted, That the said regent shall, at the time of his taking such oaths as aforesaid, and before the members of the privy council administering the same, make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the declaration mentioned in an act made in the 30th year of king Charles the Second, intituled, 'An act for the more effectual preserving the king's person and government, by disabling papists from sitting in either house of parliament;' and shall produce a certificate of his having received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in any of the royal chapels, signed by the person administering the same; which certificate shall be sufficient evidence of the said regent's having received the sacrament; and such declaration and certificate shall respectively be registered in the books of the privy council.

VIII. Provided always, and be it enacted, That until after the 1st day of February 1812, if parliament shall be then assembled, and shall have been sitting for six weeks immediately previous to the said 1st day of February 1812, or if parliament shall be then assembled, but shall not have been so sitting for six weeks, then until the expiration of six weeks after parliament shall have been so assembled and been sitting; or if parliament shall not then be assembled, then until the expiration of six weeks after parliament shall have been assembled and sitting, next after the said 1st day of February 1812, the regent shall not have or exercise any power or authority to grant, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, any rank, title, or dig-

nity of the peerage, by letters patent, writ of summons, or any other manner whatever, or to summon any person to the house of lords, by any title to which such person shall be the heir apparent, or to determine the abeyance of any rank, title or dignity of peerage, which now is or hereafter shall be in abeyance, in favour of any of the coheirs thereof, by writ of summons or otherwise.

IX. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That the said regent shall not, until after the said 1st day of February 1812, or the expiration of such six weeks as aforesaid, have power or authority to grant, in the name or on the behalf of his majesty, any office or employment whatever, in reversion, or to grant for any longer term than during his majesty's pleasure, any office, employment, salary, or pension whatever, except such offices and employments in possession for the term of the natural life, or during the good behaviour of the grantee or grantees thereof respectively, as by law must be so granted: Provided always, that nothing herein contained, shall in any manner affect or extend to prevent or restrain the granting of any pensions under the provisions of an act passed in the 39th year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, 'An act for the augmentation of the salaries of the judges of the courts in Westminster Hall, and also of the lords of session, lords commissioners of justiciary, and barons of exchequer in Scotland; and for enabling his majesty to grant annuities to persons in certain offices in the said courts of Westminster Hall, on their resignation of their respective offices; and of another act passed in the 48th year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, 'An act for enabling his majesty to grant annuities to the judges of the courts of session, justiciary, and exchequer in Scotland, upon the resignation of their offices;' and of another act, passed in Ireland, in the 40th year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, 'An act to enable his majesty to grant annuities to the lord high chancellor, and to the judges of the court of king's bench, master of the rolls, judges of the courts of common pleas and exchequer, judge or commissary of the court of prerogative, the judge of the court of admiralty, the chairman of the quarter sessions of the county of Dublin, and assistant barristers of the several other counties, on the resignation of their respective offices;' and to amend an act passed in the 36th year of his present majesty, intituled, An act for encreasing the salaries of the chief and other judges of the courts of king's bench and common pleas, and of the chief baron and other barons of the court of exchequer in this kingdom;' or to prevent or restrain the granting of any pensions out of the revenues of the British territories in the East Indies, under the provisions of any act or acts of parliament now in force, to such persons as may have held the office of chief justice or other judge in the supreme courts of judicature at Fort William in Bengal and at Madras, and the office of recorder of Bombay.

X. Provided also, and be it

further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall in any manner affect or extend to prevent or restrain the granting of any pensions under the provisions of an act passed in the 41st year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, 'An act for the better regulation of his majesty's prize courts in the West Indies and America, and for giving a more speedy and effectual execution to the decrees of the lords commissioners of appeals,' and of another act passed in the 43d year of his present majesty, intituled, 'An act for the encouragement of seamen, and for the better and more effectual manning his majesty's navy; for regulating the payment of prize money, and for making provision for the salaries of the judges of the vice admiralty courts in the island of Malta, and in the Bermudas, and Bahama islands;' and also of another act passed in the 45th year of his present majesty, intituled, 'An act for the encouragement of seamen, and for the better and more effectually manning of his majesty's navy.'

XI. And be it enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall extend or be construed to extend to empower the said regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to give the royal assent to any bill or bills in parliament for repealing, changing or in any respect varying the order and course of succession to the crown of this realm, as the same stands now established by an act passed in the 12th year of the reign of king William the Third, intituled, 'An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject;' or to any act for repealing or altering the act made in the 13th year of the reign of king Charles the Second, intituled, 'An act for the uniformity of public prayers and administration of sacraments and other rites and ceremonies, and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons in the church of England;' or the act of the 5th year of the reign of queen Anne, made in Scotland, intituled, 'An act for securing the protestant religion and presbyterian church government.'

XII. Provided also, and be it enacted, That if his said royal highness George Augustus Frederick prince of Wales shall not continue to be resident in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or shall at any time marry a papist, then and in either such cases, all the powers and authorities vested in his said royal highness by this act, shall cease and determine.

XIII. And whereas it is expedient that the care of his majesty's royal person should be committed to the queen's most excellent majesty, together with the sole direction of such portion of his majesty's household as shall be deemed requisite and suitable for the due attendance on his majesty's sacred person, and the maintenance of his royal dignity; Be it therefore enacted, That the care of his majesty's royal person, and the disposing, ordering and managing of all matters and things relating thereto, shall be, and the same are hereby vested in the queen's most excellent majesty,

during the continuance of his majesty's indisposition; and that the sole direction of his majesty's household, except the lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, the captain of the yeomen of his majesty's guard, and the captain of the honourable band of gentlemen pensioners, shall be and is hereby vested in her majesty; and her said majesty shall have the full and sole power and authority, by any instrument or instruments in writing signed and sealed by her majesty, to nominate and appoint, in case of any vacancies arising by resignation or death, all the officers and persons belonging to his majesty's household, in the respective departments thereof, whose appointment, nomination, or removal have heretofore been made by his majesty; except the lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, and the gentlemen and grooms of his majesty's bedchamber, his majesty's equerries, the captain of the yeomen of his majesty's guard, and the captain of the honourable band of gentlemen pensioners; and the nomination and appointment by her majesty, in manner and form aforesaid, shall be valid and effectual to all intents and purposes as if the same had been made or done by his majesty in the accustomed manner; and the several persons so appointed shall be entitled to the like precedence, privileges, salaries, wages, profits, and all other emoluments, as the several persons now holding and enjoying the same offices are respectively entitled to: Provided always, That the power and authority given by this act to her majesty to nominate and appoint such persons of his majesty's household as are not herein before excepted, shall continue in force until the said 1st day of February, or the expiration of such six weeks as aforesaid, and no longer: Provided also, That her said majesty shall not have any power or authority to remove any officer in any department of his majesty's household, by this act made subject to the nomination or appointment of her majesty, who shall have been nominated and appointed by his majesty: Provided also, That until the expiration of such period as aforesaid, no appointment shall be made to the office of lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, now vacant, but that all the duties of the said office shall be performed by the vice chamberlain; and that during such period as aforesaid, no person holding the office of gentleman or groom of his majesty's bedchamber, or being one of his majesty's equerries, shall be subject to be removed; and no vacancy which shall arise by death or resignation of any of the grooms or gentlemen of his majesty's bedchamber, or of his majesty's equerries, shall be supplied or filled up, or any appointment or nomination made to supply any such vacancy.

XIV. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any officer in his majesty's household who is by this act put under the direction of her majesty, to make any appointment to any office to which such officer may have the power of appointment for any longer period than during his majesty's pleasure.

XV. And whereas the execu-

tion of the weighty and arduous trusts by this act committed to the queen's most excellent majesty, may require the assistance of a council, with whom her majesty may consult and advise; Be it therefore enacted, That in order to assist and advise her said most excellent majesty, in the several matters aforesaid, there shall be, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, a council, consisting of Charles lord archbishop of Canterbury, Edward lord archbishop of York, James duke of Montrose, George earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, Heneage earl of Aylesford, John lord Eldon, Edward lord Ellenborough, and the right honourable sir William Grant; which council shall from time to time meet as her majesty shall be pleased to direct, and shall also have power to meet in manner by this act directed; and if it should happen that any of them the said Charles lord archbishop of Canterbury, Edward lord archbishop of York, James duke of Montrose, George earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, Heneage earl of Aylesford, John lord Eldon, Edward lord Ellenborough, or the right honourable sir William Grant, should depart this life, or by instrument in writing communicated to her majesty, signify their intention to decline to act, then and in such case it shall be lawful for the queen's most excellent majesty, from time to time, by an instrument in writing signed and sealed by her majesty, revocable at her will and pleasure, to nominate and appoint some one person, being or having been a member of his majesty's most honourable privy council, to be a member of the said council, to advise and assist her majesty as aforesaid, in the room and place of each and every of the said councillors, so departing this life, or declining to act as aforesaid; which nomination and appointment shall be forthwith certified by an instrument in writing, signed and sealed by her majesty, to the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and shall be entered in the books of the said privy council.

XVI. And be it further enacted, That each and every member of her majesty's council shall, within the space of five days after his appointment by virtue of this act, or by virtue of her majesty's nomination and appointment in manner aforesaid, take an oath before the lord high chancellor or keeper of the great seal, or commissioners for keeping the great seal of Great Britain, or the lord president of his majesty's privy council, or the chief justice of the court of king's bench, for the time being respectively, or either of them, who are hereby severally and respectively required and empowered to administer the same, when required so to do by any person so appointed a member of her majesty's council as aforesaid; and the person administering such oath, shall give to the member of her majesty's council taking the same, a certificate of the same having been so taken, signed with his hand; which certificate shall be forthwith transmitted to his majesty's privy council, and entered in the books

of the said privy council; and such oath shall be in the form following; (that is to say),

'I *A. B.* do solemnly promise and swear, That I will truly and faithfuly counsel and advise the queen's most excellent majesty, according to the best of my judgment, in all matters and things relating to the trusts committed to her majesty, touching the care of his majesty's royal person, and the resumption of the personal exercise of the royal authority by his majesty.'

XVII. And be it further enacted, That her majesty's council, or any three or more of them, shall have power and authority at all times, when they shall judge it necessary, to meet, and call before them, and to examine upon oath, the physicians and all other persons attendant on his majesty, during the continuance of his illness, touching the state of his majesty's health; and all matters relating thereto; (which oath any member of the said council is hereby authorized and empowered to administer;) and to ascertain the state of his majesty's health, by all such other ways and means as shall appear to them to be necessary for that purpose.

XVIII. And be it further enacted, That three or more of the members of the council appointed to assist her majesty in the execution of the trusts committed to her majesty by this act, shall, in case such trusts shall then be in force, meet on some day in the first week in April, 1811, and some day in the first week of every third month thereafter; and shall, whilst the said trusts shall continue in force, at every such meeting, declare the state of his majesty's health at the time of each of such meetings respectively, and shall forthwith transmit a copy of such declaration to the president of his majesty's most honourable privy council, or in his absence to one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, who shall thereupon cause the same to be inserted in the books of the privy council.

XIX. And whereas it is necessary that effectual provision should be made that his majesty may resume the personal exercise of his royal authority, as soon as his majesty is restored to such a state of health as to be capable of resuming the same; Be it therefore enacted, That when it shall appear to her majesty the queen, and to any four or more of the council appointed by this act to assist her majesty in the execution of the trust committed to her majesty by this act, assembled at any meeting held in pursuance of her majesty's royal will and pleasure signified for that purpose, or assembled under the direction of this act, or in pursuance of his majesty's royal will and pleasure signified to her majesty and her council for that purpose, which council of her majesty is hereby required to assemble in the presence of her majesty, upon his majesty's royal will and pleasure being signified for that purpose, that his majesty is restored to such a state of health as to be capable of resuming the personal exercise of the royal authority it shall and may be lawful for her said majesty, by the advice of any four or more of her said council, to notify the same by an

instrument under her majesty's hand, and signed also by the said four or more of her majesty's said council, and addressed to the lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council for the time being, or in his absence to one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state; and the said lord president or secretary of state shall and is hereby required, on the receipt thereof, to communicate the same to the said regent, and to summon forthwith a privy council, and the members of his majesty's most honourable privy council are hereby required to assemble in consequence of such summons; and the said lord president, or in his absence the said secretary of state, is required, in the presence of any six or more privy counsellors so assembled, to cause the said instrument to be entered on the books of the said privy council.

XX. And be it further enacted, That if at any time after the said instrument under the hand of her majesty, and of four or more of her said council, shall have been received and entered as aforesaid, his majesty shall think proper, by an instrument under his sign manual, to require the lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council for the time being, or in his absence, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, to summon a council in his majesty's presence, consisting of any number of persons not less than nine, whom his majesty shall name, and who shall be or shall have been members of his majesty's most honourable council, not being members of her majesty's council, the said lord president or secretary of state shall and he is hereby required to summon such persons accordingly; and as well the said lord president or secretary of state, as the other persons so summoned, shall and they are hereby required to attend at the time and place appointed by his majesty; and such persons so assembled shall be and be deemed a privy council for the purpose herein-after mentioned.

XXI. And be it further enacted, That if his majesty by the advice of six or more of such privy council so assembled, shall signify his royal pleasure to resume the personal exercise of his royal authority, and to issue a proclamation declaring the same, such proclamation shall be issued accordingly, countersigned by the said six or more of the said privy council, and all the powers and authorities given by this act shall from thenceforth cease and determine, and the personal exercise of the royal authority by his majesty, shall be and be deemed to be resumed by his majesty, and shall be exercised by his majesty, to all intents and purposes, as if this act had never been made.

XXII. And be it further enacted, That if his royal highness George Augustus Frederick prince of Wales shall depart this life during the continuance of the regency by this act established, or cease to be regent under any of the provisions thereof, the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council shall forthwith cause a proclamation to be issued, in his majesty's name, under the great seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, declaring the same: And if her ma-

jesty the queen shall depart this life during the time that the care of his majesty's royal person shall be committed to her majesty according to the provisions of this act, the regent shall forthwith order and direct a proclamation, under the great seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to be issued and published, declaring the same: And in case the parliament in being at the time of the issuing of any proclamation declaring the death of the regent or of her majesty, or at the time of the issuing of any proclamation for the resumption of the personal exercise of the royal authority by his majesty, shall then be separated, by any adjournment or prorogation, such parliament shall forthwith meet and sit.

XXIII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That in case any such proclamation as aforesaid shall issue in any or either of such cases as aforesaid, at any time subsequent to the dissolution or expiration of a parliament, and before the day appointed by any writs of summons then issued for assembling a new parliament, then and in such case the last preceding parliament shall immediately convene and sit at Westminster, and be a parliament to continue during the space of six months and no longer, to all intents and purposes, as if the same parliament had not been dissolved or expired, but subject to be sooner prorogued or dissolved: Provided also, that if any such proclamation as aforesaid shall issue in any or either of such cases as aforesaid upon or at any time after the day appointed by any writs of summons then issued for calling and assembling a new parliament, and before such new parliament shall have met and sat as a parliament, such new parliament shall immediately after such proclamation convene and sit at Westminster, and be and be deemed to be a parliament in being to all intents and purposes under the provisions of this act.

XXIV. And be it also enacted, That in case of the death of her majesty the queen, the care of his majesty's royal person, and all and every the powers and authorities in and by this act vested in her majesty touching the care of his majesty's royal person, and the disposing, ordering, and managing all matters and things relating thereto, shall be and the same are hereby vested in her majesty's council, until due provision shall have been made in relation thereto by parliament: Provided nevertheless, that in such case, nothing in this act contained shall extend or be construed to extend to empower the regent, or the said council to nominate, appoint, or remove any of the officers or persons of his majesty's household, by this act made subject to the nomination, appointment or removal of her majesty, until due provision shall have been made by parliament in that behalf.

XXV. And be it further enacted, That if any person, being a member of the house of commons, shall accept of any office of profit from the crown, by the nomination and appointment of the regent in the name and on behalf of his majesty, or of her majesty the queen during the

continuance of the regency hereby established, the election of such member shall be and is hereby declared to be void, and a new writ shall issue for a new election, in such and the like manner as if such person had been appointed to such office by his majesty.

XXVI. And be it further enacted, That the several letters patent, letters of privy seal, and all other lawful authorities, of what nature or kind soever, which have been granted or issued by his majesty, by virtue whereof any payments of any sum or sums of money are directed to be paid out of the monies applicable to the use of his majesty's civil government, for the use of the queen's most excellent majesty, or for the use of any of the branches of his majesty's royal family, shall continue to be, and the same are hereby enacted to continue and be of full force and effect respectively, during the continuance of the regency by this act established; and that warrants shall be issued by the lord high treasurer, or lords commissioners of the treasury, for the payment of the several sums therein respectively contained; which warrants the said lord high treasurer, or lords commissioners of the treasury, are hereby respectively required to issue at the usual and accustomed times, and in the usual and accustomed manner.

XXVII. And be it further enacted, That the lord high treasurer or lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury for the time being shall direct, and they are hereby required annually to direct the sum of 60,000*l.* to be issued out of the monies of the civil list revenues, to the keeper of his majesty's privy purse for the time being, in like manner, and at such times and in such proportions as as has heretofore been usual and accustomed in respect to the issue of the sum of 60,000*l.* as aforesaid; and that the said keeper of his majesty's privy purse shall, and he is hereby authorised and directed, during the continuance of his majesty's indisposition, out of the monies so issued to him, to make such payments, and issue and apply such sums (not exceeding the sum of 15,461*l.* in the whole in the year), to such persons, in such proportions, and at such times, for such purposes, and on such accounts and in such manner as he hath heretofore usually paid, issued, and applied the same by the authority and direction of his majesty; and the said keeper of his majesty's privy purse shall, and he is hereby authorised and directed to issue and pay to such persons as her majesty may think proper to appoint for this purpose, out of such 60,000*l.* as aforesaid, such sums of money, (not exceeding 4,215*l.* in each quarter of the year in the whole, the first payment whereof shall be made for the current quarter as soon as may be after the passing of this act) as her majesty shall, by any order or orders in writing made for that purpose, direct, to be by such persons so to be appointed as aforesaid, paid and applied in such sums and proportions, and to such persons and for such purposes, and upon such accounts, and in such manner, as the same have been heretofore accustomed to be paid and applied, under the immediate direction and authority

of his majesty; and such persons, so appointed as aforesaid, shall, before any such money shall be issued to him after the passing of this act, take an oath before some one of her majesty's council, (which oath each of her majesty's said council is hereby authorised to administer) that he will faithfully apply and will justly account to her majesty for the faithful application of such sums of money so issued to him as aforesaid; and such persons so appointed as aforesaid, shall from time to time, within one month after the receipt of every such sum as aforesaid, render to her majesty a just and true account of the application thereof: Provided also, that the remainder of the aforesaid sum of 60,000*l.* shall be invested by the said keeper of his majesty's privy purse in some of the public funds, or government securities, in the name of the keeper of his majesty's privy purse for the time being, in trust for his majesty; and that the next surplus of the revenues of the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster shall be from time to time paid under the order of the chancellor and council of the said Duchy, into the hands of the keeper of his majesty's privy purse, whose receipt shall be a sufficient discharge for the same, and shall by him be invested in some of the public funds or government securities, in manner aforesaid; and that the Governor and Company of the Bank of England shall place the said several sums on an account to be raised in the books of the said governor and company intituled, "The Account of the Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse;" and that upon the death or resignation of the present and every other keeper of his majesty's privy purse hereafter to be appointed, all and every the said stock or stocks and sum or sums of money arising from the dividends which shall accrue thereon, shall immediately vest in the successor of the present or any future keeper of his majesty's privy purse respectively, and the keeper of his majesty's privy purse for the time being is hereby required to lay out and invest the dividends so accruing as aforesaid from time to time, in the purchase of other stocks and securities on the like account, and that the keeper of his majesty's privy purse for the time being, shall from time to time execute declarations of trust of all such funds and securities, declaring that the same are held in trust for his majesty, by instruments to be executed under his hand and seal, to be deposited with her majesty.

XXVIII. Provided always, and be it enacted, That the said keeper of his majesty's privy purse and such person so to be appointed as last aforesaid by her majesty, shall on or before the first day of January 1812, and on or before the first day of January in every succeeding year during the continuance of this act, respectively take an oath before the barons of the court of exchequer, or one of them in the form following;—

'I *A. B.* do swear, That according to the best of my knowledge, belief, or information, no part of the money which has been issued to me for the service of his majesty's privy purse, by virtue of

an act intituled, An Act, [here insert the title of this act], between the first day of January and the first day of January has been applied directly or indirectly for the benefit, use, or behoof of any member of the house of commons, or, so far as I am concerned, applicable, directly or indirectly, to the purpose of supporting or procuring an interest in any place returning members to parliament. So help me God.'

XXIX. And whereas an act passed in the 39th and 40th years of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, 'An Act concerning the disposition of certain real and personal property of his majesty, his heirs and successors, and also the real and personal property of her majesty, and of the queen consort for the time being:' and whereas it is necessary that provision should be made for the care of the real and personal estate and property of his majesty, during his indisposition, and for the preservation thereof for the use and future disposal of his majesty; be it therefore enacted, That all persons having the care or management of his majesty's real or personal estate or property, or any part thereof, now vested in any trustees for the use of his majesty, shall be and are hereby made and declared to be subject to the controul, order, direction, appointment, and removal of the several and respective trustees of the real and personal estate and property of which they are respectively in the care and management; and shall from time to time, and whenever required so to do, account to the respective trustees of the several and respective parts of the real and personal estate and property of which they so have the care and management, for all the rents, issues, profits, dividends, interest and sums of money arising or accruing therefrom respectively; and shall apply, pay over, lay out, invest, or otherwise dispose of the same, for the use of his majesty, in such manner as shall be from time to time ordered and directed by such trustees respectively and as to such trustees shall appear most advisable and beneficial for the care and improvements of such real and personal estate and property, and the preservation thereof for his majesty's use and future disposal: and all the real and personal estate and property of his majesty, in relation to which no disposition shall have been made by his majesty before his illness and which shall not now be vested in any trustee or trustees for his majesty's use, shall immediately from and after the passing of this act vest in the queen's most excellent majesty, his royal highness the regent, and the keeper of his majesty's privy purse for the time being, as trustees thereof, for the use of his majesty, and for the protection and care thereof during his majesty's illness, and preservation thereof for his majesty's use and future disposal; and her said majesty, and his said royal highness the regent, and the keeper of his majesty's privy purse, may appoint a secretary and such other persons as may appear to them to be necessary for the management of and keeping the accounts of the said trust, with such salaries to be

paid out of the proceeds of the trust property, as may appear to the said trustees to be proper; and all persons in the care and management of any real or personal estate or property, so vested in such trustees as last aforesaid, under this act, shall in like manner as aforesaid, be subject to the order, controul, direction, appointment, or removal of such trustees as last aforesaid, and shall account to such trustees in like manner as is herein before directed, in relation to such real and personal estate and property as was vested in trustees before the passing of this act; and shall in like manner as aforesaid apply, pay over, lay out, invest, or otherwise dispose of the rents, issues, profits, dividends, interests, and sums of money arising or accruing therefrom respectively, according to the order and direction of such trustees as aforesaid: Provided always, that all dividends arising from any public funds or securities shall be from time to time invested and laid out in the purchase of other like funds or public securities, unless any other order or direction shall be given by the trustees thereof respectively: and all trustees in whom any real or personal estate or property was vested, before the passing of this act, or in whom the same is vested by the provisions of this act, shall hold all such estates and property for the use and benefit of his majesty, and preserve the produce thereof, and of all rents, issues, profits, dividends, interest and sums of money, arising and accruing therefrom, for his majesty's use and benefit, and for the future disposal of his majesty, in case no disposition shall have been made thereof by his majesty before his illness; and all such real and personal estate and property, and rents, issues, profits, produce, dividends, interest, and sums of money aforesaid, arising and accruing therefrom, whereof no disposition shall have been made by his majesty before his illness, shall, if no disposition thereof shall hereafter be made by his majesty, go and be disposed of according to law: Provided always, that nothing in this act contained shall be construed to invalidate or in any manner to affect any disposition which shall have been made, or which shall hereafter be made, by his majesty, by deed, will, or otherwise, of any such property or proceeds thereof as aforesaid, either before or after his majesty's illness, which would have been or would be a good and valid disposition of such property, if this act had not passed.

XXX. And whereas his majesty hath been accustomed from time to time, by the advice and on the recommendation of the commissioners of the treasury, to make grants out of the droits of the crown and of the admiralty to persons concerned or interested in the capture of any vessels and cargoes, or other property, condemned to or becoming vested in his majesty, as droits of the crown or of the admiralty, or to persons praying for relief as of his majesty's bounty in any cases of damage or injury sustained by them on account of or in any manner connected with any capture or prize, or occasioned by any engagement with ships of the enemy; be it therefore enacted, that

the said regent shall have full power and authority, by the advice and on the recommendation of the commissioners of the treasury for the time being, or any three or more of them, out of the droits of the crown or the droits of the admiralty, or any part or parts thereof, from time to time to make any such grants to persons concerned or interested in the capture of any vessels or cargoes, or other property, which have been or may hereafter be condemned to or become vested in his majesty as droits of his crown or of the admiralty, or to any person or persons praying for relief in any cases of damage or injury sustained by or on account of any matter or thing arising out of or in any manner connected with capture or prize, or occasioned by any engagement with ships or vessels of the enemy, in such manner as his majesty hath heretofore by the advice of the said commissioners been accustomed to make any grants of the same.

Mr. Horner's Resolutions on the Report of the Bullion Committee.

1. "That the only money which can be legally tendered in Great Britain, for any sum above twelve pence in the whole, is made either of gold or silver; and that the weight, standard, and denomination, at which any such money is authorized to pass current, is fixed, under his Majesty's prerogative, according to law.

2. "That since the 43rd year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, the indentures of his Majesty's Mint have uniformly directed that all silver used for coin should consist of 11oz. 2dwts. of fine silver, and 18dts. of alloy in each pound troy; and that the said pound troy should be divided into 62 shillings, or into other coins in that proportion.

3. "That since the 15th year of the reign of King Charles the Second, the Indentures of his Majesty's Mint have uniformly directed, that all Gold used for coin should consist of 11oz. of pure Gold, and 1oz. of Alloy in each pound Troy; and that the said pound Troy should be divided and coined into 44 Guineas and one Half-Guinea, or into other Coins in that proportion.

4. "That by a Proclamation of the 4th year of the reign of King George the First, it was ordered and directed, that Guineas and the several other Gold Coins therein named, should be current at the Rates and Values then set upon them; viz. the Guinea at the rate of 21 Shillings, and other Gold Coins in the same proportion: thereby establishing, that the Gold and Silver Coins of the Realm should be a legal tender in all Money Payments, and a Standard Measure for ascertaining the value of all contracts for the payment of Money, in the relative proportion of $15\frac{2859}{10610}$ Pounds weight of Sterling Silver to one Pound of Sterling Gold.

5. "That by a statute of the 14th year of the reign of his present Majesty, subsequently revived and made perpetual by a Statute of the 39th year of his reign, it is Enacted, That no Tender in payment of Money made in the Silver Coin of this Realm, of any sum exceeding the sum of 25*l.* at

any one time, shall be reputed in law, or allowed to be legal tender, within Great Britain or Ireland, for more than, according to its value by weight, after the rate of *5s. 2d.* for each Ounce of Silver.

6. "That by a proclamation of the 16th year of the reign of his present Majesty, confirmed by several subsequent Proclamations, it was ordered and directed, that if the weight of any Guinea shall be less than 5dwts. 8grs. such Guinea shall cease to be a legal tender for the payment of any money within Great Britain or Ireland; and so in the same proportion for any other Gold Coin.

7. "That under these laws, (which constitute the established policy of this Realm in regard to Money,) no contract or undertaking for the payment of Money, stipulated to be paid in Pounds Sterling, or in good and lawful Money of Great Britain, can be legally satisfied and discharged in Gold Coin, unless the Coin tendered shall weigh in the proportion of $\frac{20}{21}$ parts of 5dwts. 8grs. Standard Gold for each Pound Sterling, specified in the said contract; nor in Silver Coin, for a sum exceeding *25l.* unless such Coin shall weigh in the proportion of $\frac{20}{62}$ of a Pound Troy of Standard Silver for each Pound Sterling specified in the contract.

8. "That the Promissory Notes of the Bank of England are stipulations to pay, on demand, the Sum in Pounds Sterling respectively specified in each of the said Notes.

9. "That when it was enacted by the authority of Parliament, that the payment of the Promissory Notes of the Bank of England in Cash should for a time be suspended, it was not the intention of Parliament that any alteration whatsoever should take place in the Value of such Promissory Notes.

10. "That it appears, that the actual Value of the Promissory Notes of the Bank of England, (measuring such Value by weight of Standard Gold and Silver as aforesaid,) has been, for a considerable period of time, and still is, considerably less than what is established by the laws of the Realm to be the legal Tender in payment of any money contract or stipulation.

11. "That the Fall which has thus taken place in the Value of the Promissory Notes of the Bank of England, and in that of the Country Bank Paper which is exchangeable for it, has been occasioned by too abundant Issue of Paper Currency, both by the Bank of England, and by the Country Banks; and that this Excess has originated, from the want of that Check and Controul on the Issues of the Bank of England, which existed before the Suspension of Cash Payments.

12. "That it appears, that the Exchanges with Foreign Parts have for a considerable period of time been unfavourable to this Country, in an extraordinary degree.

13. "That, although the adverse circumstances of our Trade, together with the large amount of our military expenditure abroad, may have contributed to render our Exchanges with the Continent of Europe unfavourable; yet the extraordinary degree, in which the Exchanges have been depressed

for so long a period, has been, in a great measure, occasioned by the depreciation which has taken place in the relative value of the currency of this country, as compared with the Money of Foreign Countries.

14. "That during the continuance of the suspension of Cash Payments, it is the duty of the Directors of the Bank of England *to advert to the state of the Foreign Exchanges*, as well as to the price of Bullion, with a view to regulate the amount of their Issues.

15. "That the only certain and adequate security to be provided against an Excess of Paper Currency, and for maintaining the relative Value of the Circulating Medium of the Realm, is the legal Convertibility, upon demand, of all Paper Currency into lawful Coin of the Realm.

16. "That in order to revert gradually to this Security, and to enforce meanwhile a due Limitation of the Paper of the Bank of England, as well as of all the other Bank Paper of the Country, it is expedient to amend the Act which suspends the Cash Payments of the Bank, by altering the time, till which the Suspension shall continue, from Six Months after the Ratification of a Definitive Treaty of Peace, to that of Two Years from the present time."

Mr. Vansittart's Resolutions on Ditto.

1. Resolved, "That the right of establishing and regulating the legal money of this kingdom hath at all times been a royal prerogative, vested in the sovereigns thereof, who have, from time to time, exercised the same as they have seen fit, in changing such legal money, or altering and varying the value, and enforcing or restraining the circulation thereof, by proclamation, or in concurrence with the estates of the realm by act of parliament: and that such legal money cannot lawfully be defaced, melted down, or exported.

2. "That the promissory notes of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, are engagements to pay certain sums of money in the legal coin of this kingdom; and that for more than a century past, the said Governor and Company were at all times ready to discharge such promissory notes in legal coin of the realm, until restrained from so doing on the 25th of February 1797, by an order of council, confirmed by act of parliament.

3. "That the promissory notes of the said Company have hitherto been, and are at this time, held in public estimation to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm, and generally accepted as such in all pecuniary transactions to which such coin is lawfully applicable.

4. "That at various periods, as well before as since the said restriction, the exchanges between Great Britain and several other countries have been unfavourable to Great Britain; and that during such periods, the prices of gold and silver bullion, especially of such gold bullion as could be legally exported, have frequently risen above the Mint price; and the coinage of money at the Mint

has been either wholly suspended or greatly diminished in amount; and that such circumstances have usually occurred, when expensive naval and military operations have been carried on abroad; and in times of public danger or alarm; or when large importations of grain from foreign parts have taken place.

5. "That such unfavourable exchanges and rise in the price of bullion, occurred to a greater or less degree during the wars carried on by king William the third and queen Anne; and also during part of the seven years war, and of the American war; and during the war and scarcity of grain in 1795 and 1796, when the difficulty of procuring cash or bullion increased to such a degree, that on the 25th of February 1797, the Bank of England was restrained from making payments in cash by an order of council, confirmed and continued to the present time by divers acts of parliament: and the exchanges became still more unfavourable, and the price of bullion higher, during the scarcity which prevailed for two years previous to the peace of Amiens.

6. "That the unfavourable state of the exchanges, and the high price of bullion, do not, in any of the instances above referred to, appear to have been produced by the restriction upon cash payments at the Bank of England, or by any excess in the issue of Bank notes; inasmuch as all the said instances, except the last, occurred previously to any restriction on such cash payments: and because, so far as appears by such information as has been procured, the price of bullion has frequently been highest, and the exchanges most unfavourable, at periods, when the issues of Bank-notes have been considerably diminished, and they have been afterwards restored to their ordinary rates, although those issues have been increased.

7. "That during the period of nearly seventy-eight years, ending with the 1st of January 1796, and previous to the aforesaid restriction, of which period accounts are before the house, the price of standard gold in bars has been at or under the Mint price twenty-eight years and five months; and above the said Mint price forty-eight years and eleven months; and that the price of foreign gold coin has been at or under 3*l.* 18*s.* per ounce, thirty-six years and seven months, and above the said price thirty-nine years and three months; and that during the remaining intervals no prices are stated. And that during the same period of seventy-eight years, the price of standard silver appears to have been at or under the Mint price, three years and two months only.

8. "That during the latter part, and for some time after the close of the American war, during the years 1781, 1782, and 1783, and the exchange with Hamburgh fell from 34.1 to 31.5, being about eight per cent.; and the price of foreign gold rose from 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* to 4*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* per ounce, and the price of dollars from 5*s.* 4½*d.* per ounce, to 5*s.* 11½*d.*; and that the Bank notes in circulation were reduced between March 1782, and December 1782, from 9,160,000*l.* to 5,995,000*l.* being a diminution of

above one third, and continued (with occasional variations) at such reduced rate until December 1784: and that the exchange with Hamburgh rose to 34.6, and the price of gold fell to 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* and dollars to 5*s.* 1½*d.* per ounce, before the 25th of February 1787, the amount of Bank-notes being then increased to 8,688,000*l.*

9. "That the amount of Bank-notes in February 1787, was 8,688,000*l.* and in February 1791, 11,699,000*l.*; and that during the same period, the sum of 10,704,000*l.* was coined in gold; and that the exchange with Hamburgh rose about three per cent.

10. "That the average amount of Bank-notes in the year 1795, was about 11,497,000*l.*; and on the 25th of February 1797, was reduced to 8,640,000*l.* during which time the exchange with Hamburgh fell from 36 to 35, being about 3 per cent. and the said amount was increased to 11,855,000*l.* exclusive of 1,542,000*l.* in notes of 1*l.* and 2*l.* each, on the 1st of February 1798, during which time the exchange rose to 38.2, being about 9 per cent.

11. "That the average price of wheat, per quarter, in England, in the year 1798, was 50*s.* 3*d.*; in 1799, 67*s.* 5*d.*; in 1800, 113*s.* 7*d.*; and in 1801, 118*s.* 3*d.*; and in 1802, 67*s.* 5*d.*

"The amount of Bank-notes, of 5*l.*, and upwards, was

	About	And under 5*l.*	Making together
in 1798,	£. 10,920,400	£. 1,786,000	£. 12,706,400
in 1799,	12,048,790	1,626,110	13,674,906
in 1800,	13,421,920	1,831,820	15,253,740
in 1801,	13,454,370	2,715,180	16,169,550
in 1802,	13,917,980	3,136,470	17,054,450

"That the exchange with Hamburgh was in January 1798, 38.2; January 1799, 37.7; January 1800, 32.; January 1801, 29.8; being in the whole a fall of above 22 per cent.—In January 1802, 32.2; and December 1802, 34; being in the whole a rise of about 13 per cent.

12. "That during all the periods above referred to, previous to the commencement of the war with France in 1793, the principal states of Europe preserved their independence, and the trade and correspondence thereof were carried on conformably to the accustomed law of nations; and that although from the time of the invasion of Holland by the French in 1795, the trade of Great Britain with the continent was in part circumscribed and interrupted, it was carried on freely with several of the most considerable ports, and commercial correspondence was maintained at all times previous to the summer of 1807.

13. "That since the month of November 1806, and especially since the summer of 1807, a system of exclusion has been established against the British trade on the continent of Europe, under

the influence and terror of the French power, and enforced with a degree of violence and rigour never before attempted; whereby all trade and correspondence between Great Britain and the continent of Europe has (with some occasional exceptions, chiefly in Sweden and in certain parts of Spain and Portugal) been hazardous, precarious, and expensive, the trade being loaded with excessive freights to foreign shipping, and other unusual charges: and that the trade of Great Britain with the United States of America has also been uncertain and interrupted; and that in addition to these circumstances, which have greatly affected the course of payments between this country and other nations, the naval and military expenditure of the United Kingdom in foreign parts has for three years past been very great; and the price of grain, owning to a deficiency in the crops, higher than at any time whereof the accounts appear before parliament, except during the scarcity of 1800 and 1801; and that large quantities thereof have been imported.

14. "That the amount of currency necessary for carrying on the transactions of the country, must bear a proportion to the extent of its trade and its public revenue and expenditure; and that the annual amount of the exports and imports of Great Britain, on an average of three years, ending 5th of January 1797, was 48,732,651*l.* official value; the average amount of revenue paid into the exchequer, including monies raised by lottery, 18,759,165*l.* and of loans, 18,409,842*l.* making together 37,169,007*l.*; and the average amount of the total expenditure of Great Britain, 42,855,111*l.*; and that the average amount of Bank-notes in circulation (all of which were for five pounds, or upwards,) was about 10,782,780*l.* and that 57,274,617*l.* had been coined in gold during his Majesty's reign, of which a large sum was then in circulation.

"That the annual amount of the exports and imports of Great Britain, on an average of three years ending 5th January 1811, supposing the imports from the East Indies and China, in the year ending 5th January 1811, to have been equal to their amount in the preceding year, was 77,971,318*l.*; the average amount of revenue paid into the exchequer, 62,763,746*l.*; and of loans, 12,673,548*l.*; making together 75,437,294*l.*; and the average amount of the total expenditure of Great Britain, 82,205,066*l.*; and that the average amount of Bank-notes, above 5*l.* was about 14,265,850*l.* and of notes under 5*l.* about 5,283,330*l.*; and that the amount of gold coin in circulation was greatly diminished.

15. "That the situation of this kingdom, in respect of its political and commercial relations with foreign countries, as above stated, is sufficient, without any change in the internal value of its currency, to account for the unfavourable state of the foreign exchanges, and for the high price of bullion.

16. "That it is highly important that the restriction on the payments in cash of the Bank of England, should be removed,

whenever the political and commercial relations of the country shall render it compatible with the public interest.

17. "That under the circumstances affecting the political and commercial relations of this kingdom with foreign countries, it would be highly inexpedient and dangerous, now to fix a definite period for the removal of the restriction of cash payments at the Bank of England, prior to the term already fixed by the act 44 Geo. 3. c. 1. of six months after the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace."

Mr. Horner's Amendments on Mr. Vansittart's Resolutions.

Amendment to Resolution IV.

"That, prior to the restriction of cash payments, the exchanges were never more unfavourable to Great Britain, for any length of time, than from 5 to 7 per cent. below par, the depression appearing to never have exceeded the whole expence of transmitting specie abroad; except during a debasement of the coins of the realm.

"That, prior to the said restriction, the market-price of standard gold in bars never rose above the mint price more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and that only for a very short interval; except in 1720, the year of the famous South Sea Scheme, when it rose to 4*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* per ounce; and during the periods when the coins of the realm have been debased.

"That, in periods subsequent to the said restriction, and particularly of late years, the exchanges have been unfavourable to Great Britain much below the limit marked by the whole cost of transmitting specie abroad, and have continued so for a considerable time together, being at present, and having been for a considerable time, more than 25 per cent. below par; and in the same manner the market price of standard gold in bars has been, and still is, more than 25 (20) per cent. above the Mint price."

Amendment to Resolution V.

"That, during the wars carried on by king William III., the exchanges did fall below the limit fixed by the expense of transmitting specie, and the price of gold bullion did rise very considerably, viz. during the debased state of the silver coin of the realm; but, immediately after the reformation of the coin, the market price of gold fell to the Mint price, and the exchanges rose nearly to par, although the circumstances of the war and the foreign expenditure continued unaltered.

"That, between the reformation of the coin in the reign of king William, and the 4th year of the reign of king George the 1st, the guinea passed by law for 22*s.*; during which period, therefore, the Mint price of gold was 4*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*

"That, during the seven years war, and until the year 1774, the gold coin of the realm was in a state of debasement.

"That the price of standard gold in bars never exceeded the Mint price, in any one year of the American war.

"That the exchange with Ham-

burgh, which had been rather unfavourable to this country, during part of the year 1795, ceased to be so in March 1796, became more favourable in the month of October, and continued favourable till the 26th of February 1797, when the restriction took place, and for some time afterwards.

"That there was no rise in the price of standard gold in bars immediately prior to the 26th of February 1797, nor for a considerable number of years before.

"That the state of the exchanges, and of the price of bullion, for two years previous to the peace of Amiens, was subsequent to the said restriction."

Amendment to Resolution VI.

"That, taking the issues of Bank-notes in circulation, not at their amount on a particular day, but on a fair average antecedent to any alteration of the exchanges and price of bullion, it does not appear, from the information which has been procured, that the price of gold has been highest, and the exchanges most unfavourable, when the issues of Bank-notes had been considerably diminished, and have been restored to their ordinary rates subsequently to those issues being increased.

"That, since the said restriction, the price of bullion has been highest, and the exchanges have been most unfavourable, at times subsequent to the periods in which the issues of Bank-notes have most increased."

Amendment to Resolution VII.

"That, with regard to the period of 75 years ending with the 1st of January 1796, from the year 1721 to the year 1758, the market price of gold never at any one time exceeded the Mint price by more than 1*s*. 2½*d*. per ounce, and seldom by more than half that sum; from 1758 to the recoinage of the gold in 1773, the market price of standard gold, in bars, was always above the Mint price, and sometimes exceeded it by as much as 3*s*. 6*d*. per ounce, being, (except during) the period during which the coins were in a debased state; from the recoinage in 1773 to the 25th Feb. 1797, the date of the restriction, the market price of standard gold in bars never exceeded the Mint price, except for part of the years 1783 and 1784, when it rose 1½*d*. above the Mint price; since the year 1804, the price of standard gold in bars has been always very considerably above the Mint price, and from the year 1808 to the present time, has been progressively rising, with occasioual fluctuations, till it has been as high as the unprecedented price of 4*l*. 18*s*. (4*l*. 14*s*). per ounce, as appears from Wettenhall's tables."

Amendment to Resolution VIII.

"That, taking the average of Bank-notes in circulation, in the years 1782 and 1783, from their amount in the beginning of the months of January, March, June, October, and December, in each year, and that of 1784, from their amount in the beginning of the months of March, June, October, and December, (which are the returns before the House), it appears as follows:—

1782 - -	7,599,570*l.*
1783 - -	6,583,560*l.*
1784 - -	6,209,855*l.*

"That the exchanges with Hamburgh, and the price of foreign gold, during the same periods, were as follows:—

1782	Exch.	for G.
January	- 31.9.	£. 3 18 6
March	- 32.10.	- 3 19 0
June	- 32.7.	- 3 19 6
October	- 32.3.	- 4 2 0
December	- 31.10.	- 4 0 1

1783.	Exch.	for G.
January	- 32.7.	£. 4 1 0
March	- 32.5.	- 3 19 0
June	- 31.5.	- 4 2 3
October	- 32.7.	- 3 19 6
December	- 32.8.	- 3 19 6

1784.	Exch.	for G.
January		
March	- 33.9.	£. 3 18 0
June	- 34.4.	- 3 17 10½
October	- 34.7.	- 3 17 10½
December	- 34.10.	- 3 17 10½

"That the exchange with Hamburgh between the end of December 1784, and the 25th of February 1787, fell from 35.6. to 34.6."

Amendment to Resolution IX.

"That of the sum of 10,704,000*l.* stated to have been coined in gold from February 1787 to February 1791, the sum of 8,084,982*l.* was a recoinage from the light guineas of the realm."

Amendment to Resolution X.

"That the average amount of Bank-notes in circulation during the months of January and February 1795, was 12,452,451*l.* and the average amount from the 1st of January to the 25th of February 1797, was 9,566,430*l.*; making a difference of 2,886,021*l.*

"That this reduction in the amount of Bank-notes was principally effected between the middle of the month of May 1796, and the 25th of February 1797.

"That the exchange with Hamburgh fell from 36 to 32.4. (its lowest depression during the period in question) between the 3d of February and the 4th of August 1795, during which time the average amount of Bank-notes in circulation was 11,464,143*l.* having been occasionally during the time as high as 14,071,850*l.* and even 14,876,580*l.*

"That between the 4th of August 1795, and the 1st of January 1796, the exchange with Hamburgh rose from 32.4. to 32.7. during which period the average amount of Bank-notes in circulation was 11,415,653*l.*; and, from the 1st of January to the 3d of June 1796, the exchange with Hamburgh rose from 32.7. to 34. during which period the average amount of notes was 10,874,316*l.*

"That from the 3d of June 1796 to the 25th of February 1797, during which period the amount of Bank-notes was gradually reduced to the sum of 8,640,250*l.* the exchange with Hamburgh rose to 35; and in the few months following the last reduction, rose gradually to 38."

Amendment to Resolution XIV.

"That the average amount of

Bank notes in circulation, of five pounds and upwards, for three years, ending the 5th of January 1797, was 10,782,780*l.*; and for the years 1808, 1809, and 1810, was 14,265,850*l.*

"That the average amount of notes for five pounds and upwards, in the year 1796, was 10,240,125*l.* and in 1810, was 15,421,310*l.*"

Earl Stanhope's Resolutions respecting a Circulating Medium.

1. "That an internal circulating medium, which shall be a legal measure of the relative value of different commodities and things, is essential for transacting the private affairs of individuals, and the public concerns of the state, and for enabling debtors to make to each of their respective creditors a legal tender in satisfaction of his or her just demands, without any unjust loss to any debtor on that account.

2. "That it is most highly expedient that such internal circulating medium and legal measure of the relative value of different commodities and things, be so contrived as not to be unsteady, fluctuating, and variable; but to be fixed and invariable, so far as the nature of things can possibly admit.

3. "That two or more circulating mediums, which, under any given circumstances whatsoever, can vary considerably in their relative value when compared to each other, cannot, under such given circumstances, exist together, so as to form together a fixed, invariable, and proper circulating medium, and a proper legal measure of the relative value of different commodities and things.

4. "That it is, therefore, highly expedient, that whenever (for the sake of more convenience) different internal circulating mediums shall be by law either established or allowed, some one only of them be made the permanent legal standard measure of the relative value of different commodities and things.

5. "That it is therefore expedient that such permanent legal standard measure as aforesaid be so contrived as to be divisible into such parts as may bear to each other any requirable proportion, in order not only that all round sums, but likewise that all fractional sums whatsoever, may be paid and satisfied by means thereof.

6. "That it is moreover expedient that such permanent legal standard measure, and circulating medium as aforesaid, be so contrived as to be easily, rapidly and safely transferable, without expense, from any one person to any other person, and from any one part of the country to another, either for the use and benefit of the same individual, or of any other individual, free from any depreciation, defalcation, or discount, and free from any loss by forgery, or by wear and tear, and also free from any danger of loss that might arise from housebreakers, highway robbers, mobs, insurrections, or even from foreign invasion in any particular district, and likewise free from any loss that might arise from the accidental or intentional destruction of

any dwelling-house, banking-house, or other building, by fire or otherwise; and, moreover, free from any loss of interest on any quantity, however considerable, of circulating medium, which shall or may hereafter exist, and be tranferable in any of the various ways above mentioned, and (above all things) free from being affected by the course of all or any of the foreign exchanges.

7. "That neither gold nor silver ever did possess, or ever can possess, the various important and requisite qualities which are above particularly specified; and that, not only each of those precious metals (technically so called), but likewise every one of the other articles of merchandize, by means of which British debts to foreign nations can be discharged, is from the irremediable fluctuability of their value, (arising from the necessary fluctuability of the course of foreign exchanges) an improper and an unfit legal standard to serve as a fixed, invariable, and permanent measure of the relative value of different commodities and things within the country itself, which is the grand and essential end and object of an internal circulating medium, whether the same be imperiously wanted for the use of individuals within this realm, in order for them to purchase from each other, either the objects of luxury, or even the necessaries of life, or whether such internal circulating medium be required for the indispensible services of the state.

8. "That the want of gold in circulation, in this country at present, prevents bankers and other persons, who may have large payments to make, from making in any such case, any legal tender to the amount of the sum of money so due and payable, and in discharge thereof; and that the same is a grievance of such an immense magnitude, that it requires a wise, speedy, radical, and efficacious remedy, which shall completely prevent the possibility of this nation being ever again deprived of its proper internal circulating medium either from the circumstances of the balance of payments, in respect to foreign countries, being at any time against us, which must ever of necessity tend to cause our gold to be exported, in order to adjust such balance, or from the circumstance of any temporary alarm which may always cause our gold to be hoarded; or from any other circumstance or combination of circumstances; and that parliament should take into its most serious consideration this important subject, and should adopt such measures as shall effectually prevent the return of so intolerable an evil.

9. "That it would be an act of the most manifest injustice, and an act likewise highly impolitic and rash, if parliament were to make, by law, either bank notes or any other paper circulating medium, a general legal tender, on account of this obvious circumstance, viz. that the person to whom such a tender may be made, may not be certain that such note or other paper circulating medium is not forged.

10. "That for the various

weighty reasons aforesaid, it is highly expedient, that a permanent mode of making payments be established, by means of which mode, legal tenders, even to the largest amount, may be made, without gold, as gold ought never again to be relied upon for that legal and necessary purpose, on account of the impossibility of procuring gold at all times in sufficient quantity; and by means of which same mode, legal tenders for fractional sums may be made, without either silver or copper, and by means of which same mode also, legal tenders may be made in all countries, without tendering in payment either Bank notes, or any other kind of circulating paper whatever.

11. "That, in order to satisfy the public respecting the solvency of the Bank of England, and to prevent all future apprehensions upon that important subject, it is expedient, that the governor and company of the Bank of England be by law compelled to lay before both Houses of Parliament in the first week of every session of Parliament, a full, clear, luminous, and satisfactory account of the state of their affairs, and that a *maximum* be always fixed by law with respect to the number and value of the notes, which may be issued by the said governor and company, and which may at any one time be out in circulation.

12. "That it is expedient, that the Bank of England shall establish various branches throughout the whole country, and in many parts of the metropolis, and shall cause books to be opened in each of those places; and that persons possessed of Bank notes shall be entitled, upon depositing such notes, to have a credit in the Bank book at the place where such deposit is made, equal to the value in pounds sterling, which is specified in such notes to be payable to the bearer on demand; and that every person, having such credit so entered to his account in any one place as aforesaid, shall be entitled to transfer the whole of such sum so accredited, or any part thereof, either to his own account or to that of any other person at any place where any such book is opened.

13. "That, for the perfect security of all persons who shall at any time become possessed of any such credit as aforesaid, it is expedient that triplicate corresponding entries be made, the first of which shall be on the Bank book at such place, the second of which shall be delivered to the person who shall have brought the Bank notes as a certificate of the proper entry having been made, and the third of which shall be forthwith transmitted to the original Bank of England in London, in order to be by them filed, and daily transmitted to the Tower of London, for safe custody, after such last mentioned triplicate shall have been duly recorded in the books at the bank of England itself, and that every transfer be made in like manner.

14. "That, as under proper regulations in detail, such book entries and such book transfers cannot ever be forged, it would be highly expedient that the law should authorise legal tenders to be made, by tendering such a book transfer as aforesaid of the sum due in such form and manner

as shall hereafter be prescribed by law."

Copy of Earl Stanhope's Gold Coin and Bank Note Bill.

"An Act for making more effectual provision for preventing the current Gold Coin of the Realm from being paid or accepted for a greater value than the current value of such coin; for preventing any Note or Bill of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England from being received for any smaller sum than the sum therein specified; and for staying proceedings upon any distress by tender of such notes.

"Whereas it is expedient to enact as is hereinafter provided: Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That, from and after the passing of this act, no person shall receive or pay for any gold coin lawfully current within the realm, any more in value, benefit, profit, or advantage, than the true lawful value of such coin, whether such value, benefit, profit, or advantage, be paid, made or taken in lawful money, or in any note or notes, bill or bills of the governor and company of the bank of England, or in any silver token or tokens issued by the said governor and company, or by any or all of the said means wholly or partly, or by any other means, device, shift, or contrivance whatsoever; and every person who shall offend herein shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor.

II. "And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That no person shall by any means, device, shift, or contrivance whatsoever, receive or pay any note or notes, bill or bills of the governor and company of the bank of England, for less than the amount of lawful money expressed therein, and to be thereby made payable, except only lawful discount on such note or bill as shall not be expressed to be payable on demand; and every person who shall offend herein, shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor.

III. "And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That in case any person shall proceed by distress or poinding to recover from any tenant or other person liable to such distress or poinding, any rent or sum of money due from such tenant or other person, it shall be lawful for such tenant or other person, in every such case to tender notes of the governor and company of the bank of England, expressed to be payable on demand, to the amount of such rent or sum so due, either alone or together with a sufficient sum of lawful money, to the person on whose behalf such distress or poinding is made, or to the officer or person making such distress or poinding on his behalf; and in case such tender shall be accepted, or in case such tender shall be made and refused, the goods taken in such distress or poinding shall be forthwith returned to the party distrained upon, or against whom such poinding shall have been used, unless

the party distraining or poinding and refusing to accept such tender shall insist that a greater sum is due than the sum so tendered, and in such case the parties shall proceed as usual in such cases; but if it shall appear that no more was due than the sum so tendered, then the party who tendered such sum shall be entitled to the costs of all subsequent proceedings: Provided always, that the person to whom such rent or sum of money is due shall have and be intitled to all such other remedies for the recovery thereof, exclusive of distress or poinding, as such person had or was intitled to at the time of making such distress or poinding, if such person shall not think proper to accept such tender so made as aforesaid: Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall affect the right of any tenant, or other such person as aforesaid having right to replevy or recover the goods so taken in distress or poinding, in case, without making such tender as aforesaid, he shall so think fit.

IV. "Provided always, and be it enacted, That every person who shall commit in Scotland any offence against this act, which by the provisions thereof is constituted a misdemeanor, shall be liable to be punished by fine and imprisonment, or by one or the other of the said punishments as the judge or judges before whom such offender shall be tried and convicted may direct.

V. "Provided always, That nothing in this act contained shall extend to Ireland.

VI. "Provided always, and be it further enacted, That this act shall continue and be in force to and until the 25th day of March 1812, and no longer."

Correspondence between the Lords of his Majesty's Treasury and the Auditor of the Exchequer, respecting the Issue of Money for the Service of the Army and Navy.

No. I. — Warrant — 500,000*l.* — bank of England; on account of the treasurer of the navy.

After our hearty commendations:—Whereas by an act passed in the last session of parliament, entitled, "An act for granting to his majesty certain sums of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, and for applying certain moneys therein mentioned, for the service of the year 1810, and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament," the sum of 19,237,934*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* was granted to his majesty, for and towards the naval services therein more particularly mentioned: and whereas it appears by a joint resolution of the houses of lords and commons, that "his majesty is prevented by his present indisposition from coming to his parliament, and from attending to public business, and that the personal exercise of the royal authority by his majesty is thereby for the present interrupted:" and whereas it is indispensably necessary for his majesty's service, that the sums granted as aforesaid should be issued and applied for the purposes authorized by the said act; and that for the urgent and pressing demands of the navy it is necessary, in order to prevent the ma-

nifest and serious injury which the public service would sustain if such issue of money were not made, that the sum of 500,000*l.* should be forthwith issued for the service of the navy: And whereas during the continuance of his majesty's indisposition, and previous to any authority being obtained by act of parliament to authorize the signature of his majesty's name or the application of his privy seal, the ordinary and accustomed mode of issuing money out of the exchequer cannot be pursued: and whereas by the said recited act certain sums therein mentioned are directed to be issued and applied for and towards making good the supply granted to his majesty; and the commissioners of his majesty's treasury, now or for the time being, or any three or more of them, or the high treasurer for the time being, are or is thereby or by other acts therein recited, authorised and empowered to issue and apply the same accordingly: These are therefore, under the particular exigency of the case, to pray and require you to draw an order for paying under the governor and company of the bank of England, upon account of the right honourable George Rose, treasurer of his majesty's navy, or of the treasurer thereof for the time being, any sum or sums of money not exceeding in the whole the sum of five hundred thousand pounds, by way of imprest and upon account, for the service of the navy and the victualling thereof; and let the said order be satisfied out of any the treasure or revenue in the receipt of the exchequer, applicable to the uses and purposes above mentioned: for which this shall be your warrant. Whitehall treasury chambers, the 31st day of December, 1810.

Sp. Perceval, W. Brodrick,
W. Eliot, S. Barne, B. Paget.

To the auditor of the receipt of his majesty's exchequer.

No. II.—A like warrant for the same sum to be paid to Mr. Long and Lord Charles Somerset, for army services.

No. III.—Lord Grenville, auditor of the exchequer, on the subject of issuing money from the exchequer, for the service of the army and navy, under the warrants of the lords of the treasury.

Camelford-house, Jan. 1, 1811, *53 min. p.* 11. A. M.

Sir,—Mr. Fisher has this moment brought to me two warrants from the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, under yesterday's date, by which I am required, in consideration of the circumstances therein stated, to draw an order for the issue of 500,000*l.* to the bank, on account of the paymaster-general of the forces, and also a like sum on account of the treasurer of the navy; for which issues no authority under his majesty's great seal, or privy seal, or sign manual, has as yet been presented, according to the accustomed mode and course of the exchequer in that behalf.

I have been, up to this moment, totally unapprized of any intention on the part of their lordships to transmit to me any such warrants; but had on the contrary every reason to believe, from what

you had stated to Mr. Fisher, that the officers of the exchequer were to be called upon to act on this occasion under the authority of his majesty's privy seal, which, however irregularly it might have been obtained, would have been, in my judgment imperative upon them.

It now becomes necessary for me to consider the nature and extent of the duties which this new and unexpected course of proceeding imposes upon me; and I must for that purpose request, that you will do me the honour to inform me, within what time it will be necessary, for avoiding those inconveniencies to the public service which are specified in the warrants of their lordships, that such orders as are before mentioned should be drawn and transmitted to their lordships.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

The right hon. Spencer Perceval, &c. &c. &c.

No. IV.—Mr. Perceval to Lord Grenville, stating the period when an issue should be made from the exchequer in pursuance of the treasury warrant.

Downing-street, 1st *Jan.* 1811. ¼ *before* 3 P. M.

My Lord,

I have had the honour of receiving your lordship's letter of this day's date, desiring to know within what time it will be necessary, for avoiding those inconveniences to the public service which are specified in the warrants to which your lordship's letter relates, that the order for issuing the money under such warrants should be transmitted to their lordships? and I have to state to your lordship, that according to the usual course of supplying the weekly issues, both to the navy and the army, it would be necessary that sums should be issued to both services, beyond the amount of the existing credits at the exchequer, either to-morrow or the next day at furthest: but although such is the usual practice, which I should regret the necessity of departing from, yet if the orders could be so furnished as to admit of an actual issue being made upon them by Monday next, I do not apprehend any serious inconvenience to the public service from such a short delay.

SP. PERCEVAL.

The lord Grenville.

No. V.—Lord Grenville, auditor of the exchequer, transmitting a case on the subject of issuing money from the exchequer under treasury warrants, and requesting the same might be submitted to the attorney and solicitor general.

Exchequer, Jan. 1, 1811.

My Lords,

I have been informed by a letter of this date from the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, that it is desirable the orders required by your lordships' warrants of yesterday's date should be transmitted to your lordship either to-morrow or next day at furthest, and that serious inconvenience is apprehended to the public service, unless the actual issue can be made upon them by Monday next.

Under this pressure, I have thought it my indispensable duty to lose no time in drawing up such a statement of the case as my general knowledge of the subject enables me to do on the sudden. If there should appear to your lordships any deficiency or error in this statement, I beg leave to request that your lordships will have the goodness to direct that the same should be supplied by your lordships' officers; and I cannot doubt that your lordships will then, in compliance with this my humble request, direct that the case should be immediately submitted, by your lordships' orders, to the attorney and solicitor general, in order that I may have the sanction of their legal advice and authority in a matter of such novel and unprecedented difficulty.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) GRENVILLE, auditor.
The lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury.

No. VI.—Case for the opinion of his majesty's attorney and solicitor general—1 January 1811.

The auditor of the exchequer is appointed by a constitution from the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury; his office is generally described by lord Coke, Inst. 106. His appointment states his duty to be, that of writing all and every the tallies and counter tallies of all whatsoever the bills to be made hereafter at the exchequer of our lord the king, on all and every the payments and assignments to be there made; and of doing and exercising all other things to that office belonging.

He has no general instructions accompanying his appointment.

Special provisions relative to his office and duties are contained in the eighth and ninth W. III. c. 28. particularly in sections 6. 8. and 10. to which your attention is desired, as well as to the general tenor of the several statutes for the regulation of the exchequer, and also to the stat. 50 Geo. III. c. 115. f. 6.

Copies of the several forms of the warrants under privy seal and sign manual, and of the usual warrant from the lords commissioners of the treasury to the auditor, for drawing orders for the issue of money, according to the accustomed course of the exchequer, are transmitted herewith. And Mr. Fisher, the auditor's chief clerk, an officer of long experience in the exchequer, will attend you, for the purpose of supplying any explanation of these instruments, or any other information which you may require.

A copy is herewith inclosed of two warrant from the lords commissioners of the treasury, dated December 31, 1810; and requiring the auditor, under the circumstances therein described, to draw orders for the issue of one million of the king's treasure, for the issue of which no authority under his majesty's great seal, privy seal, or sign manual, has been presented, according to the accustomed course of the exchequer in that behalf.

Your opinion is requested, by the auditor, whether the aforesaid warrant of the lords commissioners of the treasury is a sufficient authority imperative on him, and therefore a legal sanction for

his proceeding to obey the same; or whether any and what discretion is left to him on this occasion, for the exercise of which he may be responsible in any court of law, or to the two houses of parliament: they having resolved that it is their right and duty to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority arising from his majesty's indisposition, in such manner as the exigency of the case may appear to them to require.

Having considered the several statutes and documents to which we are referred, and the general practice which we understand to have prevailed in the exchequer, as well before as since appropriation acts similar to the 50th Geo. III. c. 115, have been annually passed, we do not think that the warrant of the lords commissioners of the treasury is in law a sufficient authority, imperative upon the auditor, nor consequently a legal sanction for his proceeding to obey the same, nor that any discretion is left to him by the law on this occasion, for the exercise of which he will not be responsible.

(Signed) V. GIBBS, T. PLUMER.

Lincoln's Inn, 2d Jan. 1811.

No. VII.—Mr. Harrison to lord Grenville, transmitting a copy of the opinion of the attorney and solicitor-general on the case submitted by him; and stating the urgent necessity of his complying with the treasury warrant of the 31st December, 1810.

My Lord,

I am commanded by the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's letter of yesterday, requesting that the case, therein transmitted, should be immediately submitted to the attorney and solicitor-general, in order that you may have the sanction of their legal advice and authority in a matter of such novel and unprecedented difficulty; and to acquaint your lordship, that they lost no time in complying with your request. And I am now commanded to transmit to you a copy of the opinion which they have just received from the attorney and solicitor general, stating, that they do not think that the warrant of the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury is, in law, a sufficient authority imperative upon the auditor, nor consequently a legal sanction for his proceeding to obey the same.

My lords direct me to add, that their sense of the mischief to the public service, which would arise if any delay should take place in the issues of the monies required by their warrants of the 31st December, appears to render it indispensably necessary that those warrants should be forthwith complied with; and that they are consequently ready to take upon themselves the responsibility of any act which may be essential for that purpose.

I am, &c

Jan. 2, 1811. GEO. HARRISON.

No. VIII.—Lord Grenville, stating his reasons for not complying with the directions of the

treasury warrant for issuing money from the exchequer.

Exchequer, Jan. 3, 1811.

55 min. M. P.

My Lords,

I had the honour to receive, yesterday evening, a letter from Mr. Harrison, transmitting to me the opinion of his majesty's attorney and solicitor-general, on the statement which I took the liberty of submitting to your lordships for the purpose of being laid before them; and I beg leave to express the due sense which I entertain of your lordships' ready compliance with my request.

Having fully considered that opinion, I lose no time in humbly aprizing your lordships of the final judgement which I have formed as to the line of my official duty on this occasion.

It is matter of the deepest concern to me, to be made the involuntary cause of any even the shortest delay in an issue of his majesty's treasure, stated to me, from such high authority as that of your lordships, to be important to the public service. If I could be satisfied of the propriety of my doing what is required from me by the warrants which I have had the honour to receive from your lordships, there is no personal responsibility which I would not readily incur for the public interests; but I cannot persuade myself that I could obey those warrants without a breach of my official duty in that point which is above all others peculiarly obligatory on the person placed in the situation of auditor of the exchequer; nor without a high and criminal violation both of a positive statute, and also of the essential principles of our monarchical and parliamentary constitution.

The act passed in the 8th and 9th of King William the Third, cap. 28. entitled "An act for the better observation of the course anciently used in the receipt of exchequer," prohibits the issue of the king's treasure, except in pursuance of the special provisions of an act of parliament, or under the authority of warrants under his majesty's great seal or privy seal, duly entered in the office of the auditor, who is thereupon to draw the necessary orders. In the present instance all these authorities are wanting; and it is proposed that 1,000,000*l.* sterling of his majesty's treasure shall be issued on the sole ground of a warrant signed by your lordships. Every step taken towards such an issue by any officer of the exchequer, but more especially by the auditor, would be in open violation both of that statute and of the accustomed course of the exchequer; for such an act your lordships' warrants cannot, as I now learn from the highest authority, afford me any legal sanction. I must, I am told, act on my own discretion, for the exercise of which I must alone be responsible. This responsibility, if it legally attaches upon me, I certainly cannot transfer to any other persons, and least of all to your lordships, whatever willingness you have expressed to take it on yourselves. My attempting to do so would itself be criminal; tending to confound the official relations in which I have the ho-

nour to stand towards your lordships, and to annul those checks which the law has established to ensure the faithful discharge of our respective duties, and thereby the security of the public treasure.

But I beg leave humbly to submit to your lordships, that the law has in truth invested me with no discretion on this question.

The exigencies of the public service, which your lordships have condescended to detail to me in these your warrants, are matters of state, of which, as auditor of the exchequer, I have no knowledge, and can take no cognizance; my official duty is strictly limited to an observance of the accustomed forms of the exchequer, and of the laws which have from time to time been passed for its regulation.

To these I am bound to adhere; and it is on the fullest consideration which this pressure of time has permitted me to give to them, that I am compelled to decline, but with all due respect to your lordships, a compliance with the requisition contained in those warrants to which this letter refers.

Perhaps, however, on an occasion of such high and urgent public interest, it may not be improper for me, before I close this letter, further to submit to your lordships my view of the mode in which all difficulties on this subject may be removed, in so far at least as any agency of mine may be required for the purpose of those issues—a mode which I am happy to think may still be resorted to, even within the period which the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer did me the honour to point out to me, as that within which no serious inconvenience is to be apprehended to the public service.

Your lordships have recited in your warrants, the resolution by which the two houses of parliament have declared the melancholy fact of the temporary incapacity of his majesty for the discharge of his high functions. If it be proper for me, in my official character, in any manner whatever to act on this declaration, I cannot separate my knowledge of it from that of the accompanying resolution by which the lords and commons did at the same time declare, that it was their right and duty "to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority arising from his majesty's said indisposition, in such a manner as the exigency of the case may appear to them to require."

To this resolution all the subjects of this realm owe submission and obedience; and while it presents on the one hand, in my judgement, a fresh and insuperable obstacle to my obeying your lordships' requisition, it does, I trust, afford, on the other hand, the means of obviating any inconvenience that could arise from my adherence to this my public duty. I should think myself doubly criminal, if, while the two houses are actually proceeding in the execution of such their right and duty, I were to take upon myself to decide, for them, in what manner the defect in the personal exercise of the king's authority shall be supplied, in so important a branch as that of the

issue of his royal treasure; much more, if I were to arrogate to myself the power of dispensing, for that purpose, with the express provisions of the laws by which my official duties are regulated.

But if your lordships shall think it proper to submit this difficulty to the consideration of the two houses of parliament, they have declared, that with them rests the right and duty to provide the means of removing it. With them resides, under the present exigency, the power to command those official seals, the use of which would constitute an imperative and unquestionable authority to the offices of the exchequer; with them rests the discretion of judgement in what other manner they may think it more fit to provide a sufficient warrant or sanction for any issue which they may determine to be requisite for the public interests; and I certainly should not fail to defer to their pleasure with entire submission, and to execute with the most implicit obedience any orders which I shall receive from your lordships, under the sanction of their authority.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GRENVILLE, auditor.

Return to an order of the Honourable House of Commons, —for

Copy of a letter from the deputy clerks of the privy seal, of the 4th January, 1811: stating their reasons why they could not prepare letters to pass the privy seal, for the issue of certain sums of money for the service of the navy and army.

GEO. HARRISON.

Whitehall Treasury Chambers, Jan. 4, 1811.

Privy Seal Office, 4th Jan. 1811.

Sir,

In pursuance of your request, by command of the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, that we should state, in writing, the reason which induced us to acquaint the lord keeper of the privy seal, that we could not execute the command to prepare letters to pass the privy seal, for the issue of certain sums of money for the navy and army; we have no difficulty in complying with your request.

The course of official routine, before we present the letters of privy seal to the lord keeper, is as follows:

A warrant, signed by the king, and countersigned by three lords of the treasury, is directed to the clerk of the signet, ordering him to prepare a bill for the royal signature, to cause letters of privy seal to pass. The clerk of the signet then prepares a transcript of this bill, which being signed with his name, as examined, after having his majesty's signet affixed to it, is directed to the lord keeper of the privy seal. Upon receiving this, the clerk of the privy seal has a transcript of it prepared; but previous to examining it, it is customary for him to send a docquet, which in point of fact is a copy of the docquet subjoined to the bill, which is prepared by the clerk of the signet for the royal signature. This docquet commences with the words following:

"His majesty's warrant for issuing, &c. &c."—and terminates,

"subscribed for Mr.——*, by warrant under his majesty's royal sign manual;" countersigned by three lords of the treasury. This docquet is compared with the docquet to the king's bill aforementioned; and the clerk of the privy seal in waiting writes at the end of it "Examined;" signing his name. Upon this being returned, signed by three lords of the treasury, the letters of privy seal are compared with the signet transcript, and, being likewise signed by the said clerk, are laid before the lord keeper, in order that the privy seal may be affixed thereto.

Our objection to signing the letters of privy seal, therefore, was, that we conceived it would be departing from the official line of our duty, and acting contrary to the express letter and spirit of our oath, if we signed these letters of privy seal prior to the usual docquet being returned to the office countersigned by three lords of the treasury. We considered this of the greater importance, as we have always conceived the docquet to be a certificate, under the hands of their lordships, that the royal signature had actually been affixed.

Moreover, as the lord keeper always retains the signet, and docquet, as his vouchers for affixing the seal: and the entry of the docquet is the only record remaining in the office.

The tenor of the oath is as follows:

"You shall be true to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, kings and queens of the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and them faithfully serve to the best of your power, as one of their clerks in the office of privy seal; and during the time you shall continue in the same, you shall not prefer nor colourably present to the keeper of the privy seal or commissioners for the execution of the office of keeper of the privy seal for the time being, any manner of thing to pass the seal, but such only as you shall have sufficient warrant for, by writing or by mouth granted or given by the king's majesty, or some of his highness's council in the court of requests.—You shall not disclose any of his majesty's causes to you commanded to be kept secret, until such time as publication be thereof made.—And you shall not seek to break any order used for the attendance of the clerks of the said office, or by colour thereof take any profits growing by the seal of the said office, and thereby defraud them of the whole due or any parcel thereof.

"So help you God, and by the holy evangelists."

(Signed) By the clerk.

This —— day of ——— in the —— year of the reign of king George———, the said †——— hath taken the oath above expressed, and subscribed his name before me ‡ ——— keeper of the privy seal; and hath also taken the oaths appointed by an act of parliament, entitled, "An act for abrogating the oaths of

* The clerk of the signet. † Clerk's name.
‡ Here insert the lord keeper's name.

supremacy and allegiance, and appointed other oaths."

(Signed) *————

We have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN LARPENT.

JOHN JAS. LARPENT.

George Harrison, Esq. &c. &c.

Report from the Select Committee on the State of Commercial Credit.

The Select Committe, appointed to inquire into the State of Commercial Credit; and who were directed to report the same, as it should appear to them, together with their observations thereon, from time to time, to the House;—met, and examined a variety of witnesses, and have agreed upon the following Report:—

Your Committee directed its attention to three points;

First—The extent of the difficulties and embarrassments which are at present experienced by the trading part of the community:

Second—The causes to which the same should be ascribed; and

Third—The expediency, with a view to the present and future interests of the merchants and manufacturers, and of the public, of any assistance being afforded by parliament.

Your Committee found, that memorials had been presented to his Majesty's treasury, towards the latter end of the last and the beginning of the present year, stating the great embarrassments and distress which were felt amongst the manufacturers in the cotton trade in Glasgow and Paisley, and their vicinity, and praying for public assistance; that the same were confirmed by the representation of a meeting held in the city of London on the 12th of February, which sent a deputation to wait upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a copy of the resolutions adopted at that meeting. These resolutions your Committee have inserted in the appendix to this report.

Your Committee found, by the evidence of the witnesses which they examined, that those statements and representations were founded on fact.

It appeared to your Committee, that the principal part of the distress which was complained of had arisen out of great and extensive speculations, which commenced upon the opening of the South American markets in the Brazils and elsewhere, to the adventures of British merchants.

Mr. Garden, the chairman of the chamber of commerce and manufacturer at Glasgow, said—"That in Glasgow and the neighbourhood the distress began among the manufacturing body of people, and it has pressed more severely upon them hitherto, than on any other class.—That it began about the month of October or beginning of November last: the cause of it appeared to him to be this—That a set of merchants in London, Liverpool, and Glasgow, conceiving that the markets of South America would consume a vast quantity of our manufactures, entered into a project of very extensive exports to those

* By the lord keeper of the privy seal.

countries and to the West India islands, chiefly intended for the Spanish colonies; these expeditions not meeting a ready market, those exporters have not been able to pay the manufacturers, when the bills became due; these bills were therefore returned upon the manufacturers, which created a great deal of distress.—Many of those houses that were the original causes of the evil are gone to bankruptcy long ago; but they have created this evil upon the manufacturers of whom they purchased the goods; that the manufacturers have their property locked up in bankrupts' estates; that part of it will be lost no doubt; but yet, that in the course of nine, twelve, or fifteen months a considerable part of the capital will return to the manufacturers; but while they are deprived of it, they go on with the greatest difficulty; many of the weaker have been broken down. That the manufacturers of goods who have capitals, still feel great distress from this cause; and it is that class of people that it would be desirable to relieve, because a little aid from government would enable them to go on with their business, though on a limited scale; but still they would be enabled to retain a certain proportion of their work-people or labourers; whereas, if they get no kind of relief, they must be broken down also, and the labourers with their families must be left without means of subsistence.—That this distress still presses very heavily upon them, the export merchant not being able to pay the manufacturers for the goods they have taken. That in the course of trade great quantities of goods from Scotland were sold by agents in London; those agents gave a temporary accommodation to the manufacturer, but nothing more; when the merchants could not pay those bills which they had given for goods, the bills went back upon the manufacturers.

"That there is this chain of connection between the manufacturing body and the upper classes of merchants—the banks in Scotland having discounted or advanced money upon those bills of the merchants for the manufacturers; those bills having gone back, the manufacturers are not able to take them up; the capitals of the banks are therefore taken up also, and they are not able to give the regular accommodation which they had been used to do to their customers.—In this situation of things too, a want of confidence arises in the banks themselves; when they see people breaking down around them, they become timid and afraid of transacting any business; a want of confidence on the part of the banks naturally creates distress among the upper classes of merchants, who are thus deprived of the usual accommodation or means of negociation, that therefore persons who are possessed of solid property have not the same means of obtaining credit that they usually have had, and very far from it—this want of confidence in the banks makes them distrustful of every body, and the merchants have felt great inconvenience in consequence:—the witness said, he understands that some of the banks at Glasgow and in that

neighbourhood, do little business, they will rather accumulate their capital, and wait the result of the present situation of things; this want of confidence creates general distress among very respectable merchants.

"That the intercourse of credit among the merchants themselves was much broken down by means of these circumstances, even where the merchants are solvent.

"That there is considerable injury to the manufacturer, from being obliged to stop his work; his machinery gets out of order, his workmen get dispersed through the country, and he cannot collect them again, but at considerable trouble and expense; and when it is understood that his business is stopped, he loses his custom, and when he begins again, it is almost the same as beginning a new business; it is therefore extremely important that the manufacturer should go on, though on a limited scale.

"That in his opinion the demand would in a great measure come round to them again; that the home trade and some other markets are still open to them; that he has always seen in his experience of thirty years, that a glut in a market is followed by a brisk demand; for no person will supply the markets, or adventure at all, when they are overstocked, hence the market becomes exhausted, and of course a very good demand arises afterwards. The markets of South America and the West India islands are overstocked at present; but they will naturally come round, and the home trade always takes off a certain quantity, so that he had no doubt in six or twelve months this increased demand will do more than take off what is on hand now, or what will be manufactured in the mean time, which will be a very limited quantity indeed.

"That if there was no particular glut in the market, from the time of shipping the goods till the payment could be commanded in this country, he should conceive would be twelve or fifteen months; it may, in some instances, be sooner, but, generally speaking he should conceive about that time. In some instances payments have been much quicker, perhaps by the return of the same ship; and he mentioned that there have even been instances of ships returning within four or five months.

"The usual date of bills given by the merchant to the manufacturer is six or nine months, but in some cases it may be extended to twelve months; in cases where the goods are sold by an agent in London, that agent interposes his credit, and gives an accommodation to the manufacturer sooner, if he requires it, taking his chance of payment from the merchant.

"That the distresses were immediately and in the first instance occasioned by the want of payment for those that were vended; but at the same time the want of a market is certainly a part of the cause. The markets of South America having been for a time overstocked, there is no great demand at present; and even though there were a demand in the present situation of things,

with the want of confidence and the want of credit, it would be difficult for the manufacturers to know to whom to sell with safety; that is chiefly occasioned by the want of payment for the goods sold: that will in some measure come round in the course of twelve months, and then the manufacturer will have his own capital again.

"That there has been a very considerable supply of this sort of manufactures sent to the peninsula, which was in a great measure with a view to their being sent to the Spanish colonies; that the same failure of payment happened in some degree, in respect of those goods, as those sent to South America; that one considerable house in London connected with this trade, which stopped or made a pause within the last two or three weeks, had sent a great quantity to Cadiz; and they informed the witness that the last account they had was, that the goods would all be sold in this and the next month, by which means they should be able to make a handsome dividend to their creditors; but their bills having gone back on the manufacturers, they are depressed in the mean time.

"That there had been a great fall in the price of the manufacture; that when he left Glasgow, there were some articles of manufacture which had fallen perhaps 40 or 50 per cent.; but he understands, from communications since, that the fall is greater, because the distress is become more general.

"With respect to the failures that had happened, there are several houses which will probably pay very large dividends; and indeed there are several of the houses in Glasgow that he alludes to, which stopped payment, have undertaken to pay their creditors in full in a certain time; one who had more than 200,000l. of bills out, has undertaken to pay his creditors in 3, 4, 8, 12, and 16 months, and probably he will do it, but in the mean time the manufacturers cannot command a shilling of this money; that the failure of those houses, before he left Glasgow, had amounted from one to two millions; one house, (the same to which the witness alluded before) has failed since that time for 519,000l. which they have undertaken to pay in full.

"That the failures of the export houses certainly arose from their having gone greatly beyond their capital, having exported goods to a far greater extent; but he understood many of those houses were not without capital, and some even had large capital; but being disappointed in the markets, it was found that they could not make their returns so quickly as their bills became due; there are houses of that description in Liverpool, and some in Glasgow."

Being asked, as to the amount of failures on the present occasion, as compared with those in 1793, he said, "The proportion of failures will be always something in proportion to the extent of the trade (which has increased wonderfully since 1793), and of course the failures now are to a much larger amount than they were at that period."

Your Committee having given this full extract from the evidence of Mr. Garden, have to state, that it was in general confirmed by the evidence of Messrs. I. and R. Mackerrell, and Mr. Henry Fulton, muslin manufacturers at Paisley; and that evidence in a great degree to a similar import was given to the Committee by Sir Robert Peel. With regard to the state of the manufacturers in Lancashire, he stated that the price of goods had fallen 40, 50, and in some instances 60 per cent. —that the greatest manufacturers had been obliged to reduce the quantity of their work by one-third, others one-half, and others again had been obliged to discharge their workmen altogether; and that even those which were continued in employment, were continued at a very reduced rate of wages, amounting to not more than one-half of their ordinary payment—that under these circumstances, great distress was felt amongst the workmen; and though there had not been any failures among the more considerable and best established houses of manufacture in Lancashire, yet that great distress and embarrassment must already be felt by many, and that some parliamentary assistance would be of most essential advantage.

Your Committee think it right to refer to the returns of the export of the cotton manufactures in the following years, to shew the state and progress of the trade in this article of manufacture, up to the period when this distress began to be strongly felt. The official value of cotton manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending 5 Jan. 1808, was

	£9,846,889
In the year ending 5 Jan. 1809.....	12,835,803
In the year ending 5 Jan. 1810.....	18,616,723
And in the three quarters ending 10 Oct. 1810....	13,761,136

It appeared to your Committee, that there had been no want of a disposition on the part of the banks of Scotland to give their accommodation; that they had liberally applied it, as far as was possible; but that it was impossible they could continue their aid, as they had their capital already locked up in an immense number of bills, the payment of which was suspended.

Your Committee also found, that great distress was felt in a quarter which was much connected with this trade, namely, amongst the importers of produce from the foreign West India Islands, and from South America.

That great parts of the returns for the manufactures which were exported to those parts of the world, came home in sugars and coffee; which not being entitled to sale in the home market, there were no immediate means of realizing their value.

These representations of the distress experienced in the trade of the cotton manufacturer and exporter, and from the want of market for foreign colonial produce, were also confirmed by respectable merchants and traders in London; who also stated, that the embarrassments were felt in other branches of trade, not con-

nected with foreign commerce or colonial produce.

It also appeared to your Committee, that one cause which might be considered as connected with, and as at present aggravating the existing distress, was the extent to which the system of warehousing the goods of foreigners, as well as native merchants, for exportation, had been carried. On this point, the Committee refer to the evidence of Mr. Cock, commercial and public agent for the corporation of Liverpool, and general agent to the merchants of the town; who informed the Committee, that,

"Since the opening of the West India and London Docks, Great Britain has, under the provisions of the warehousing acts, become a free port, into which foreign goods of almost every description may be brought and safely deposited, and from whence they may be exported again without payment of importation duties.—This country possessing peculiar advantages for foreign commerce, the consequence of such facility to introduce goods from all parts of the world has been, that the merchants of other countries, whether neutrals, enemies, or allies, have been eager to avail themselves of every opportunity of sending their goods hither. From Spain (for instance) such goods as have not been imported on British account, the Spanish merchants have been anxious to send here for safety and for sale—the same remark applies to Portugal; in fact, we are now the exporters of Portugal wines to that country. While importations from Europe, not the result of a demand for them, have thus been occasioned, the markets of South America, both Portuguese and Spanish, have been thrown open to us, and the greater part of the immense productions of those places (from which formerly we received but little property direct, except bullion) now comes to fill the warehouses, and for a time to exhaust the capitals of the merchants of this country. Our conquests also have had the same tendency; in addition to the produce of the old British colonies, we now receive that of Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Cruz, St. Thomas's, &c.; the greatest part of the produce of St. Domingo also now comes here. From Europe, the importations from places from which the British flag is excluded, have been immense—these causes co-operating at a period when the situation of the United States has prevented their ships from introducing into Europe that large proportion of West Indian and South American productions, of which they would have been the carriers, the effects have been more sensibly felt by our merchants."

Your Committee, upon the whole, think themselves justified in stating, that the embarrassments and distresses at present experienced, are of an extensive nature; and though they are most severely felt amongst the manufacturers and merchants in those trades which have been more particularly specified, yet that they are also felt in a considerable degree in some other branches of trade; but they have the satisfac-

tion of stating, that from the evidence of a very extensive and experienced merchant, it does not appear that they are felt in the woollen trade to such an extent, as would at all justify a call upon parliament for any extraordinary relief.

That your Committee are warranted in stating, that there appeared a general concurrence of opinion amongst those of the witnesses who were examined, as to the expediency of affording parliamentary relief in the manner in which it was afforded by the issue of exchequer bills in the year 1793, although there was some difference as to the extent of benefit which might be expected to be derived from such relief. And your Committee state it to be their decided opinion, that although there are many circumstances at the present time affecting the state of trade and commercial credit, which make a great difference between the present period and that of the year 1793, yet the distress is of such a nature and extent, as to make such parliamentary relief highly expedient and necessary; and that it promises to be productive of extensive and important benefit, that although in many cases such aid may not be capable of effectually relieving the persons to whom it may be applied, from great losses arising from the state of circumstances, yet by affording them time gradually to contract their operations, to call in their means, to withhold from immediate sale articles which at present can fetch only most ruinous prices, and to keep up the employment of their machinery and their workmen, though upon a very reduced and limited scale; it will divide and spread the pressure of this distress over a larger space of time, and enable them to meet it with consequences less ruinous to themselves, and less destructive to the interests of the community.

That your Committee referred to the manner in which relief was afforded in the year 1793, and have found that the provisions of that measure, which, as appears by the report of the commissioners appointed on that occasion, was attended with the happiest effects, and the most complete success, are embodied in the act 33 Geo. 3. cap. 29; and the Committee are of opinion, that similar provisions should be adopted with regard to the relief at present proposed; that the amount of exchequer bills to be issued should not be less, nor would the Committee recommend that it should be more, than six millions; and that, considering the probable date of the returns of trade from South America, a greater interval should be given for repayment than was allowed in 1793, the Committee being of opinion, that the time for payment of the first quarter's instalments should not be earlier than the middle of January next, and that the remainder of the sum advanced should be required to be repaid by three equal payments, from three months to three months, so that the whole should be discharged in nine months from the payment of such first instalment.

7th March, 1811.

Average Price of Corn per Quarter in England and Wales, 1811.

	Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
Jan.	96	0	50	1	40	11	26	9	49	6
Feb.	95	0	49	3	39	11	25	9	47	7
Mar.	92	7	46	6	38	0	26	1	44	11
Apr.	88	7	45	8	37	11	25	11	42	10
May	88	9	44	10	38	5	26	4	43	5
June	86	8	44	4	37	10	26	8	43	6
July	87	4	45	8	38	1	27	7	43	1
Aug.	91	1	48	4	39	4	28	7	46	9
Sept.	96	11	47	9	42	2	28	10	47	0
Oct.	100	4	51	1	47	1	29	2	51	0
Nov.	105	5	54	6	51	2	31	10	56	9
Dec.	106	8	55	8	51	6	31	7	57	6

Price of the Quartern Loaf according to the Assize of Bread in London, 1811, *taking the average of the Assizes in each Month.*

	s.	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*
January	1	3	July	1	1¼
February	1	3	August	1	2½
March	1	3	September	1	4
April	1	2¼	October	1	5
May	1	2	November	1	5½
June	1	1½	December	1	5¼

	s.	*d.*	*q.*
Average of the Year	1	3	$0\frac{9}{12}$

TABLE OF THE NUMBER OF BANKRUPTCIES IN ENGLAND,

From Dec. 20, 1810, to Dec. 20, 1811, inclusive.

January.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
200	229	197	167	171	187	171	138	90	95	183	172

Total Bankruptcies..2000. Increased from the last year..330.

Petition to Parliament of the Roman Catholics of Ireland,

Sheweth,—"That, for a long series of years, the petitioners and their ancestors suffered under the most cruel system of legalised persecution that ever afflicted a Christian people; and that, although they do with gratitude acknowledge that several of the enactments of that oppressive code have been repealed since the accession of his present Majesty to the throne of these realms, nevertheless the petitioners still continue objects of a most degrading exclusion, not less injurious to the interests of the empire than offensive to the feelings of the petitioners; and that, for the last seventeen years, no relief whatsoever has been extended to the petitioners, though they have three several times within that period submitted their grievances and their claims to the consideration of the united parliament; on the contrary, their humble representations were disregarded,—their just statements were contradicted, without affording an opportunity of supporting them,—every prayer for investigation was rejected, and men distinguished from their fellow-citizens only by their inveterate and offensive opposition to the claims of the petitioners, were raised to situations in the state of trust, dignity, and emolument, a course of policy which the petitioners cannot help considering at the least extremely questionable at all times, but more particularly so when the very independence of the United Kingdom becomes the subject of national contest; and that they deem it unnecessary to enter into any refutation of the several calumnies and misrepresentations which have been circulated respecting the doctrine of their holy religion; the solemn pledges they have given, the revenue they have contributed, the blood they have shed, and the lives they have sacrificed, in support of British policy and British connection, supply abundant contradiction to the malignant assertions and insinuations of their misguided enemies. The religion they profess is maintained by evey one of his Majesty's European allies; it was the religion of every man in England, when that colossal pillar of British liberty, so justly entitled her Great Charter, was raised by her trusty sons; and they beg leave most humbly to remind the house, that the Catholics of Ireland contribute very largely to the supply and reinforcement of his Majesty's forces on sea and land; and that they cannot disguise the feelings of disappointment and dissatisfaction with which they are impressed, on finding such attachment and support on their part met by a system of cold and jealous reserve, which excludes the Irish Catholic from rank in military command; and those feelings are raised to a spirit of indignation, when they observe that confidence which is refused to the petitioners, in this their native land, reposed in foreign mercenaries, strangers alike to their soil and their constitution, and not naturally interested in the defence or prosperity of either; and that, fully impressed with the conviction that the extent and degrees of their grievances are already known to the house, they deem it

unnecessary to resort to a minute detail or recital of them, as such a particular recapitulation could only tend to impress more forcibly, and, if possible, more painfully, on the minds of the petitioners, the degrading consequences resulting from their present wretched state of exclusion and humiliation; and praying the house to comply with the prayers of so many millions of their fellow subjects, and not to suffer their claims any longer to remain disregarded; the extent of their supplication is, that the house will secure and consolidate the real strength of the nation, and excite a spirit of enthusiastic loyalty in so large a portion of his Majesty's subjects at a time when every arm and every sinew is valuable in the defence of this insulated empire; the petitioners ask for no favour, which it is not in the power of parliament to bestow, or which they are not entitled to enjoy; restore then, they most humbly pray the house, the Catholics of Ireland to a full participation of all the blessings of that constitution, to the support and defence of which they have so essentially contributed."

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT

OF THE

POPULATION OF GREAT BRITAIN

In the Years 1801 *and* 1811,

Shewing the Increase or Diminution thereof.

	POPULATION 1801.			INCREASE.	DIMINUTION.	POPULATION 1811.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.			Males.	Females.	Total.
ENGLAND	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434	1,167,966	- - -	4,555,257	4,944,143	9,499,400
WALES	257,178	284,368	551,546	65,834	- - -	289,414	317,966	607,380
SCOTLAND	734,581	864,487	1,599,068	208,180	2,384	825,377	979,487	1,804,864
ARMY, NAVY, &c. . .	470,598	- - -	470,598	169,902	- - -	640,500	- - -	640,500
TOTALS	5,450,292	5,492,354	10,942,646	1,611,882	2,384	6,310,548	6,241,596	12,552,144

LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS, 1811.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl Camden	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmorland	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl Bathurst	President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. Spencer Perceval	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister) Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Rt. Hon. Charles Philip Yorke	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Mulgrave	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Right Hon. Richard Ryder	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Marquis Wellesley	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Earl of Liverpool	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Rt. Hon. Robert Saunders Dundas (now Lord Melville)	President of the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. George Rose	Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy.
Viscount Palmerston	Secretary at War.
Lord Charles Somerset	Joint Paymasters-General of the Forces.
Right Hon. Charles Long	
Earl of Chichester	Joint Postmasters-General.
Earl of Sandwich	
Richard Wharton, Esq.	Secretaries to the Treasury.
Charles Arbuthnot, Esq.	
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Vicary Gibbs	Attorney-General.
Sir Thomas Plomer	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Rt. Hon. William Wellesley Pole	Chief Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

LIST OF PUBLIC ACTS

Passed in the the Fifth Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—51st of George III.

I.

An Act to provide for the administration of the royal authority, and for the care of his Majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness; and for the resumption of the exercise of the royal authority by his Majesty.

II.

For continuing to his Majesty certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain; and on pensions, offices, and personal estates in England; for the service of the year 1811.

III.

For raising the sum of 10,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1811.

IV.

For raising the sum of 1,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills for the service of Great Britain for the year 1811.

V.

For raising the sum of one million by treasury bills for the service of Ireland for the year 1811.

VI.

For taking an account of the population of Great Britain, and of the increase or diminution thereof.

VII.

To amend two Acts of the 13th and 32d years of his present Majesty, relating to the wages of persons employed in the silk manufacture.

VIII.

For punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

IX.

For the regulation of his Majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

X.

To continue until the 25th of March 1833, certain Acts of the parliament of Ireland, so far as the same relate to the improvement of the city of Dublin, by making wide and convenient passages through the same.

XI.

To continue until the 25th day of March, 1832, certain Acts of the parliament of Ireland, so far as the same relate to the duty on coals imported into the harbours of Dublin, and to the regulating the coal trade thereof.

XII.

To continue, until the 25th day of March, 1812, an Act for regulating the drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Ireland.

XIII.

For further continuing until the 25th day of March, 1812, certain bounties and drawbacks on the exportation of sugar from Great Britain; and for suspending the countervailing duties and bounties on sugar, when the duties imposed by an Act of the 49th year of his present Majesty shall be suspended; and for continning so much of an Act of the 27th year of his present Majesty as allows a bounty upon double refined sugar ex-

ported, until the 25th day of March 1813, and so much of the same Act as allows a bounty on raw sugar exported, until the 25th day of March 1812.

XIV.

To continue several laws relating to the granting a bounty upon certain species of British and Irish linens exported from Great Britain, and taking off the duties on the importation of foreign raw linen yarns made of flax into Great Britain, until the 25th day of March 1821; to the prohibiting the exportation from and permitting the importation into Great Britain of corn, and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision without payment of duty during the continuance of the war, and until six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace; and to the permitting the importation of tobacco into Great Britain from any place whatever, until the 25th day of March 1812.

XV.

For enabling his Majesty to direct the issue of exchequer bills to a limited amount, for the purposes and in manner therein mentioned.

XVI.

For granting annuities to discharge certain exchequer bills.

XVII.

To render valid certain Acts done for completing the regular militia, and to indemnify the persons concerned therein.

XVIII.

To indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the times limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th day of March 1812; and to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the first day of Hilary term 1812.

XIX.

To continue until the 25th day of March, 1812, an Act of the 45th year of his present Majesty, for appointing commissioners to enquire into the public expenditure and the conduct of the public business in the military departments therein mentioned, and to extend the same to public works executed by the office of works and others.

XX.

To allow a certain proportion of the militia of Great Britain to enlist annually into the regular forces; and to provide for the gradual reduction of the said militia.

XXI.

To explain and amend an Act, passed in the 50th year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, 'An Act to direct that accounts of increase and diminutiou of public salaries, pensions, and allowances, shall be annually laid before parliament; and to regulate and controul the granting and pay of such salaries, pensions, and allowances; so far as respects the grant of pensions or allowances by his Majesty to persons who previously to the passing of the said Act had served the crown in foreign courts.

XXII.

For raising the sum of 2,500,000*l.* by way of annuities

and treasury bills, for the service of Ireland.

XXIII.

For rendering more effectual an Act made in the 47th year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, 'An Act for the abolition of the slave trade.'

XXIV.

To repeal so much of an Act of the 19th year of his present Majesty, as prevents masters of ships removing their vessels out of the stream, except to the lawful quays in the port of London, before the goods are discharged or their vessels are cleared by the proper officers inwards or outwards, so far as relates to any ship or vessel entered inwards or outwards from or to any port in Ireland.

XXV.

For further continuing, until the 25th day of July 1813, an Act made in the 33d year of his present Majesty, for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

XXVI.

For raising the sum of 4,981,300*l.* by way of annuities.

XXVII.

To explain and amend two Acts of the 50th and 51st years of his present Majesty, for continuing certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, and other purposes mentioned in the said Acts.

XXVIII.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering soldiers.

XXIX.

For continuing, until the 1st day of August 1813, two Acts of the 45th and 50th years of his present Majesty, allowing the bringing of coals, culm, and cinders to London and Westminster, by inland navigation.

XXX.

To amend the several Acts for enabling his Majesty to accept the services of volunteers from the militia of Ireland.

XXXI.

To continue, during the present war and until the expiration of six calendar months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, and amend an Act made in the 48th year of his present Majesty, for granting an additional duty on copper imported into Great Britain.

XXXII.

For the better securing excisable goods, on board vessels, in the port of Bristol.

XXXIII.

For repealing so much of two Acts of the 14th and 25th years of his present Majesty as relates to weaving blue stripes in British calicoes.

XXXIV.

For continuing the premiums allowed to ships employed in the southern whale fishery.

XXXV.

To secure to the bank of Ireland, the repayment of all monies advanced by them for the purposes and in the manner therein mentioned.

XXXVI.

To facilitate the execution of justice within the Cinque Ports.

XXXVII.

Further to prevent the marriage of lunatics.

XXXVIII.

To protect masters against embezzlements by their clerks and servants, in Ireland.

XXXIX.

To repeal so much of an Act, passed, in the parliament of Ireland in the 3d year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled 'An Act for the better regulation of the linen and hemp manufactures,' as takes away the benefit of clergy from felons convicted of stealing cloth from bleaching grounds; and for more effectually preventing such felonies.

XL.

To explain and amend an Act of the last session of parliament, for repealing certain parts of several Acts relating to the limiting the number of persons to be carried by stage coaches in Ireland.

XLI.

To repeal so much of an Act, passed in the 18th year of the reign of king George 2nd, intituled, 'An Act for the more effectually preventing the stealing of linen, fustian, and cotton goods and wares, in buildings, fields, grounds, and other places used for printing, whitening, bleaching, or drying the same,' as takes away the benefit of clergy from persons stealing cloth in places therein mentioned: and for more effectually preventing such felonies.

XLII.

To empower the Lords commissioners of the treasury to exonerate distillers of spirits from sugar, from the excess of the duties to which they were liable in consequence of the expiration of an Act passed in the 48th year of his present Majesty, above the duties imposed by the said Act.

XLIII.

For altering the time at which the additional duties of customs imposed by an Act of the last session of parliament on certain species of wood were to have taken place; and for granting a drawback upon deals and timber used in the mines of tin, copper, and lead, in the counties of Cornwall and Devon.

XLIV.

For imposing an additional duty on linen imported into Great Britain during the continuance of the present war, and for six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

XLV.

For taking away the public use of certain ships rooms in the town of Saint John, in the island of Newfoundland: and for instituting surrogate courts on the coast of Labrador, and in certain islands adjacent thereto.

XLVI.

To authorize the officers of the customs to act for the superintendant of quarantine and his assistant.

XLVII.

For carrying into effect the provisions of a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded between his Majesty and his royal highness the prince regent of Portugal.

XLVIII.

To permit rum and other spirits the produce of the British colonies in the West Indies, to be imported into Lower Canada from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the islands of Cape Breton, Prince Edward, and Newfoundland.

XLIX.

For raising the sum of 12 millions by way of annuities.

L.

To allow a greater number of

sheep to be carried from England to the Isle of Man than are now permitted by law.

LI.

For abolishing the duties of the prizage and butlerage of wines in Ireland.

LII.

For explaining and amending an Act passed in the last session of parliament, for consolidating the duties of customs for the Isle of Man, and for placing the same under the management of the commissioners of customs in England.

LIII.

For raising the sum of six millions, by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1811.

LIV.

For raising the sum of 1,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1811.

LV.

For abolishing the superannuation fund in the department of the customs, and for transferring the same to the head of consolidated customs; and for authorizing the payment of all retired allowances on that department out of consolidated customs.

LVI.

To grant additional duties of excise on tobacco manufactured in Ireland.

LVII.

To amend an act made in the 47th year of his present Majesty's reign, for encouraging the export of salted beef and pork from Ireland.

LVIII.

To allow the free importation between Great Britain and Ireland of home-made chocolate; to prohibit the importation of foreign chocolate into Ireland so long as the same shall be prohibited in Great Britain; and to grant certain duties on cocoa nuts imported into Ireland.

LIX.

For granting to his Majesty additional duties of excise on wash and other liquors used in the distillation of spirits; and on foreign spirits imported.

LX.

To repeal the duties of stamps on hats made in Ireland, and on licences to persons to manufacture hats, or to utter or vend hats, in Ireland, and all regulations for securing the said duties.

LXI.

For charging the sum of 7,500,000*l.* raised for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1811, upon the duties granted to his Majesty during the continuance of the present war, and for certain periods after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

LXII

To permit rum and other spirits the produce of the British colonies in the West Indies, to be imported into Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the islands of Cape Breton, Prince Edward, and Newfoundland, from the island of Bermuda.

LXIII.

To authorize the punishment, by confinement and hard labour, of persons in Ireland liable to transportation; and to repeal so much of a former Act as relates to that subject.

LXIV.

To enable the East India company to raise a further sum of money upon bond, instead of in-

creasing their capital stock; and to alter and amend an Act, passed in the 47th year of the reign of his present Majesty, relative thereto.

LXV.

To explain and amend an Act, passed in the 39th year of his Majesty's reign, intituled 'An Act for the more effectual suppression of societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes, and for better preventing treasonable and seditious practices, so far as respects certain penalties on printers and publishers.'

LXVI.

To amend and render more effectual several Acts for promoting the trade of Dublin, by rendering its port and harbour more commodious; and for erecting, repairing, and maintaining light-houses round the coast of Ireland, and to raise a fund for defraying the charge thereof.

LXVII.

For repealing the duties of customs now payable on the importation of hides in the hair, and granting new duties in lieu thereof.

LXVIII.

For charging an additional duty on verdigris imported.

LXIX.

For repealing the duty on the materials used in making flint and phial glass; and for granting, until the first day of August 1812, other duties in lieu thereof, and for continuing and amending an Act passed in the 49th year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, 'An Act for repealing the duties on the materials used in making spread window glass, and crown glass, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof; and for the better collection of the said duties.'

LXX.

For repealing the hat duty in Great Britain.

LXXI.

For the abolition and regulation of certain offices in the customs.

LXXII.

For granting exemptions in certain cases from the payment of duties charged in respect of servants, carriages, horses, and dogs, kept in Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

LXXIII.

For the better security of his Majesty's naval arsenals in the river Medway, and Portsmouth and Hamoaze harbours, and of his Majesty's ships and vessels lying at and resorting to the same.

LXXIV.

For authorizing the sale of prize goods lodged in warehouses after a certain period.

LXXV.

For making further provision for the payment of salaries and other charges in the office of the commissioners for the affairs of India; and for enabling the East India company to restore to the service of the said company, military officers removed therefrom by sentences of courts martial; and to authorize the said company, in cases of unforeseen emergency, to take up ships by private contract.

LXXVI.

For letting to farm the duties on horses hired by the mile or stage, to be used in travelling, and on horses hired for a less period of time than 28 days, for drawing carriages used in travelling post or otherwise, in Great Britain; and for facilitating the recovery of the said duties.

LXXVII.

To amend the laws for regulating the election, in Ireland, of members to serve in parliament.

LXXVIII.

To make provision in certain cases for the wives and families of serjeants, corporals, drummers, and privates, serving in the militia of Ireland.

LXXIX.

To amend an Act of the 48th year of his present Majesty, for the better care and maintenance of lunatics, being paupers or criminals in England.

LXXX.

To render valid certain indentures for the binding of parish apprentices.

LXXXI.

To continue, until the 1st day of August, 1812, certain acts for appointing commissioners to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites and emoluments, received in several public offices in Ireland; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same, and into the mode of receiving, collecting, issuing and accounting for public money in Ireland.

LXXXII.

For establishing regulations respecting rock salt delivered to the refineries; for granting relief for salt lost at sea by shipwreck or capture; and for reviving, amending, and continuing, until the 25th day of March, 1815, so much of an Act of the 41st year of his present Majesty as allows the use of salt, duty free, for curing fish in bulk or in barrels.

LXXXIII.

For allowing the like drawback of duty paid on coals used in certain mines and smelting mills in Devonshire, as is now allowed in the county of Cornwall.

LXXXIV.

To explain an Act passed in the 22nd year of his present Majesty, for better securing the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament, by disabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his Majesty's revenues from giving their votes at such elections, so far as relates to coal meters and corn meters of the city of London.

LXXXV.

To enable the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury to issue exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Great Britain for the year 1811.

LXXXVI.

To continue, until the 5th day of July, 1812, and to amend several Acts for granting certain rates and duties, and for allowing certain drawbacks and bounties on goods, wares, and merchandise imported into and exported from Ireland; and to grant to his Majesty, until the said 5th day of July, 1812, certain new and additional duties on the importation, and to allow drawbacks on the exportation of certain goods, wares, and merchandise into and from Ireland.

LXXXVII.

For allowing the manufacture and use of a liquor prepared from sugar for colouring porter, and for indemnifying persons who have manufactured or used such colouring.

LXXXVIII.

For raising the sum of 200,000*l.*

by treasury bills for the service of Ireland for the year 1811.

LXXXIX.

To increase the salary of the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

XC.

For defraying, until the 25th day of March, 1812, the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland; and for making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

XCI.

For discharging certain arrears of quit, crown, and composition rents, which have been growing due in Ireland.

XCII.

To repeal certain parts of several Acts of the parliament of Ireland, relating to the tolls on stage coaches, carrying above a certain number of passengers, and to make other provisions in lieu thereof.

XCIII.

For granting additional duties of customs on fir timber, of certain dimensions, of the growth of Norway imported into Great Britain.

XCIV.

To continue, until the 29th day of July, 1813, an Act of the last session of parliament, intituled, 'An Act to extend and amend the term and provisions of an Act of the 39th and 40th year of his present Majesty, for the better preservation of timber in the New Forest; and for ascertaining the boundaries of the said Forest, and the lands of the crown within the same.'

XCV.

To explain and amend certain laws of excise respecting the duties on estates and goods sold by auction; the allowing dealers to roast their own coffee on certain conditions; and to the water mark of the year on paper intended for exportation.

XCVI.

To extend the powers vested in the commissioners of the customs of restoring vessels and goods seized to seizures made by virtue of any Acts relating to the department of the customs.

XCVII.

To regulate the trade between places in Europe, south of Cape Finisterre, and certain ports in the British colonies in North America.

XCVIII.

To indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to give securities and to register memorials thereof, under an Act of the last session of parliament, and for extending the times limited for those purposes respectively, until two months after the commencement of the next session of parliament.

XCIX.

For removing doubts as to the registering of certain property purchased or sold under the land tax redemption Act, in right of which persons may claim to vote at elections of members to serve in parliament.

C.

To amend an Act passed in the 38th year of his present Majesty's reign, intitled, 'An Act to regulate the trial of causes, indictments, and other proceedings which arise within the counties of certain cities and towns corporate within this kingdom.'

CI.

For amending an Act of the 48th year of his present Majesty,

for regulating the British white herring fishery.

CII.

To extend the provisions of an Act passed in the 47th year of his present Majesty, for discharging from the claims of the crown certain real and personal estates belonging to General De Lancey, late barrack master general, and vested in trustees for sale; and also for vesting and settling certain lands heretofore contracted to be purchased by the said general De Lancey in trustees, to be sold for payment of a debt due to the crown, and for other purposes relative thereto.

CIII.

To authorise the allowing officers to retire on half pay or other allowances, under certain restrictions.

CIV.

For extending and amending the regulations now in force, relative to the payment to the royal hospital at Chelsea, of the forfeited and unclaimed shares of army prize money.

CV.

To enable persons to bequeath lands and tenements to the commissioners for the government of the Royal Naval Asylum, and to authorise the said commissioners to hold the same for the benefit of the said Asylum; and for amending an Act made in the 47th year of his present Majesty, relating to the said Asylum.

CVI.

For enabling the wives and families of soldiers embarked for foreign service, to return to their homes.

CVII.

For defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia and local militia in Great Britain, for the year 1811.

CVIII.

To revive and continue, until the 25th day of March, 1812, and amend so much of an Act, made in the 39th and 40th year of his present Majesty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant majors of the militia of England, disembodied under an Act of the same session of parliament.

CIX.

For making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the militia in Great Britain, while disembodied.

CX.

To prevent the counterfeiting of silver pieces denominated tokens, intended to be issued and circulated by the governor and company of the Bank of England, for the respective sums of five shillings and sixpence, three shillings, and one shilling and sixpence, and to prevent the bringing into the kingdom or uttering any such counterfeit pieces or tokens.

CXI.

For permitting Sir William Bishop and George Bishop to continue, until the 5th day of July, 1813, the manufacture of Maidstone Geneva; for charging the same with certain duties; and for rectifying a mistake in an Act of this session, for empowering the lords commissioners of the treasury to exonerate distillers of spirits from sugar from the excess of duties therein mentioned.

CXII.

For enabling his Majesty to raise the sum of three millions for the service of Great Britain.

CXIII.

For granting to his Majesty a sum of money to be raised by lotteries.

CXIV.

To permit the services of the regiment of the miners of Cornwall and Devon to be extended to Ireland.

CXV.

For amending the Act 42d George 3d, to promote the building, repairing, or otherwise providing the churches and chapels, and of houses for the residence of ministers, and the providing of churchyards and glebes.

CXVI.

To enable his Majesty to grant a piece of ground within the Tower of London, to be used as an additional burial ground for persons dying within the said Tower.

CXVII.

For granting to his Majesty certain sums of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, and for applying certain monies therein mentioned, for the service of the year 1811, and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

CXVIII.

To permit the interchange of the British and Irish militias respectively.

CXIX.

For repealing two Acts made in the 42nd and 47th years of his present Majesty, for the more effectual administration of the office of a justice of the peace, in such parts of the counties of Middlesex and Surry as lie in or near the metropolis, and for the more effectual prevention of felonies; and for making other provisions in lieu thereof; to continue in force until the 1st day of June, 1813, and from thence until the expiration of six weeks from the commencement of the then next session of parliament.

CXX.

To amend an Act of the 47th year of his present Majesty, for more effectually preventing the stealing of deer.

CXXI.

To suspend the payment of all drawbacks on spirits made or distilled in Great Britain or Ireland, and exported from either country to the other respectively; and to suspend the importation into Great Britain of any spirits made or distilled in Ireland, except such as shall have been warehoused according to law; and for regulating the exportation of home-made spirits from Great Britain to Ireland and from Ireland to Great Britain, until three months after the commencement of the next session of parliament.

CXXII.

To continue, until the 1st of January, 1813, an Act for appointing commissioners to enquire and examine into the nature and extent of the several bogs in Ireland, and the practicability of draining and cultivating them, and the best means of effecting the same.

CXXIII.

For the relief of certain insolvent debtors in Ireland.

CXXIV.

Further to extend and render more effectual certain provisions of an Act passed in the 12th year of the reign of his late Majesty king George the 1st, intituled

' An Act to prevent frivolous and vexatious arrests ;' and of an Act passed in the 5th year of the reign of his Majesty king George the 2nd, to explain, amend, and render more effectual the said former Act; and of two Acts passed in the 19th and 43rd years of the reign of his present Majesty, extending the provisions of the said former Acts.

CXXV.

For the relief of certain insolvent debtors in England.

CXXVI.

To extend an Act made in the 18th year of his late Majesty king George the 2nd, to explain and amend the laws touching the elections of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for England, respecting the expences of hustings and poll-clerks, so far as regards the city of Westminster.

CXXVII.

For making more effectual provision for preventing the current gold coin of the realm from being paid or accepted for a greater value than the current value of such coin; for preventing any note or bill of the governor and company of the Bank of England from being received for any smaller sum than the sum therein specified ; and for staying proceedings upon any distress by tender of such notes.

CXXVIII.

To explain an Act passed in this present session of parliament, intituled, 'An Act to permit the interchange of the British and Irish militias respectively.'

STATE PAPERS.

The Lords' Commissioners Speech on Opening the Parliament.

The Lord Chancellor rose and said:

"My Lords,

"Forasmuch as for certain reasons his Majesty cannot be present here, a Commission has been issued, under the Great Seal, for opening the Session of Parliament. Is it your Lordships pleasure to adjourn to robe?"—The House adjourned to robe, and soon afterwards the Lord Chancellor again entered, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of Montrose, and the Earl of Liverpool took their seats in their robes as Commissioners in the name of his Majesty.—The Lord Chancellor, in the name of the Lords Commissioners, directed Mr. Quarme, the Deputy Usher of the Black Rod, to inform the Commons that the Commissioners desired their attendance in the House of Lords. Soon afterwards the Speaker and a great number of members of the House of Commons came to the bar. Upon which,

The *Lord Chancellor* said, "My Lords and Gentlemen; Forasmuch as for certain causes his Majesty cannot conveniently be present here in his Royal person, a Commission has been issued, under the Great Seal, authorizing the Lords in the said Commission named, to declare the causes of your meeting, and to do in all respects in his Majesty's name, which Commission you will now hear read."

The Commission was then read by the clerk at the table. After which,

The *Lord Chancellor* said, "My Lords and Gentlemen; Acting by virtue of the authority given to us in his Majesty's Commission which has been now read, amongst other things, to open and declare the causes of your meeting, we have only, in the present discharge of our duty, to call your attention to the afflicting circumstance of his Majesty's Indisposition, and to the necessity of making due and suitable provision for the care of his Majesty's sacred person, the maintenance of his royal dignity, and the exercise of his royal authority, in such manner, and to such extent, as the

exigency of the case appears to require."

The Commons withdrew from the bar. The Lord Chancellor having resumed his seat on the woolsack, the earl of Liverpool, according to ancient usage, at the opening of every session, moved the first reading of a Bill for the better regulation of Select Vestries, which was read a first time.

The Lords' Commissioners Speech in the Name of the Prince Regent.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"In execution of the Commission which has now been read to you, we are commanded by his royal highness the Prince Regent, to express in the strongest manner, how deeply he laments, not only in common with all his Majesty's loyal subjects, but with a personal and filial affliction, the great national calamity which has been the occasion of imposing upon his Royal Highness the duty of exercising, in his Majesty's name the royal authority of this kingdom.

"In conveying to you the sense which his Royal Highness entertains of the great difficulties attending the important trust which is reposed in him, his Royal Highness commands us to assure you, that he looks with the most perfect confidence to the wisdom and zeal of Parliament, and to the attachment of a loyal and affectionate people, for the most effectual assistance and support; and his Royal Highness will, on his part, exert his utmost endeavours to direct the powers with which he is invested to the advancement of the prosperity, welfare, and security of his Majesty's dominions.

"We are directed to inform you that his Royal Highness has great satisfaction in being enabled to state, that fresh opportunities have been afforded, during the late campaign, for distinguishing the valour and skill of his Majesty's forces, both by sea and land.

"The capture of the islands of Bourbon and of Amboyna have still further reduced the colonial dependencies of the enemy.

"The attack upon the island of Sicily, which was announced to the world with a presumptuous anticipation of success, has been repulsed by the persevering exertions and valour of his Majesty's land and sea forces.

"The judicious arrangement adopted by the officers commanding on that station, derived material support from the zeal and ardour which were manifested during this contest by the inhabitants of Sicily, and from the co-operation of the naval means which were directed by his Sicilian Majesty to this object.

"In Portugal, and at Cadiz, the defence of which constituted the principal object of his Majesty's exertions in the last campaign, the designs of the enemy have been hitherto frustrated. The consummate skill, prudence, and perseverance of lieutenant-general lord viscount Wellington, and the discipline and determined bravery of the officers and men under his command, have been conspicuously displayed throughout the whole of the campaign. The effect of those distinguished qualities, in inspiring confidence and

energy into the troops of his Majesty's allies, has been happily evinced by their general good conduct, and particularly by the brilliant part which they bore in the repulse of the enemy at Buzaco. And his Royal Highness commands us further to state, that he trusts you will enable him to continue the most effectual assistance to the brave nations of the Peninsula, in the support of a contest which they manifest a determination to maintain with unabated perseverance; and his Royal Higness is persuaded, that you will feel, that the best interests of the British empire must be deeply affected in the issue of this contest, on which the liberties and independence of the Spanish and Portuguese nations entirely depend.

"We have it likewise in command to acquaint you that discussions are now pending between this country and the United States of America; and that it is the earnest wish of his Royal Highness that he may find himself enabled to bring these discussions to an amicable termination, consistent with the honour of his Majesty's crown, and the maritime rights and interests of the United Kingdom.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—We are directed to acquaint you, that his royal highness the Prince Regent has given his commands that the estimates for the expenditure of the current year should be laid before you; and his Royal Highness has great satisfaction in acquainting you, that although the difficulties under which the commerce of this kingdom has laboured, have in some degree affected a part of his Majesty's revenue, particularly in Ireland, yet that the revenue of Great Britain in the last year, though unaided by any new taxation, is greater than was ever known in any preceding year. And his Royal Highness trusts to your zeal and liberality to afford his Majesty adequate supplies for the support of the great contest in which he is necessarily engaged.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"We are commanded by his Royal Highness to declare to you, that it is the most anxious wish of his heart, that he may be enabled to restore unimpaired into the hands of his Majesty the government of his kingdom; and that his Royal Highness earnestly prays that the Almighty may be pleased in his mercy to accelerate the termination of a calamity so deeply lamented by the whole nation, and so peculiarly afflicting to his Royal Highness himself."

The Lords' Commissioners Speech in the Name of the Prince Regent at the Close of the Session.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, has commanded us to signify to you the satisfaction with which he finds himself enabled to relieve you from your attendance in parliament, after the long and laborious duties of the session. We are particularly directed to express his approbation of the wisdom and firmness which you have manifested in enabling his Royal Highness to continue the exer-

tions of this country in the cause of our Allies, and to prosecute the war with increased activity and vigour.

"Your determined perseverance in a system of liberal aid to the brave and loyal nations of the peninsula has progressively augmented their means and spirit of resistance, while the humane attention which you have paid to the sufferings of the inhabitants of Portugal, under the unexampled cruelty of the enemy, has confirmed the alliance by new ties of affection, and cannot fail to inspire additional zeal and animation in the maintenance of the common cause.

"His Royal Highness especially commands us to declare his cordial concurrence in the measures which you have adopted for improving the internal security and military resources of the United Kingdom.

"For these important purposes you have wisely provided, by establishing a system for the annual supply of the regular army, and for the interchange of the militias of Great Britain and Ireland; and his Royal Highness has the satisfaction of informing you, that the voluntary zeal which has already been manifested upon this occasion has enabled him to give immediate operation to an arrangement by which the Union and mutual interests of Great Britain and Ireland may be more effectually cemented and improved.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—His Royal Highness commands us to thank you in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, for the liberal supplies which you have furnished for every branch of the public service.

"His Royal Highness has seen with pleasure the readiness with which you have applied the separate means of Great Britain to the financial relief of Ireland at the present moment; and derives much satisfaction from perceiving that you have been able to accomplish this object with so little additional burthen upon the resources of this part of the United Kingdom. The manner in which you have taken into consideration the condition of the Irish revenue has met with his Royal Highness's approbation; and his Royal Highness commands us to add, that he looks with confidence to the advantage which may be derived from the attention of parliament having been given to this important subject.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"His Royal Highness commands us to congratulate you upon the reduction of the island of Mauritius. This last and most important colony of France has been obtained with inconsiderable loss, and its acquisition must materially contribute to the security of the British commerce and possessions in that quarter of the world.

"The successes which have crowned his Majesty's arms during the present campaign, under the distinguished command of lieutenant-general lord viscount Wellington, are most important to the interests and glorious to the character of the country. His Royal Highness warmly participates in all the sentiments which have been excited by those successes, and concurs in the just applause which you have bestowed upon the skill, prudence and

intrepidity so conspicuously displayed in obtaining them.

"It affords the greatest satisfaction to his Royal Highness to reflect that, should it please Divine Providence to restore his Majesty to the ardent prayers and wishes of his Royal Highness and of his Majesty's people, his Royal Highness will be enabled to lay before his Majesty, in the history of these great achievements of the British arms throughout a series of systematic operations, so satisfactory a proof that the national interests and the glory of the British name have been successfully maintained while his Royal Highness has conducted the government of the United Kingdom."

Then a Commission for proroguing the parliament was read. After which the Lord Chancellor said,

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"By virtue of the Commission under the Great Seal, to us and other lords directed, and now read, we do, in obedience to the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, prorogue this parliament to Thursday the twenty-second day of August next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the twenty-second day of August next."

Correspondence between the Regent and Mr. Perceval.

THE REGENT'S LETTER.

Carlton-House, Feb. 4, 1811.

The Prince of Wales considers the moment to be arrived, which calls for his decision with respect to the persons to be employed by him, in the administration of the executive government of the country, according to the powers vested in him by the bill passed by the two houses of parliament, and now on the point of receiving the sanction of the great seal.

The Prince feels it incumbent upon him, at this precise juncture, to communicate to Mr. Perceval his intention not to remove from their stations those whom he finds there, as his Majesty's official servants. At the same time the Prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character, which, he trusts, will appear in every action of his life, in whatever situation placed, explicitly to declare, that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted Father leads him to dread that any act of the Regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his Sovereign's recovery.

This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval.

Having thus performed an act of indispensable duty, from a just sense of what is due to his own consistency and honour, the Prince has only to add, that, among the many blessings to be derived from his Majesty's restoration to health, and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, it will not, in the Prince's estimation, be the least, that that most fortunate event will at once rescue him from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs, ill-calculated, he fears to sustain the interests of the united king-

dom, in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the genuine principles of the British constitution.

MR. PERCEVAL'S ANSWER.

Downing-street, Feb. 11, 1811.

Mr. Perceval presents his humble duty to your Royal Highness, and has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Royal Highness's letter of last night, which reached him this morning.

Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to express his humble thanks to your Royal Highness, for the frankness with which your Royal Highness has condescended explicitly to communicate the motives which have induced your Royal Highness to honour his colleagues and him with your commands for the continuance of their services, in the stations intrusted to them by the King. And Mr. Perceval begs leave to assure your Royal Highness, that in the expression of your Royal Highness's sentiments of filial and loyal attachment to the King, and of anxiety for the restoration of his Majesty's health, Mr. Perceval can see nothing but additional motives for their most anxious exertions to give satisfaction to your Royal Highness, in the only manner in which it can be given, by endeavouring to promote your Royal Highness's views for the security and happiness of the country.

Mr. Perceval has never failed to regret the impression of your Royal Highness, with regard to the provisions of the regency bill, which his Majesty's servants felt it to be their duty to recommend to parliament. But, he ventures to submit to your Royal Highness, that, whatever difficulties the present awful crisis of the country and the world may create in the administration of the executive government, your Royal Highness will not find them in any degree increased by the temporary suspension of the exercise of those branches of the royal prerogatives, which has been introduced by parliament, in conformity to what was intended on a former similar occasion; and that whatever ministers your Royal Highness might think proper to employ, would find in that full support and countenance which, as long as they were honoured with your Royal Highness's commands, they would feel confident they would continue to enjoy, ample and sufficient means to enable your Royal Highness effectually to maintain the great and important interests of the United Kingdom.

And Mr. Perceval humbly trusts, that, whatever doubts your Royal Highness may entertain with respect to the constitutional propriety of the measures which have been adopted, your Royal Highness will feel assured, that they could not have been recommended by his Majesty's servants, nor sanctioned by parliament, but upon the sincere, though possibly erroneous, conviction, that they in no degree trenched upon the true principles and spirit of the constitution.

Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to add, that he holds himself in readiness, at any moment, to wait upon your Royal Highness, and to receive any commands with

which your Royal Highness may be graciously pleased to honour him.

Prince Regent's Message, March 12.

The chancellor of the exchequer brought up a message from the prince regent: it was read from the chair, and was in substance as follows:

The prince regent, in the name and in the behalf of the king, thinks proper to inform the house of commons, that the maintenance of a body of Portuguese troops in British pay had been attended with the most important effects in the conduct of the war. The prince regent hopes the house of commons will enable him to continue the same for the present year, according as circumstances and the nature of the contest may require.

Prince Regent's Message, April 8.

George P. R.

The prince regent, in the name and on behalf of his majesty, having taken into his serious consideration the accounts which he has received of the severe distresses to which the inhabitants of a part of the kingdom of Portugal have been exposed in their persons and property, in consequence of the invasion of that country, and especially from the wanton and savage barbarity exercised by the French armies, in their recent retreat, which cannot fail to affect the hearts of all persons who have any sense of religion or humanity, desires to be enabled by the house of commons to afford the suffering subjects of his majesty's good and faithful ally, such speedy and effectual relief as may be suitable to this interesting and afflicting occasion. . . . . G. P. R.

A Proclamation by the Lord-Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

Richmond, &c.

Whereas, by an act made in the parliament of Ireland, in the thirty-third year of his present Majesty's reign, entituled, "An act to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions or other addresses to his Majesty or the parliament," it is enacted, "That all assemblies, committees, or other bodies of persons elected or in any other manner constituted or appointed to represent, or assuming or exercising a right or authority to represent, the people of this realm, or any number or description of the people of the same, or the people of any province, county, city, town, or other district within the same, under pretence of petitioning for, or in any other manner procuring an alteration of matters established by law, in church or state, save and except the knights, citizens, and burgesses elected to serve in the parliament thereof, and save and except the houses of convocation duly summoned by the king's will, are unlawful assemblies; and that it shall and may be lawful for any mayor, sheriff, justice of the peace, or other peace officer, and they are thereby respectively authorized and required

within his and their respective jurisdictions, to disperse all such unlawful assemblies, and if resisted, to enter into the same, and to apprehend all persons offending in that behalf." And it is further enacted, "That if any person shall give or publish, or cause or procure to be given or published, any written or other notice of election to be holden, or of any manner of appointment of any person or persons, to be the representative or representatives, delegate or delegates, or to act by any other name or description whatever, as representative or representatives, delegate or delegates, of the inhabitants, or of any description of the inhabitants of any province, county, city, town, or other district within this kingdom, at any such assembly; or if any person shall attend and vote at such election or appointment of such representatives or delegates, or other persons to act as such, every person who shall be guilty of any of the said offences, respectively being thereof convicted, by due course of law, shall be deemed guilty of an high misdemeanour.

And whereas, at a meeting or assembly of persons held in the city of Dublin on the 9th day of July instant, and styling themselves, "A Meeting of the Catholics of Ireland," certain resolutions, amongst others, were entered into, and have since been published, of tenour following:—

"Resolved,—That a committee of Catholics be therefore appointed, and requested to cause proper petitions to be forthwith framed for the repeal of the penal laws, and to procure signatures thereto in all parts of Ireland, and to take measures for bringing such petitions under the serious consideration of the legislature within the first month of the ensuing sessions of parliament.

"Resolved, That said committee do consist of the catholic peers and their eldest sons, the catholic baronets, the prelates of the catholic church in Ireland, and also ten persons to be appointed by the catholics in each county of Ireland, the survivors of the delegates of 1793 to constitute an integral part of that number, and also of five persons to be appointed by the catholic inhabitants of each parish in Dublin.

"Resolved, That the appointment of the said persons be made forthwith.

"Resolved, That it be recommended to such committee to resort to all legal and constitutional means of maintaining a cordial communication of sentiment and co-operation of conduct amongst the catholics of Ireland, and generally of promoting the favourable reception of their petition.

"Resolved, That until the new committee shall be appointed, the management of catholic affairs shall be confided to the catholic peers, baronets, and survivors of the delegates of 1793."

And whereas there is reason to apprehend, that some of his Majesty's subjects may have already acted, and that others may be misled to act in furtherance of those resolutions, by taking a part in the election or appointment of delegates or representatives for such proposed assembly or committee; and that the persons so

elected or delegated, or to be elected or delegated, may be disposed to meet and form such assembly or committee, as aforesaid.

And whereas such an assembly as is by these resolutions proposed to be convened, is not only in direct violation of the provisions of the statute aforesaid, and an unlawful assembly, but tends directly to endanger the peace and tranquillity of the state.

Now we, the lord-lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy-council of Ireland, being determined, as far as in us lies, to enforce the due observance of the laws of this realm, and being anxious to prevent the mischiefs which the violation of those laws, and particularly of the statute herein before mentioned, must occasion, do, by this our proclamation, command all his Majesty's loving subjects of this part of the United Kingdom, that they do abstain from all acts and proceedings whatsoever contrary to the provisions of the aforesaid statute.

And we do further hereby call upon and require all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other peace officers in this part of the United Kingdom, that they do proceed in due course of law to apprehend and hold to bail all persons against whom information on oath shall have been obtained of having given or published, or caused to be given or published, any written or other notice of elections to be holden, or of any manner of appointment of any representative or delegates for any such assembly as is herein before-mentioned, or of having voted, or in any other manner acted, or who shall be found actually voting, or in any other manner acting, in the election or appointment of such delegates or representatives, that the person or persons so offending may be prosecuted according to law; and in case an assembly of such delegates or representatives shall hereafter attempt to meet in defiance of the law, and notwithstanding this our proclamation, that they shall proceed to disperse the same as an unlawful assembly, pursuant to the directions of the aforesaid statute.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 30th day of July, 1811.

Manners, E.
Westmeath.
Mayo.
Erne.
Charles Kildare.
Castle Coote.
De Blaquiere.
Frankfort.
W. W. Pole.
D. Latouche.
S. Hamilton.
W. Saurin.
P. Duigenan.

FRANCE.

Message of his Imperial and Royal Majesty.

Senators,

I have ordered my minister for foreign affairs to communicate to you the several circumstances which occasion the junction of Holland with the empire. The orders published by the British council in 1806 and 1807, have rent in pieces the public law of Europe, and a new order of things governs the universe. New se-

curities becoming necessary to me, the junction of the mouths of the Scheldt, of the Meuse, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, with the Empire, the establishment of an inland navigation with the Baltic, have appeared to me to be the first and most important. I have ordered the plan of a canal to be prepared, which will be executed in the course of five years, and will connect the Seine with the Baltic. Those princes will be indemnified who may find themselves circumscribed by this great measure, which is become absolutely necessary, and which will rest the right of my frontiers upon the Baltic. Before I came to this determination, I apprised England of it. She was acquainted that the only means for preserving the independence of Holland was to retract her orders of council of 1806 and 1807, or to return at last to pacific sentiments. But this power was deaf to the voice of her interests, as well as to the cries of Europe. I was in hopes of being able to establish a cartel for the exchange of prisoners of war between France and England, and to avail myself, in consequence of the residence of two commissioners at Paris and London, to bring about an approximation between the two countries. I have been disappointed in my expectations. I could find nothing in the mode in which the English government negotiated, but craft and deceit. The junction of the Valais is an effect long intended of the immense works which I have had performed in the Alps within the last ten years. At the time of my act of mediation, I separated the Valais from the Helvetic League, foreseeing then a measure of such advantage to France and Italy. So long as the war continues with England, the French people must not lay down their arms. My finances are in a most flourishing state. I can meet all the expences which this immense empire requires, without calling upon my people for fresh sacrifices.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Palace of the Thuilleries, Dec. 10, 1810.

By order of the emperor,
H. B. DUKE OF BASSANO.

After the message was read, his excellency the duke of Cadore, minister for foreign affairs, laid the following report before the sitting:

Report of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to his Majesty the Emperor our King.

Sir,

Your majesty has exalted France to the highest point of greatness. The victories obtained over five successive coalitions, all promoted by England, have produced these consequences; and it may be said, that we are indebted to England for the glory and power of the great empire. At every opportunity your majesty made offers of peace, and without considering whether it would be more advantageous than war: you looked, sir, only to the happiness of the present generation, and you always showed yourself ready to sacrifice to it the most flattering prospects of the future. It was in this spirit that the peace of

Campo Formio, of Luneville, and of Amiens, and subsequently of Presburg, of Tilsit, and of Vienna, were concluded; it was in this spirit that your majesty has five times sacrificed to peace the greater part of your conquests. More anxious to adorn your reign by the public happiness, than to extend the frontiers of your empire, your majesty sets bounds to your greatness; while England, keeping the torch of war continually alive, seemed to conspire against her allies as well as herself to create the greatest empire that has existed for twenty centuries. At the peace of 1783, the power of France was strong in the family compact, which closely bound Spain and Naples with her political system. At that of Amiens, the respective strength of the three great powers was increased by the addition of twelve millions of Polish inhabitants. The houses of France and Spain were essentially hostile to each other, and the people of the two countries were removed further than ever from each other by the difference of their manners. One of the great continental powers had her strength less diminished by the junction of Belgium with France, than it was increased by the acquisition of Venice; the secularizations also of the Germanic body added more to the power of our rivals. Thus, at the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, the relative force of France was less than at the peace of 1783, and much inferior to that to which the victories obtained during the wars of the two first coalitions gave her a right to expect. This treaty, however, was scarcely concluded, when the jealousy of England displayed itself strongly. She took the alarm at the continually increasing prosperity and riches of the interior of France; and she hoped that a third coalition would wrest Belgium, the provinces of the Rhine, and Italy, from your crown. The peace of Amiens was broken; a third coalition was formed; three months after it was dissolved by the treaty of Presburg. England saw all her hopes blasted: Venice, Dalmatia, Istria, the whole of the Adriatic coast, and that of the kingdom of Naples, fell into the power of France. The Germanic body, established upon principles contrary to those upon which the French empire was founded, dropped to pieces; and the system of the confederation of the Rhine transformed into close and necessary allies the same nations who in the first coalitions marched against France, and united them indissolubly to herself by their common interests. The peace of Amiens then became in England the object of the regret of every statesman. The new acquisitions by France, which there were no hopes of wresting from her at any future time, rendered the fault that was committed more evident, and showed the full extent of it. An enlightened man, who during the short interval of the peace of Amiens visited Paris, and had learned to know France and your majesty, was put at the head of affairs in England. This man of genius comprehended the situations of the two countries. He perceived that it was not in the power of any state to compel France to retrograde; and that

the true policy consisted in arresting her progress. He perceived, that by the success obtained over the third coalition the question was changed; and that it must no longer be thought of contesting with France the possessions that she acquired by victory; but that it was necessary, by a speedy peace, to prevent those new acquisitions which the continuation of the war would render inevitable. This minister did not conceal any of the advantages which France derived from the erroneous policy of England; but he had in view those which she might still acquire. He thought that England would gain much, if none of the continental powers lost more. He directed his policy to disarm France, and to have the confederation of the North of Germany recognized in opposition to the confederation of the Rhine. He perceived that Prussia could only be preserved by peace; and that on the fate of that power depended the system of Saxony, of Hessia, of Hanover, the fate of the mouths of the Ems, of the Jade, of the Weser, of the Elbe, of the Oder, and of the Vistula, ports necessary for the commerce of England. Like a great man, Fox did not deliver himself up to useless sorrow for the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, and losses henceforth irreparable; he wished to prevent greater, and he sent lord Lauderdale to Paris. The negotiations began, and every thing led to hope that they would have ended happily; when Fox died. From that time they languished. The ministers were neither sufficiently enlightened nor temperate to perceive the necessity of peace. Prussia, excited by that spirit which England infused into all Europe, put her troops to march. The imperial guard received orders to set out; lord Lauderdale appeared terrified at the consequences of the new events that were preparing. It was proposed to sign the treaty; that Prussia should be included in it, and that the confederation of the North of Germany should be recognized. Your majesty, with that spirit of moderation of which you have given such frequent examples to Europe, consented. The departure of the imperial guard was delayed for some days: but lord Lauderdale hesitated; he thought it necessary to send a messenger to his court, and that messenger brought him an order to return. In a few days after, Prussia no longer existed as a preponderating power. Posterity will consider that period as one of the most decisive in the histories of England and France. The treaty of Tilsit put an end to the fourth coalition. Two great sovereigns, lately enemies, united in offering peace to England; but that power, who, notwithstanding all the forewarnings she had received, could not bring herself to subscribe to conditions which would leave France in a more advantageous situation than she was after the treaty of Amiens, would not enter into a negotiation, the unavoidable consequence of which would have been to place France in a situation still more to her advantage. We refused, it was said in England, a treaty which maintained the North of Germany, Prussia, Saxony, Hessia, and Hanover, independent of France, and

which secured all the outlets of our trade: how, then, can we agree at this time to conclude with the emperor of the French, when he has extended the confederation of the Rhine to the North of Germany, and to found on the banks of the Elbe a French throne, a peace which, by the course of things, whatever the stipulations might be, would leave under his influence Hanover, and all the ports of the north, those principal arteries of our commerce?

[The exposé dwells at some length upon the coalitions—declares that a proposition was made to our government to recal the orders in council, upon condition that the independence of Holland should be respected by the French, which was rejected; recommends the annexation of the Hans Towns to the empire; the repairing the canal between Hamburgh and Lubeck, and the construction of a new canal which would unite the Elbe to the Weser, and the Weser to the Emms, advises the continuance of the Berlin and Milan decrees, (we thought they had been rescinded) and the opposition of the continental blockade to the maritime one, from which the most auspicious results are predicted.]

(Signed) CHAMPAGNY,
Duke of Cadore.

Maritime Decree of Napoleon.

In the name of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, &c. the commission of the government, established by the decree of the 18th of December, 1810, considering the decree of his Majesty, dated 26th of December, 1810, ordering that a maritime administration and navigation police should be established in the Hanseatic departments, conformably to the laws and regulations in existence in France, upon the report of the counsellors of state, intendant of the interior and finances, decrees as follows:—

Art. 1. There shall be taken throughout the Hanseatic departments, a particular account of French citizens who are destined to navigation.

Art. 2. The offices for maritime inscription are provisionally established at Hamburgh, for Hamburgh and Luneburg; at Travemunde, for the arondissement of Lubeck; at Stadte, for the arondissement of Stadte; at Bremerlehe, for the department of the mouths of the Weser: and at Varel, for the department of the Upper Ems.

Art. 3. There are comprehended in the maritime inscription,

1. Sailors of every description, whether navigating armed or merchants' ships.

2. Those who navigate, or are fishermen.

3. Those who sail in barges or boats, upon the coasts or in the roads, rivers, or canals, comprehended in the maritime districts.

Art. 4. There shall be included in the maritime inscription every citizen, aged 18, who has fulfilled one of the following conditions:

1. The having performed two long voyages, or to the grand fishery.

2. Having been at sea eighteen months.

3. Having been employed in the coasting fishery two years.

4. Having served two years apprenticeship to the sea.

Art. 5. All foreign sailors residing in the territory of the empire, who have married French women, and sailed in French merchant-ships, are subject to the maritime inscription.

Art. 6. The already mentioned sailors are bound to present themselves at the office of maritime inscription, in the district where they reside, and have their names inscribed.

Art. 7. Carpenters, sail-makers, &c. exercising their professions in the maritime ports and places, shall be called to the military posts in the event of war, preparations for war, or of extraordinary or considerable works. There shall be kept an exact registry in the offices of inscription, and they shall be exempt from all other requisitions than those relative to the maritime service.

Art. 8. Every French citizen comprehended in the maritime inscription is exempt from all other services, than those of the navy, marine, arsenals, and the national guard, in the arondissement of their districts.

Art. 9. Every sailor who has attained the full age of 50 years, is, by right, exempt from the requisition for the ships or arsenals of the empire; without, however, losing the power of continuing the employment of fishing, or even serving in the ships of the state.

Art. 10. There shall be granted to enrolled sailors, pensions, according to their rank, age, wounds, or infirmities. These pensions will be fixed according to their services on board the ships and arsenals of the empire, and the merchants' vessels.

Art. 11. The length of service in the three departments, either in the merchants' service, or on board ships of war, shall be computed agreeably to article 205 of the imperial decree of the 4th of July, 1811, as if it had taken place on board French ships, and give the same right to half-pay and pensions upon the invalid marine chest.

Art 12. The widows and children of sailors shall have the same claims to assistance and succours, as those of military men who died in the service.

Art. 13. All captains, &c. navigating the rivers, or on the coasts of the 32d military division, will from hence to the 1st of November next, provide themselves with a *role d'equipage*, at the maritime office of inscription.

Art. 14. Every captain, &c. who, after the 1st of November, sails upon the rivers, coasts, &c. of the 32d military division, and has not conformed to the dispositions of the present decree, shall be punished with eight days' imprisonment, without prejudice to still greater penalties, should there be occasion to inflict them.

Given at the palace at Hamburgh, Sept. 17.

(Signed) The Marshal Prince of Eckmuhl.

Speech of Buonaparte to the Legislative Body.

Paris, June 16.

This day the emperor proceeded from the Thuilleries, in great state, to the palace of the

legislative body. Discharges of artillery announced his departure from the Thuilleries, and his arrival at the palace of the legislative body. The empress, queen Hortense, princess Pauline, the grand duke of Wurtzburg, and the grand duke of Frankfort, were in one tribune; the corps diplomatique in another tribune; the bishops convoked for the council, and the mayors and deputies of the good cities summoned to be present at the baptism of the king of Rome, were on benches. His majesty placed himself on his throne. The king of Westphalia, the princes grand dignitaries, grand eagles of the legion of honour, occupied their accustomed places about his majesty, prince Jerome Napoleon on his right. After the new members had been presented and taken the oaths, the emperor made the following speech:

Gentlemen deputies of departments to the legislative body,

The peace concluded with the emperor of Austria has been since cemented by the happy alliance I have contracted: the birth of the king of Rome has fulfilled my wishes, and satisfies my people with respect to the future.—The affairs of religion have been too often mixed, and sacrificed to the interests of a state of the third order. If half Europe has separated from the church of Rome, we may attribute it specially to the contradiction which has never ceased to exist between the truths and the principles of religion which belong to the whole universe, and the pretensions and interests which regarded only a very small corner of Italy. I have put an end to this scandal for ever. I have united Rome to the empire—I have given palaces to the popes at Rome and at Paris: if they have at heart the interests of religion, they will often sojourn in the centre of the affairs of christianity—it was thus that St. Peter preferred Rome to an abode even in the Holy Land. —Holland has been united to the empire; she is but an emanation of it—without her the empire would not be complete.

The principles adopted by the English government, not to recognise the neutrality of any flag, have obliged me to possess myself of the mouths of the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, and have rendered an interior communication with the Baltic indispensable to me. It is not my territory that I wished to increase, but my maritime means.—America is making efforts to cause the freedom of her flag to be recognised—I will second her. I have nothing but praises to give to the sovereigns of the confederation of the Rhine.—The union of the Valais has been foreseen ever since the act of mediation, and considered as necessary to conciliate the interests of Switzerland with the interests of France and Italy. —The English bring all the passions into play. One time they suppose France to have all the designs that could alarm other powers, designs which she could have put in execution if they had entered into her policy. At another time they make an appeal to the pride of nations, in order to excite their jealousy. They lay

hold of all circumstances which arise out of the unexpected events of the times in which we are.—It is war over every part of the continent that can alone ensure their prosperity. I wish for nothing that is not in the treaties I have concluded. I will never sacrifice the blood of my people to interests that are not immediately the interests of my empire. I flatter myself that the peace of the continent will not be disturbed.

The king of Spain is come to assist at this last solemnity. I have given him all that was necessary and proper to unite the interests and hearts of the different people of his provinces. Since 1809, the greater part of the strong places in Spain have been taken after memorable sieges. The insurgents have been beat in a great number of pitched battles. England had felt this war was approaching its termination, and that intrigues and gold were no longer sufficient to nourish it. She found herself, therefore, obliged to change the nature of it; and from an auxiliary she is become a principal. All she has of troops of the line have been sent into the Peninsula. England, Scotland, and Ireland are drained. English blood has at length flowed in torrents, in several actions glorious to the French arms.—This conflict against Carthage, which seemed as if it would be decided in fields of battle on the ocean, or beyond the seas, will henceforth be decided in the plains of Spain! When England shall be exhausted, when she shall at last have felt the evils which for twenty years she has with so much cruelty poured upon the continent, when half of her families shall be in mourning, then shall a peal of thunder put an end to the affair of the Peninsula, the destinies of her armies, and avenge Europe and Asia by finishing this second Punic war.

Gentlemen deputies of departments to the legislative body.

I have ordered my minister to lay before you the accounts of 1809 and 1810. It is the object for which I have called you together. You will see in them the prosperous state of my finances. Though I have placed, within three months, 100 millions extraordinary at the disposal of my ministers of war, to defray the expenses of new armaments which then appeared necessary, I find myself in the fortunate situation of not having any new taxes to impose upon my people—I shall not increase any tax, I have no want of any augmentation in the imposts.

The sitting being terminated, his majesty rose and retired amidst acclamations.

Imperial Decree.

Palace of the Thuilleries, Mar. 25, 1811.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, &c.

Upon the report of the commission appointed to examine the means proper to naturalise on the continent of our empire, sugar, indigo, cotton, and divers other productions of the two Indies:

Upon the presentation made to

us, of a considerable quantity of beet root sugar, refined, crystallized, and possessing all the qualities and properties of cane sugar:

Upon the presentation also made to us at the council of commerce, of a great quantity of indigo extracted from the plant woad, which our departments of the south produce in abundance, and which indigo has all the properties of the indigo of the two Indies:

Having reason to expect that, by means of these two precious discoveries, our empire will shortly be relieved from an exportation of 100,000,000, hitherto necessary for supplying the consumption of sugar and indigo:

We have decreed, and decree as follows:—

Art. 1. Plantations of beet-root, proper for the fabrication of sugar, shall be formed in our empire to the extent of 32,000 hectares.

2. Our minister of the interior shall distribute the 32,000 hectares among the departments of our empire, taking into consideration those departments where the culture of tobacco may be established, and those which, from the nature of the soil, may be more favourable to the culture of the beet-root.

3. Our prefects shall take measures that the number of hectares allotted to their respective departments shall be in full cultivation this year, or next year at the latest.

4. A certain number of hectares shall be laid out in our empire, in plantations of woad proper for the fabrication of indigo, and in proportion to the quantity necessary for our manufactures.

5. Our minister of the interior shall distribute the said number among the departments of the empire, taking into particular consideration the departments beyond the Alps, and those of the south, where this branch of cultivation formerly made great progress.

6. Our prefects shall take measures, that the quantity of hectares allotted to their departments shall be in full cultivation next year, at the latest.

7. The commission shall, before the 4th of May, fix upon the places most convenient for the establishment of six experimental schools, for giving instruction in the manufacture of beet-root sugar, conformably to the process of the chymists.

8. The commission shall, also, by the same period, fix upon the places most convenient for the establishment of four experimental schools, for giving instruction as to the extraction of indigo from the lees of the woad, according to the processes approved by the commission.

9. Our minister of the interior shall make known to the prefects in what places these schools shall be formed, and to which the pupils destined for this manufacture should be sent. The proprietors and farmers who may wish to attend the course of lectures in the said experimental schools shall be admitted thereto.

10. Messrs. Barruel and Isnard, who have brought to perfection the processes for extracting sugar from beet-root, shall be specially charged with the direc-

tion of two of the six experimental schools.

11. Our minister of the interior shall in consequence, cause to be paid to them the sum necessary for the formation of the said establishments, which sum shall be charged upon the fund of one million, placed, in the budget of the year 1811, at the disposal of the said minister, for the encouragement of the manufacture of beet-root sugar, and woad indigo.

12. From the 1st of January, 1813, and upon the report to be made by our minister of the interior, the sugar and indigo of the two Indies shall be prohibited, and be considered as merchandize of English manufacture, or proceeding from English commerce.

13. Our minister of the interior is charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Two Decrees of Buonaparte.

By two decrees, dated the 27th of July, the Emperor of France, wishing to make several dispositions useful to his good city of Rome, as he calls it, has decreed as follows:

The imperial court of justice shall be established at the chancery; the academy of the university in the good city of Rome shall be established at the college della Sapienza. Two lyceums shall be established at Rome, one at the Roman college, and the other at that of the Jesuits. The magazines of corn and oil at the baths of Dioclesian and Cœneto, and Civita Vecchia, are ceded to the city of Rome.

Every year there shall be provided an extraordinary fund of one million, under the title of The special Fund for the Embellishments of Rome. This fund shall be raised partly on the city and partly on the revenues of the extraordinary. It shall be applied to the excavations for the discovery of antiquities; to the perfectioning of the navigation of the Tiber; to the construction of a new bridge on the site of that of Horatius Cocles; to the finishing of the bridge of Sixtus; to the aggrandisement and embellishment of the squares of Trajan and the Pantheon; to the construction of a market and two slaughtering-places; to the opening of a promenade on the side of the gate of the people, and another on the site of the Forum, of the Coliseum, and of the Mount Palatine; to the establishment of a botanic garden, &c.

The fund of one million shall be employed in 1811 in the following manner:—100,000 livres for the wood to complete the navigation of the Tiber, especially in that part of the river which flows through the city of Rome; 50,000 to begin the new bridge of Horatius Cocles; 50,000 for the bridge of Sixtus; 50,000 for the enlargement and embellishments of the squares of Trajan and the Pantheon; 150,000 for the promenade at the Gate of the People; 100,000 for the promenade at the Capitol, 50,000 for the market; 100,000 for the slaughtering-places; 50,000 for the botanic garden; 300,000 livres for a fund to furnish supplementary aid, according to the

statements made of the progress of the works, and to commence new ones, according to the proposals which shall be made by the committee.

The plans for the perfectioning of the navigation of the Tiber, from Perugia to the sea, and especially of that part of the river which flows through the city of Rome, the new bridge of Horatius Cocles, and the bridge of Sixtus, shall be commenced without delay, and shall be submitted to his majesty in the sittings of bridges and causeways which shall be held in December.

Also shall be commenced, with as little delay as possible, the plans for the enlargement and embellishment of the squares of Trajan and the Pantheon, and for the market and slaughtering-places. In the mean time, till the plans for the square of Trajan shall have received his majesty's approbation, the convents of the Holy Ghost and St. Euphemia shall be pulled down.

The plans which have been submitted to his majesty for the promenade on the side of the Gate of the People are approved; and to carry them into effect the Convent del Populo, and its dependencies, shall be pulled down. This promenade shall be called the Garden of the Great Cæsar.

The promenade projected on the site of the Capitol and the Coliseum shall be called the garden of Capitol. The plans of them shall be presented without delay, as well as those of the botanic garden.

The houses, palaces, and dependencies, situated on the sites destined for the embellishments of Rome, and which appertain to his majesty, or which appertain to the court of Naples, shall be pulled down.

Paris.—Palace of St. Cloud, August 24th.

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederation of the Rhine, mediator of the Swiss confederation, &c. &c. &c.

An account having been given of the state of printing and vending of books in the departments of the Hanseatic towns of Tuscany and the Roman states:

Wishing to reconcile the rights which are guaranteed by our laws and decrees of the literary property of authors with the interests of our subjects, the booksellers and printers of the above-mentioned departments, and to prevent the latter from being troubled on account of editions of the aforesaid works which they may have published anterior to the ruinous disputes between them:

Upon the report of our minister of the interior, our council of state agreeing, we have decreed and do decree as follows:

Art. 1. Editions printed anterior to the 1st of January, 1811, in the departments of the 22d, 29th, and 30th, military divisions, of works printed in France ulterior to the same epoch, and constituting a part of private literary property, shall not be considered as counterfeit, provided they are stamped before the 1st of January next.

2. Consequently editors, printers, and all booksellers or others

in any way trading in books in the above-designated departments, who may be proprietors or in possession of any of them, are bound to declare to the prefect of their department the number of copies they possess of the said editions. The prefects will transmit a copy of these declarations to our director-general for bookselling.

3. These copies must be presented in each department, and by each printer or bookseller, prior to the 1st of October, to the commissioner delegated for the purpose, and the first page in each of them carefully stamped; after which they may be freely sold throughout the empire.

4. The booksellers shall be bound to pay the authors or proprietors the twelfth part of the whole of the copies declared by them to be in their warehouses, or at their disposal, and that too every six months, in proportion to the sales they make, which shall be determined by the number of copies that remain of those they produce.

5. On the 1st of October, the stamps shall be sent back to our director-general for bookselling; after which time all copies of the above-mentioned editions that shall be found without a stamp shall be considered spurious, and those upon whom they are found, subject to the punishments settled by the laws and our regulations.

6. Our grand judge, minister of justice, and our minister for the interior, are charged, each in as much as concerns him, with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in our bulletin of laws.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Milan, August 25th.

To-day being the nativity of her majesty the empress and queen, there was a court and spectacle at the palace.

The royal institute, in the sitting of the 6th of May last, voted an address to his majesty the emperor of France, containing sentiments of regard for his royal person.

His majesty the emperor and king was most graciously pleased to receive it, and remitted the following letter to the Italian institute:

Count Parades, president of the institute, after having recalled Italy to the glory of arms, my care has been to recall it to the ancient honour of the sciences and arts.

For this end I have given my kingdom of Italy that form which to me appeared most conducible to the progress of Italian literature. The sentiments which the Italian institute have expressed for me are guarantees of its zeal to second my intentions.

The present having no other end, I pray, M. President, God may have you in his holy keeping.

New Spanish Constitution.

The cortes having appointed a committee of their body to form the plan of a constitution, the following are said to be the preliminary and fundamental principles of the plan which the committee have

proposed. The two sections, consisting of 242 articles, were read in the public sitting of the 19th August.

Preliminary and fundamental Principles.

Spain belongs to the Spanish people, and is not the patrimony of any family. The nation only can make fundamental laws. The Roman catholic and apostolic religion, unmixed with any other, is the only religion which the nation professes, or will profess. The government of Spain is an hereditary monarchy. The cortes shall make the laws, and the king shall execute them.

Spanish Citizens.—The children of Spaniards, and of foreigners married to Spanish women, or who bring a capital in order to naturalize themselves to the soil, or establish themselves in trade, or who teach any useful art, are citizens of Spain. None but citizens can fill municipal offices. The rights of citizenship may be lost by long absence from the country, or by condemnation to corporeal or infamous punishments.

The King.—The person of the king is inviolable and sacred. He shall sanction the laws enacted by the cortes. He may declare war and make peace. He shall appoint to civil and military employments on the proposal of the council of state. He shall direct all diplomatic negotiations. He shall superintend the application of the public revenue, &c.

Restrictions on the kingly authority.

The king shall not obstruct the meeting of the cortes in the cases and at the periods pointed out by the constitution, nor embarrass or suspend the sittings, &c. All who may advise him to any such proceedings, shall be holden and dealt with as traitors. He must not travel, marry, alienate any thing, abdicate the crown, raise taxes, nor exchange any town, city, &c. without having first obtained permission of the cortes. Don Ferdinando VII. is declared by the cortes king of Spain, and after his decease, his legitimate descendants shall succeed to the throne. The king shall be a minor until he has completed the age of eighteen years. The eldest son of the king shall be called prince of the Asturias, and, as such, shall at the age of fourteen, take an oath before the cortes, to maintain the constitution, and to be faithful to the king. During a minority, a regency shall be formed, which shall superintend the education of the young prince, according to the orders of the cortes. The regency shall be presided by the queen-mother, if she be in life, and shall be composed of two of the oldest deputies of the cortes, who shall be replaced from year to year, and of two counsellors of the council of state chosen in the order of their seniority. The cortes shall fix the salary proper for the support of the king and his family, and shall point out the places destined for his recreation, &c. The infantes may be appointed to all employments, but cannot be magistrates, nor members of the cortes, and must not leave the kingdom without the permission of the said cortes. There shall be eight secretaries of state, including two

for South and North America; they shall be responsible for the affairs of their respective departments, and the remuneration which they shall receive, shall be determined by the cortes. A council of state shall be formed, consisting of forty members: four of this number are to be grandees of Spain of acknowledged merit and virtue; four ecclesiastics, of which two shall be bishops; twelve Americans; the remaining twenty members to be chosen from among the most respectable citizens of the other classes of the community. This council shall meet every year on the first of March, and shall sit during three months. This period can only be extended on the request of the king, or for some reason of great urgency. In such cases the session may be prolonged, but not beyond one month.

The Cortes.—The election of the cortes shall take place conformably to the mode prescribed by the constitution, and one deputy shall be chosen for each 70,000 souls. The sittings of the cortes shall be opened by the king, or in his name, by the president of the deputation of the cortes, which ought to remain permanent, in order to watch over the fulfilment of the constitution.

Proclamation of the Cortes.

Don Ferdinand VII. by the grace of God, King of Spain and the Indies, and in his absence and captivity, the Council of Regency, authorized *ad interim*, to all those who shall see and hear these presents, know that in the Cortes general and extraordinary, assembled in the Royal Isle of Leon, it has been resolved and decreed as follows:—

"The cortes general and extraordinary, in conformity with their decree of the 24th of December of last year, in which they declare null and void the renunciations made at Bayonne, by the legitimate King of Spain and the Indies, Senor Don Fernando VII. not only from his want of liberty, but from want of the essential and indispensable circumstance, the consent of the nation, declare that they will not acknowledge, but will hold for null and of no effect, every act, treaty, convention, or transaction, of whatever kind or nature they may have been, authorized by the king, while he remains in the state of oppression and deprivation of liberty, in which he now is, whether in the country of the enemy, or within Spain; while his royal person is surrounded by the arms and under the direct or indirect influence of the usurper of his crown: as the nation will never consider him as free, nor render him obedience, until it shall see him in the midst of his faithful subjects, and in the bosom of the national congress which now exists, or hereafter may exist, in the government formed by the cortes. They declare at the same time, that every contravention of this decree shall be considered by the nation an act hostile to the country, and the offender shall be amenable to all the rigour of the laws; and finally the cortes declare, that the generous nation

whom they represent, will never lay down its arms, nor listen to any proposition for accommodation of whatever kind it may be, which shall not be preceded by the total evacuation of Spain by the troops which so unjustly have invaded them, since the cortes, as well as the whole nation, are resolved to fight incessantly, till they have secured the holy religion of their ancestors, the liberty of their beloved monarch, and the absolute independence and integrity of the monarchy. The Council of Regency, that this may be known and punctually observed throughout the whole extent of the Spanish dominions, shall cause this to be printed, published, and circulated.

Alengo Canedo, President.

J. Martinez, } Secretaries.
J. Asnares, }

Isle of Leon, Jan. 1.

Lisbon, April 3.—Proclamation of the Governors of the Kingdom of Portugal and of the Algarves.

Portugueze — The day of our glory is at last arrived; the troops of the enemy, in disgraceful flight, and routed on all points, rapidly disappear from the Portugueze territory, which they have infested with their presence. The governors of Portugal rejoice with you on this happy event; and after humbling themselves in the presence of the Almighty, the first and sovereign author of all good, they render due thanks to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent our lord, whose wisdom established the basis of our defence; to his British Majesty, to his enlightened ministry, and to the whole British nation, in whom we have found powerful and liberal allies, the most constant co-operation in repelling the common enemy, and that honour, probity, and steadiness of principle, which particularly characterise that great nation; to the illustrious Wellington, whose sagacity and consummate military knowledge enabled him to penetrate the plans of the enemy, to take the most effectual precautions for frustrating them, and compelled them at last to fly with the remains of their numerous army, diminished by famine, by the most severe privations, and by the incessant pursuit of the allied forces; to the zealous and indefatigable Beresford, the restorer of discipline and organization to the Portugueze troops; to the brave and skilful generals and officers of both nations; to their brave comrades in arms, who, with generous emulation, never fought that they did not triumph; and, in fine, to the whole Portugueze people, whose loyalty, patriotism, constancy, and humanity, have been so gloriously distinguished amidst the tribulations which have afflicted us.

A nation possessed of such qualities can never be subdued; and the calamities of war, instead of disheartening, serve only to augment its enthusiasm, and to make it feel all the horror of the slavery with which it was threatened.

But, Portugueze, the lamentable effects of the invasions of those barbarians; the yet smoking remains of the humble cottage of the poor, of the palace of the man of opulence, of the cell of the reli-

gious, of the hospital which afforded shelter and relief to the poor and infirm, of the temples dedicated to the worship of the Most High; the innocent blood of so many peaceful citizens of both sexes, and of all ages, with which those heaps of ruins are still tinged; the insults of every kind heaped upon those whom the Vandals did not deprive of life—insults many times more cruel than death itself; the universal devastation of the fields, of plantations, of cattle, and of the instruments of agriculture; the robbery and destruction of every thing that the unhappy inhabitants of the invaded districts possessed; this atrocious scene, which makes humanity shudder, affords a terrible lesson, which you ought deeply to engrave on your memory, in order fully to know that degenerate nation, who retain only the figure of men, and who, in every respect, are worse than wild beasts, and more blood-thirsty than tigers or lions. Wretched are they who trust in their deceitful promises! Victims of a foolish credulity, a thousand times will they repent, but without avail, of the levity with which they have trusted to the promises of a nation without faith and without law; of men who acknowledge neither the rights of humanity, nor respect the sacred tie of an oath. Opposed to such an enemy, the only alternatives which remained to us were resistance, or retreat; the former depended on a competent armed force, the latter is a law which the duty of preserving life and property imposes on all peaceful citizens. These evacuating the towns where they dwell, transporting the effects which they can carry off, destroying those which they are obliged to abandon, and which might serve for the subsistence of the enemy, escape the horrors of the most infamous slavery, throw themselves into the arms of their fellow countrymen, who receive them as brothers, assist the military operations, depriving the invaders of the means of maintaining themselves in the territory which they occupied; and in this way they are so far useful to themselves, because the enemy, not being able to support himself for a long time in positions where he is in want of subsistence, will soon be obliged to evacuate them; and the inhabitants returning immediately to their homes, neither suffer the inconveniences of a lengthened absence, nor find their houses and fields in that state of total devastation, in which the enemy's army would have left them, had he remained for a longer period.

Such, Portugueze, are the lessons of experience which we ought never to forget.

But amidst such great disasters, Providence is pleased to give us sources of consolation which will make them less sensibly felt.

The unfortunate people who fled from the fury of their cruel oppressors, have experienced the greatest kindness in the humanity of their fellow citizens. In all the districts to which they have fled, they were received with open arms; the inhabitants eagerly pressed to afford them all that succour which they could individually bestow; they filled their houses with emigrants; and many

times have we perceived with tears of joy the generous emulation of those who disputed with one another, who should afford the rights of hospitality to those unknown families who arrived in this capital without shelter, or the means of subsistence.

It is the duty of the government to take immediate measures for the relief of these necessitous persons; but the want of public funds, which are not even sufficient to provide for our defence, must make these measures less effectual, unless individuals liberally concur in a proceeding as much recommended by humanity as by patriotism.

Under the inspection of an illustrious tribunal, which has advanced part of these succours, by the wise and economical measures of a member of that tribunal, executed by zealous and intelligent officers, the wretched fugitives have been fed, and numberless unfortunate persons have been rescued from the jaws of death. This great expense has been supported, not only by the resources which were at the disposal of government, but still more, by voluntary donations presented by natives and foreigners; among whom we ought to mention with particular distinction the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, both those who are employed in the army, those who are attached to the legation, and those who are comprehended in the class of merchants. Those acts of patriotism and of Christian charity were not confined to the capital and its vicinity. In all the districts of the kingdom, whither the fugitives resorted, they met the same reception, and experienced the same kindness and liberal aid, as far as the ability of the inhabitants enabled them to extend it.

The governors of the kingdom, in the name of the Prince Regent, return thanks to all for such distinguished services, by which the lives of so many of his subjects have been saved, and those calamities softened, which were caused by the scourge of a destructive war. His Royal Highness will rejoice in being the sovereign of a people so loyal, patriotic, generous, and Christian.

It now only remains to complete the work, to promote the restoration of the fugitives to their homes, to render habitable the towns which the barbarism of these spoilers has left covered with filth, and unburied carcases; to relieve with medicine and food the sick who are perishing for want of such assistance; to give life to agriculture, by supplying the husbandman with seed-corn, as well as a little bread for his consumption for some time, and facilitating his means of purchasing cattle, and acquiring the instruments of agriculture.

Such have been and are the constant cares of the governors of the kingdom.

Portugueze! tribulations are the crucible in which the merit of men is purified. You have passed through this ordeal, and the result has been glorious. You are become a great nation,—a nation worthy of those heroic progenitors who illustrated the cradle of the monarchy. Preserve unalterable these sentiments; confide in your government, as your government confides in you; draw every day more closely the bonds of union

among yourselves, with other nations, and with our generous allies, who are our true brothers. Let one soul, one will, direct our common efforts; and if any one attempt to sow discord, let us tear from our bosom the venomous viper, and let us seal with his blood the ratification of our indissoluble alliance.

Practise these maxims with the same constancy with which you have hitherto followed them, and you will be invincible.

Palace of the Government,

March 3, 1811.

The Bishop Cardinal Elect.
P. Souza.
Charles Stuart.
Marquis Monteiro Mor.
Conde de Redondo.
R. Raimundo Nogueira.

The Council of Regency to the Spanish Nation, on the Anniversary of May 2.

That memorable day, Spaniards, on which the nation rose to the majesty of independence, from the depth of servitude and dismay, has now come round for the third time. What grand, but, at the same time, mournful recollections does not its return excite!

When Napoleon was issuing from Bayonne his decrees of blood —when, madly impatient, he was accusing Murat of remissness, for not precipitating the means of terror, he did not perceive that these atrocious counsels, recoiling upon the very iniquity which planned them, would be destructive to their treacherous agents. The second of May dawned; the French had fixed upon it for completing their murderous plots; and the people of Madrid, indignant at the outrages which they suffered, rose at once to revenge them, or to die. Ill armed, without plan, without chiefs, they did not hesitate a moment to attack those veteran battalions, formidable by their arms, their victories, and their union. The patriots died fighting nobly; or they perished by treachery, while thinking themselves protected by the truce which disarmed them. But the blood which was shed could not be confined to the Prado of the capital; it spread itself over the soil of the Peninsula; it every where excited enthusiasm; and at one and the same time, and with one voice, the signal was every where given for this rancorous, sanguinary, and desolating war, similar in all respects to the execrable aggression which gave it birth.

It was then said by our treacherous enemies, and their unworthy partizans, "How rash and unavailing your attempt! You have neither arms, magazines, nor soldiers; your generals and officers want experience and military knowledge; your poverty is great, your ignorance greater; you must lose every battle which you hazard against the most practised troops in the world; the war will disorganise, will ruin every thing; and your impotent efforts, instead of saving that shadow of a country which you adore, will plunge it in misery and desolation, and load it with much heavier chains, than those you now wish to escape."

Spaniards, you rejected with horror these vile suggestions, and

devoted yourselves to adversity, certain of shaking off ignominy by resistance, and by finally establishing, though at the expence of immense labours and numberless exertions, that independence and happiness to which you aspired. True it is, that the stupid tyranny to which you were previously subject had left you without mounds to oppose to the inundation. A furious sea broke in, and covered with its waves an unprotected country: but it must one day abandon it again; and the inundation, though now destructive (in like manner as the earth is fertilised by the conflagration of forests, or the ashes of volcanoes,) will deposit in our soil all the germs of prosperity and abundance.

What combats, what vicissitudes, what contrariety of events, have you not experienced during these three terrible years! Conquerors at first, then conquered; formidable again by the force which you opposed to your enemies; favoured by the war of Austria against the tyrant, but too soon deprived of that powerful assistance; condemned again to experience all the rigour of destiny, and reduced to extremity; threatened with the dissolution of empire by the separation of some distant provinces; yet always firm, always magnanimous; encountering adversity, without being overcome by it; forming new establishments amidst your very ruins, and dismaying the enemy by your ceaseless efforts.

If from this stormy and uncertain spectacle, impartial Europe and posterity turn their eyes to your political and civil march, how much will they see to compensate for your military misfortunes! What were you before the *second of May?* Grief to recollect it, and shame to utter it!—Slaves, bending under the yoke of tyranny; obeying, like a worthless herd, the empire of despotism and caprice. What are you now?—At the solemn voice of your representatives, in cortes assembled, the imperishable rights of the people are revived, which despotism had usurped; arbitrary government has disappeared, by three powers being no longer confounded in one; the political balance is re-established; the liberty of thought is secured by that of the press; the execution of justice is at this moment founding on the eternal basis of natural equity; and the constitution which is preparing for you, will be the keystone of that grand arch, on which the throne of the re-organized monarchy will be erected.

Thus, the Spaniard of the present day, dependent upon the law alone, inviolable in his person, his property, and the just freedom of his opinions; contributing to such taxes only as are imposed by the national congress; interposing by himself, or by persons enjoying his confidence, in the collection and application of such sacrifices; having all the paths of knowledge, of glory, and of fortune, opened to his activity and industry—marches proudly on the face of the earth, in no respect inferior to its potentates in social dignity. In vain will you search for his equal on the continent, where the iron rod of oppression holds men degraded, and where all are his inferiors. You must search for his

equals in that island alone, his generous ally and heroic compeer in this great contest; in that island, the happy sanctuary of liberty, the grand seat of laws, and the eternal model of human civilization!

Such is, such ought to be, the Spaniard under the reign of law. O you who live under its benign influence, convey yourselves in thought to the provinces oppressed by the enemy, and compare your situation with that of those who are there groaning in sorrow! Behold them tyrannized over by the chiefs, insulted by the subalterns, pillaged by the tax-gatherers; behold them harassed by spies, assailed by suspicions, ruined by accusations; without security, without confidence, without civil or political consideration. Then will you feel how much more the rapacity of tyrants costs than the defence of your country, and the preservation of good laws.

Whatever blessings social order confers upon man, these the Spanish citizen has either in prospect or in possession. One impediment alone prevents us from enjoying them in all their extent, and that impediment is war;—a war, just, necessary, unavoidable. Has it been declared by the pride or the private interests of a despot, by the caprice of a favourite, or through the exaggerated declamations of an ambitious demagogue? No! all Spaniards have voted it in a manner the most unanimous and solemn; all have hastened to revenge the greatest outrages which ever were offered to any nation; and to defend the first blessing of a great people—their independence. All the authorities which have been hitherto established—all the systems of government which have succeeded each other—have they not all been for maintaining the struggle? Has any one of them talked of peace?

Spaniards! you have demanded war; and the war is in the mean time a continual and painful series of dangers, of alarms, of fatigues, and of privations. But if individuals sink under the rigours of adversity, powerful nations never perish; and our's will know how to imitate the magnificent example of the 2d of May, as it has followed it hitherto without turning aside for a moment. Yes, Spaniards, since the 2d of May has again dawned upon our eyes, and finds us struggling with the same inflexibility as at first, let us, on it, proudly repeat to the slaves of Buonaparte, that the tyrant was most bitterly deceived in his calculations at Bayonne. The innocents sacrificed at Madrid could not plunge us into the stupor of terror. By them began a war which perhaps shall last for ages. Thousands upon thousands of warriors shall be immolated to our vengeance. What, though discipline and military skill may give them victories, their fate shall not, on that account, be better in this terrible country.—Conquerors, or conquered—to-day in small numbers, to-morrow in greater—as many as pass the Pyrenees shall, sooner or later, accompany the three hundred thousand victims whom we have already offered as a holocaust to the manes of those who fell on the 2d of May; and Spain, like the gulph of eternity, shall receive the French on her

bosom, and shall not permit one of them to escape from it.

Pedro de Agar, President.
M. J. Quintana, Sec.
Cadiz, May 2d.

From the Buenos Ayres Gazette, June 15, 1811.

Letter from his Excellency Lord Strangford to this most excellent Junta.

Most Excellent Senor,—I have received the letter of your excellency of the 24th of February, in which you inform me of the proceedings of General Elio, in interrupting the commerce of Buenos Ayres, and in which (after some observations on the supposed want of legitimate official authority on the part of that general) you beg me to communicate them to my government. On this point I will comply with your excellency's wishes; but I am convinced that I only anticipate the opinion of my court, when I assure you, that this communication will be received with the deepest regret, and will augment those painful feelings which must be inspired by the present unfortunate contest between Buenos Ayres and its dependencies.

The confidence which your excellency has placed in me, and the conviction that I shall acquire a new title to it by the proposal which I am about to submit to your consideration, encourage me to speak frankly and without reserve.

Your excellency, by constantly expressing a fixed determination to adhere to the common cause of the allies against France, to respect the authority and preserve the claims of your legitimate sovereign, have secured an undoubted right to the friendship and good offices of Great Britain, founded on a basis much more solid and extensive, than that of the advantages and concessions which you have so liberally and wisely granted to its subjects.

But it is nevertheless to be lamented, that while these principles deserve every applause, their practical results have hitherto so little corresponded to their tenour; and that, in a crisis which requires united efforts and undivided energy, the power of the confederation formed against France should be weakened by the failure of those resources, which might rationally be expected from those who are in no small degree interested in the event of the struggle, but who, unhappily, cannot contribute to its fortunate issue, because they are plunged in all the evils of civil dissension.

Your excellency knows too well the scrupulous good faith of the court of London, the sacred ties which connect it with Spain, and the great and universally important object of their mutual alliance, to believe, that Great Britain, without violating that faith, sacrificing those obligations, and abandoning those objects, can lend the sanction of her approbation to measures productive of dissension between the component parts of a coalition, the happy issue of which depends upon a cordial co-operation and good understanding among all its constituent members.

But though it is thus impossible for Great Britain to act in oppo-

sition to her obligations, and the interests of the just cause which she supports, the just claims which your excellency has to her friendship, inspire her with a sincere desire to become instrumental to your happiness and prosperity in the only way in which she can at present promote these objects.

I therefore take upon me to offer to your excellency, in the most ample manner, the good offices and friendly interpositions of the English government, for the purpose of facilitating an amicable settlement of the differences which at present subsist between the Spaniards of both hemispheres, and delivering them from the greatest of all calamities — civil discord, as the origin of their ruin, and of the greatest danger to the common cause.

I offer this mediation to your excellency in the firm confidence that it will be undertaken with promptness by the English government, and in the knowledge of what has been already proposed and accepted by other parts of the Spanish monarchy, which were in circumstances similar to those in which Buenos Ayres is now placed.

I beg your excellency clearly to understand, that the proposal which I make does not involve any disposition on the part of my court to interpose in the political affairs of the Spanish monarchy, or to support any system inconsistent with liberality and justice, and with the permanent prosperity of Spanish America.

It does not appear possible, that your excellency can confide your cause in better hands than those of England. Every motive of interest and of policy unites in declaring, that the prosperity of Beunos Ayres must be to us an object of importance; and this consideration, founded on identity of interests, is calculated to produce the most unlimited confidence on the part of your excellency.

Should the proposal which I have had the honour to make be adopted by your excellency, I would suggest as the first step to its actual execution, the adoption of measures for an armistice between your excellency and General Elio; nothing can be more simple than such a negociation: the withdrawal of your excellency's troops on the one side, and the cessation of the blockade on the other, would be just measures of mutual concession. It might be stipulated, that this armistice should last till the final adjustment, under the friendly mediation of Great Britain, of the points at present in discussion between the government of Buenos Ayres and that of Spain.

A proposition of this nature, so analogous to the moderation which has characterised the commencement of your excellency's proceedings, would cover Buenos Ayres with honour; and even should it be rejected, the very fact of having made so equitable an offer would prove, that you had left no means untried to avert the calamities of civil war, while the party that refused to accede to so just a measure would be in a great degree responsible for them.

Your excellency cannot fail to perceive the various immediate

advantages which would result from this proposal. The restoration of commerce would instantly follow,—the termination of the difficulties under which British agents have laboured in this part of the world,—and the removal of every disposition to interfere in the affairs of Spanish America, which may have been felt by any other states under the influence of the jealousies excited by the military movements and political proceedings of its neighbours.

I think it proper to apprize your excellency, that I have also written to General Elio on the subject to which this letter relates, and that I have laboured to produce in him a disposition, corresponding to that which I confidently hope and believe is felt by your excellency.

I conclude by again requesting your excellency's attention to the proposition which I have had the honour to make; and that you will favour me with your sentiments upon it, as soon as you conveniently can; and to believe that I am solely actuated by a sincere desire for your peace and prosperity, and for the prosperous issue of the just contest in which we are equally engaged, and in which we cannot hope to conquer if we are divided among ourselves.

I have the honour, &c.

Strangford.

Answer of the Junta of Buenos Ayres to the Letter of Lord Strangford.

Most Excellent Senor,—The junta has received by Captain Heywood, of the navy, the confidential letter addressed to them by your excellency, acknowledging the receipt of their's of the 24th of February. It is not difficult to discover the reasons of your excellency's silence on the most material part of its contents, nor of your answer to the last, dated March 6th, even had it not been ascertained by other channels, that your excellency, acknowledging these ports to be in a state of blockade, even to ships of your own nation, chose rather to give a silent refusal, notwithstanding the reasons in opposition to it.

This unexpected event, and the great exertions of Admiral de Courcy to free the British flag from the obstructions put many months before, by the government of Monte Video, to the freedom of these ports, present to us a very mortifying contrast. The junta can assign no cause for this retrograde movement, unless it form part of the plan of the British government to adopt no measures that may tend to disunite America from Spain. The junta, however, cannot reconcile such inconsistent projects. It is certain that the commercial prospects of Great Britain and America have nothing to do with this disunion.

If Spain should ever renounce her system of exclusion with respect to America, it is time for her to know, that in the state of insignificance in which she is, her true interest consists in soliciting England to approach these sources whence she may supply that strength which she has exhausted for the interest of Spain, and be enabled to clothe a people left naked by Spanish tyranny; at least,

in this way, she might have acquired an idea of gratitude and justice; but she chooses rather to be deficient on this score, than to renounce exclusive rights, to which she believes herself to be entitled to all eternity, declaring imperiously, by her emissary General Elio, these ports to be in a state of blockade, and issuing express orders to annihilate the British commerce in this quarter. While she cannot reconcile such conduct with her declaration of attachment to Great Britain, her ally, she gives the highest offence to the colonies, who, as subject to the same king, have an equal right with Gallicia, the Asturias, and Catalonia, to a direct intercourse with the nation that affords them protection. These reasons are of weight sufficient to convince the junta, that without any violation of the good faith pledged to Spain, and without a breach of any positive agreement, the court of London may resist the blockade which General Elio has imposed upon British ships.

Your excellency observes, that it is a matter of regret, that in the present crisis, the power of the confederacy against France should be weakened for want of resources. The junta is of opinion, that to avoid the mischiefs of which your excellency speaks, and not to come to a state of the greatest weakness, the most effectual way is, not to place the resources of America in the hands of Spain, but make them pass to England, by means of an open and unrestricted commerce.

The world is not ignorant how incapable Spain is to employ her public funds with economy, as well as to direct her armies, because she has already dilapidated the supplies remitted from America for her defence. Such contributions of loyalty and of honour ought to have been kept sacred; the proper disposal of them was pointed out by her necessities, and the intention of those who granted them. Notwithstanding this, no consideration was sufficient to limit the prodigality and covetousness of the Spanish administrations; and the question is now asked with astonishment, what has become of such funds, sufficient to support for so many years the expences of the armies?

These provinces profess entire fidelity to Ferdinand the Seventh; they only wish to direct their own affairs themselves, and without the hazard of exposing their means to the rapacity of unfaithful hands; they promise to enter into the coalition against the tyrant, so long as their civil independence is acknowledged. Here your excellency will observe a means of strengthening the power of the confederation towards a final success, much more secure and conformable to the principles of equity, than by threatening us with punishments and blockades, into subordination which no person has a right to require.

Your excellency may be firmly assured, that the blockade imposed by General Elio is more prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain, and to Spain herself, than it is to us. If the scrupulous considerations of your nation carry it to dissemble such aggressions, the junta cannot propose to

the people such a species of humiliation. They can perceive in the people nothing else than a determination to resist the audacious attempts of a chief, who, without any other authority than a simple letter from the Secretary Bardaxi, his relation, exhibits himself a hostile viceroy. It was this circumstance which hastened the aversion they previously bore in their minds, and made the people of the eastern province take up arms. They demanded assistance from this junta, and they have confined their aggressions to investing the walls of Monte Video.

In this state of things, the armistice which the conciliating disposition of your excellency proposes, can produce no other effects than to frustrate an enterprise already far advanced; to expose the safety of many patriots to the vengeance of Elio; to excite an universal convulsion among the provinces, and the abandonment of our expectation to fluctuating opinion. This would surely be to act against the principles of our institution, and to raise again the colonial system which our hands destroyed. This junta entertain too high an idea of the penetration of your excellency, to attribute your proposal to any other motive than an unacquaintance with occurrences which are obscured by distance.

In respect to the mediation which your excellency has proposed to remove the differences which subsist between these States and the Peninsula, nothing could be more satisfactory to this junta than to place their cause in hands so faithful and generous as those of the British cabinet. The good faith which characterizes it, and the identity of its interests with ours, are circumstances which assure us of its fidelity. But the junta cannot discover reasons to authorize them at present to avail themselves of such mediation.

The Peninsula is no more than a part of the Spanish monarchy, and that so maimed, that it would be no small concession to put it upon an equality with America. It, therefore, follows from this principle, that the Peninsula cannot hold any authority over America, nor this over that. Were the English cabinet to act the part of an impartial mediator, it would be a precise acknowledgment of the independence of the two States. On the other hand, were the British cabinet possessed of an idea of our inferiority, it would not be surprising that the result of a negotiation would be to grant us much less by way of favour than we deserve in justice. Therefore, until we can know the opinion of the British nation, all ulterior proceedings should be suspended.

In addition, your excellency combines your mediation with the armistice: and, should a negotiation take place, General Elio would continue to hold all the authority of viceroy, wherewith he is invested by the junta of Cadiz, at least in that place which he now occupies; but this would involve a contradiction in principles: Elio, and the illegitimate power from which he derives his authority, would remain triumphant over our rights before the termination of the dispute.

The unlimited confidence which

this junta has in the pure intentions of your excellency, convinces us that you have no other object in view than to unite the political ties which subsist in common betwixt both nations; but your excellency may rest assured, that if the state of our negotiations do not permit us to adhere to them, our friendship towards Great Britain shall not be less firm, nor our consideration of your excellency less high.

God preserve your excellency many years.

The Members of the Junta.
Buenos Ayres, May 18th, 1811.

To his Excellency
Lord Strangford, &c.

Decree of the Spanish Cortes with regard to Seigniories, August 5th.

The general and extraordinary cortes of the kingdom, desirous of removing the obstacles which may have been opposed to the good government, increase of population, and prosperity of the Spanish monarchy, decree :—

1. That henceforth all jurisdictional seigniories, of whatever class and condition, shall be incorporated with the nation.

2. The appointment of all magistrates, and other public functionaries, shall be proceeded in, by the same orders, and in the same manner, as in the townships of royal jurisdiction.

3. All public employments of the above description remain suppressed after the publication of the present decree.

4. The words vassal and vassalage are abolished; and all payments, whether real or personal, which owe their origin to a jurisdictional title, with the exception of those that proceed from free contract in the exercise of the sacred rights of property.

5. The territorial seigniories remain henceforward in the class of other rights attached to private property, if not of such a description, that, by their nature, they ought to be incorporated with the nation.

6. All contracts, bargains, and agreements, which have been made in regard to rents, dues, &c. between those called lords and vassals, shall be considered as contracts between one individual and another.

7. The privileges called exclusive, privative, and prohibitive, and having the same origin as seigniories, such as those of the chase, of fishing, of ovens, mills, water-courses, forests, &c. are abolished; the free use of them remaining to the inhabitants, in conformity to the municipal laws established in every township.

8. Those who have purchased the above prerogatives for a valuable consideration, shall be repaid such capital as appears in the deed of purchase; and those who enjoy them as a reward for great and acknowledged services, shall be indemnified in another way.

9. The nation will acknowledge and pay these capital sums when they are ascertained in the proper courts, and will pay an interest of 3 per cent. upon them, till the capital is liquidated.

10. At whatever time the possessors shall present their claims, they shall be heard, and the nation will be bound by the result

of them, as is specified in the preceding article.

11. Henceforward no one can call himself lord of vassals, exercise jurisdiction, appoint judges, or exercise any of the claims and privileges comprehended in the present decree; and he who does so, shall lose the right of indemnification in the cases that have been specified.

The present decree shall be communicated to the Council of Regency, who shall take the necessary measures for its due execution, causing the same to be printed and circulated.

Note transmitted by the Honourable Henry Wellesley, the English Minister, to Don Eusebio de Bardaxi y Azara, first Secretary of State.

"Most Excellent Sir,—I have hitherto abstained from calling the attention of the Spanish government to the rumours and writings which have for some time been circulated in Cadiz, in the belief that my forbearance and moderation might disarm those who have endeavoured to weaken the bonds of friendship and confidence, which so happily, and with so many advantages to the cause, have hitherto subsisted between Great Britain and Spain. But the papers that have been published, as well as the reports that have been circulated, have at length become so injurious to the British good name and character, and so adapted to promote the interest of the enemy, and sow dissensions between the allied nations, that I should be wanting to the duties of my charge, and to all the sentiments of an Englishman, anxious for the happy issue of this glorious and interesting cause, if I could look with indifference on the unjust and unfounded calumnies which are daily accumulated against my country.

"To give a specimen of the terms in which these assertions are conveyed, and which originate, as it appears to me, from a certain class of persons, I think it will be sufficient to request your excellency to read the subjoined paper, in which are imputed to my sovereign, to his government, and to the British nation, intentions destitute of honour and justice, and of good faith, and entirely subversive of all the principles upon which Great Britain has come forward to aid the cause of the Spanish nation. But the complaints and imputations contained in this paper, relative to the conduct of Great Britain, rumours noticed in the month of March last, are again revived,—that the Spanish provinces bordering on Portugal were placed under the military command of Lord Wellington; that the Spanish army was to be placed under English officers; and, in a word, withdrawn from subordination to the Spanish military authorities, in order to form an army truly British. To the British government is also attributed the design of sending to Cadiz a reinforcement of troops, sufficient to take possession of this city and island, and retain it in the name and possession of his Britannic Majesty.

"Considering the sacrifices which Great Britain has made in

support of the Spanish cause; considering her repeated declarations of the conduct which she has resolved to observe with respect to the Spanish colonies, some of which have been published in the gazette of the regency; considering the decisive proof which she has just given of her disinterested views, by offering her mediation between Spain and the colonies which have refused to acknowledge the authority of the mother country; I ought to be far from being under the necessity to refute charges such as those contained in this paper. In fact, it was necessary that we should find ourselves in a situation so critical as that in which we are reduced to the narrow bounds of this place, the salvation of which depends on harmony and good understanding, so indispenable at all times, but especially at this critical moment, to consent to suffer the humiliation of vindicating the honour of my country, attacked as it has been by publications, the malignant tendency of which is sufficiently apparent. Desirous, however, to preserve, without the least alteration, the sentiments of respect and esteem with which the two nations are mutually animated, I consider myself as under an obligation to deny, in the most positive and solemn manner, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, that of his government, and that of the whole British nation, all the imputation of views of aggrandizement, or territorial acquisition, either in Europe or America, at the expence of the Spanish nation. With the same positiveness, I deny that there is any foundation for the interpretation given to the notes which I presented in the month of March last, suggesting that the Spanish provinces on the borders of Portugal should be placed under the temporary authority of Lord Wellington; as by this no more was intended than to authorize him to derive from them the military supplies which they were capable of furnishing. I, in like manner, solemnly affirm, that neither my sovereign nor his government had any intention to render themselves masters of Cadiz; and that if any reinforcements were sent to this city, it was solely and exclusively in order to contribute to the defence of this important position, and preserve it to the crown of Spain.

"Lastly, I repeat what on many occasions I have declared to your excellency, that Great Britain, in taking part in this contest, had no other view, than to assist the glorious efforts of the Spanish nation to recover its liberty and independence; and that she persevered in it without any idea of her own aggrandizement, or any exclusive advantage which she might derive from the unfortunate circumstances to which the Spanish nation has been reduced; but solely to contribute to the expulsion of the enemy, and the re-establishment of the integrity and independence of the Spanish monarchy.

"In conclusion, most excellent sir, I earnestly entreat your excellency will be pleased to present, with the least possible delay, this note to the Council of Regency; and I think myself obliged to demand from the Spanish government, that all proper publi-

city may be given to it, in order to prevent the serious consequences which must inevitably result, should the Spanish nation once conceive the intentions of the English nation to be such as the injurious suspicions which the rumours and writings circulated throughout this city are calculated to inspire.

"I have the honour to reiterate to your excellency the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

(Signed) "H. WELLESLEY."

To his Excellency Senor Don Eusebio de Bardaxi y Azara.

Answer.

"Sir,

"Without loss of time, I presented to the council of regency the note which your excellency was pleased to transmit to me on the 5th instant, as well as a copy of the paper lately printed and published in this city. His excellency, fully impressed with what your excellency has been pleased to state concerning the malicious rumours which have been for some time so industriously circulated in these parts, has ordered me above all things to declare, that, believing himself as much interested as your excellency in discrediting reports and writings which can in the least degree offend the respect and decorum due to his Britannic Majesty, his government, and the English nation, he will most willingly hasten to publish the note of your excellency, with this reply; well persuaded that their publication cannot fail to undeceive the incautious, who have allowed themselves to be seduced by people who intend to destroy the friendship and amity which happily, and without the least interruption, subsists between the two allied nations; and without which, neither union nor concord can subsist between their respective governments.

"In regard to the imputations to which your excellency refers in your note, considering them as injurious to the august sovereign as to the government of the British nation, they cannot certainly be attributed to the generality of the inhabitants of Cadiz,—of this bulwark of Spanish independence,—much less to the nation in general, which has given so many proofs of its gratitude for the generous assistance of Great Britain. They can, therefore, have their origin only in the imagination of some individuals, who, influenced by the enemy, or carried away by the desire of being singular in their opinions and writings, aspire at an ephemeral celebrity, to which they sacrifice the most sacred interests of their country, which they do not know, or prefer to their own.

"Fortunately, the number of persons engaged in introducing mistrust between the two allied nations is very limited, and so very inferior to those who properly appreciate the generous efforts of Great Britain in the present contest, that they can never obtain the end which they have proposed; but rather, on the contrary, the artifice employed by the enemy to sow discord being once known, as well as the instruments made use of, both will be included in the execration of all good Spa-

niards, who, without dispute, constitute the greater part of those who compose this vast monarchy.

"Nothing proves so much what I have stated, as the injurious suspicions which accompany the reports and rumours spread respecting the pretended occupation of Cadiz by the troops of his Britannic majesty, to which the French have contributed from the first day they presented themselves before this place, for the purpose of introducing discord, and producing mistrust in the minds of its inhabitants. The object of this imposture being known, it will not be difficult to comprehend the views of those who are so eager in circulating and giving credit to them; but the public, in reading the concluding expressions of your excellency on this point, and well persuaded before, that the two governments cannot do less than agree in respect to the number of troops necessary for the defence of so important a position, will remain tranquil in the confidence with which the government must inspire them, and in the good faith of the British cabinet.

"The same council of regency has more than once been the mark of calumnies, more or less injurious, both in words and writings; but certain of its rectitude of conduct, and that nothing could be attached with the least foundation, contrary to the decorum and dignity of its representation; thoroughly satisfied that it has its support in the opinion of the good, his excellency has in consequence charged me to inform your excellency, that the Spanish nation, as well as its government, far from paying attention to the insidious remarks with which the enemy has continually endeavoured to dissolve the firm bonds which unite the two powers, are completely convinced that nothing but the combined efforts of both can bring to a glorious conclusion the arduous enterprise for which they have fought; and they are therefore penetrated with the just gratitude they owe Great Britain, for the lively interest with which, from the commencement of the war, it has protected and assisted Spain in defence of its king and political independence.

"The expressions contained in this reply, and the sincere protestation, that the council of regency ardently desires, as your excellency must know, to every day draw closer the relations of friendship and reciprocal confidence between both nations, will, without doubt, suffice to calm the inquietude which momentarily was excited in the mind of your excellency by the rumours and writings which gave occasion to your excellency's note; and at the same time, I flatter myself, will ensure the continuation of the aids which the painful situation of Spain renders so indispensable, in order to happily conclude the heroic contest in which it is engaged, and whose success must necessarily be promoted through the united efforts of the two united nations. I reiterate to your excellency my great esteem and consideration. God preserve your excellency many years.

"Eusebio de Bardaxi y Azara."

Cadiz, August 7th.

Translation of a Letter from the original Latin, into English, of the Catholic Bishops of North America, to the Catholic Bishops of Ireland.

" To the most Illustrious and Reverend Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, the Archbishops of the United States of America send greeting in the Lord.

" We have received, venerable brethren, with gratitude, and with the respect which is due to your distinguished merit, the letter dated February 26, which you addressed to the Bishops of the whole Catholic Church.

" We are resolved, with the Divine assistance, to preserve the unity of the Church of Christ, and to assert and defend that authority of the Holy See, and primacy of honour and jurisdiction, which the chief Pontiff is possessed of, and which are essential to the maintenance of this unity. We are equally led by sentiment and by duty to profess our fidelity and obedience to Pope Pius VII. who now holds that supreme station. We adhere, like members to their head, to this incomparable Pontiff; and since, as St. Paul says, " When one member suffers, the other members partake in the pain," how much more sensibly must we feel the bitter affliction of this our spiritual head!

" We lament, in common with you, venerable brethren, and we are animated with a pious indignation at the idea of ' a Reverend Ancient being turned out of his house, and driven from his country; of our innocent bishop being cruelly oppressed; of the head of the church being stripped of his patrimony, and of a most meritorious Pope being overwhelmed with contumelies.' It is our duty to confess, that we, in particular, are under the greatest obligation to the venerable Pius VII; since it is owing to his wise and apostolical conduct that this portion of the Lord's flock, situated in the United States of America, has been formed into a regular ecclesiastical province, consisting of the Archbishop of Baltimore, and of our suffragan Bishops.

" We firmly trust in the Lord, that the same invincible fortitude which shone forth in Pius VI. of happy memory, will at all times be equally conspicuous in his successor, Pius VII.; and we have not the smallest doubt that he will continue to exhibit, for the consolation of the church, that invincible firmness in bearing afflictions, which he has hitherto manifested, whatever may become his duty to pronounce, to transact, or to endure.

" In the mean time, we declare before God, that we will respectfully listen to the admonitions of the Holy Father, notwithstanding his incapacity; and that we will yield a cheerful submission to his directions and ordinances, provided they bear the proper and genuine characters of the voice of Peter, and of the real intentions and authority of the Supreme Pontiff. But we shall not think ourselves bound by any briefs, or other documents of any kind, which may be circulated in his name, and under his alleged authority, unless the least apprehension of his not enjoying full and perfect liberty in deliberating and

resolving shall be removed from our minds.

"And should the Chief Pontiff depart this life (which God forbid should happen in the present perilous state of the church,) we, no less than you, venerable brethren, are fully persuaded, that God will not be wanting to his church, which, though it should even for a considerable time be deprived of its Chief Pastor here on earth, would be exposed to less mischief than if any person by force or terror were to place himself in the chair of Peter, and thus the mystical body of Christ was to be torn in pieces by fatal schisms. Hence we are resolved to instruct the flock committed to our care to acknowledge no person as the true and genuine successor, but him whom the far greater part of the bishops of the whole world, and whole Catholic people in a manner, shall acknowledge as such.

"If we, who are hardly yet known among the Christian churches, thus venture to declare ourselves to you, our venerable brethren, it is in consequence of your sending to us, in common with the other bishops of the Catholic world, your late energetical letter; for it would be highly unbecoming of us not to acknowledge this high mark of esteem in which you hold us. As to yourselves, you are seated in those episcopal sees, which have been illustrated through a long series of ages by the virtues of the holy prelates, your predecessors in them. In imitation of them, you conduct the people entrusted to you, by example as well as instruction, in the ancient and true faith, and in sincere piety; and together with them you exhibit, in defiance of all human artifice, fraud, and violence, a rare and perhaps singular instance of invincible fortitude in preserving and fostering the Catholic faith.

"We humbly commend ourselves to your prayers; and we earnestly beseech God to shew favour to your country, to your churches, and each one of yourselves.

"Fare ye well, most Illustrious and Reverend Prelates.

"JOHN, Archbishop of Baltimore.

"LEONARD, Bishop of Gertyra, Co-adjutor of the Bishop of Baltimore.

"F. R. MICHAEL, Bishop of Philadelphia.

"JOHN, Bishop of Boston.

"BENEDICT, Bishop of Bradstown."

Baltimore, Sept. 10, 1811.

Speech delivered by his Majesty the Emperor, at the opening of the Diet of Hungary.

"Employed incessantly, and with paternal solicitude, about the means of establishing a system of finance, which may be advantageous to the state, and in accordance with the interests of our faithful subjects; wishing to establish upon that basis, the measures which we adopt for consolidating public credit, and procuring for ourselves funds which may cover the wants of the monarchy, —we have called you together, faithful states of our kingdom of Hungary, in whom we place the greatest confidence, for the pur-

pose of deliberating together on this great and salutary object. We do not conceal from you, that the sacrifices which it will be necessary to make on the altar of the country are considerable; but every one knows, from the examples of times past, that what is great in itself can alone produce great effects; that the strength, the liberty, and even the existence of a nation, are only to be acquired and perpetuated by sacrifices of considerable amount. Our paternal heart experiences, however, very sensible pain in being forced, by the most imperious necessity, to demand from our dear Hungarian people a powerful aid, by contributing with generosity to the welfare of the state. But we feel an entire conviction, that our faithful states, listening only to the zeal which they have inherited from their forefathers, and to that love of country to which no sacrifice is too costly, will adopt, in order to second our paternal intentions, the only object of which is the universal welfare of the nations which Providence has entrusted to us, measures which shall be adequate to the state of the royal dignity, to the glory, the celebrity, and the grandeur of the monarchy; and thus to that of our well-beloved Hungarian people, which is in effect contributing to the welfare of individuals, and the general prosperity.

We are the more inclined to expect from you favourable arrangements for the execution of our paternal plans, upon which, as you know, depend not only the happiness of the Hungarians, but also the maintenance of their constitution; inasmuch as we witnessed the zeal which you displayed in the late wars which we supported, when you exerted all your efforts to avert the dangers which threatened our empire, with which was so closely connected the peril of the Hungarian monarchy. We have, therefore, from the first, reckoned upon the efficacious cooperation of the States of Hungary for the re-establishment of our finances. All our views tend only to the general good, without which, the prosperity of individuals is illusory; but we mean not to demand of the States any thing more than is required by an indispensable necessity.

In fine, we doubt not that you yourselves are fully persuaded, that the aids which we ask will be employed solely for the good of our people, and, especially, of the Hungarian nation; and that, this great and difficult object being terminated, we have it extremely at heart, to confer with our States about matters connected with the internal administration of the kingdom. Moreover, the faithful States whom we assure of our imperial and royal good-will, shall learn our intentions more in detail from the propositions which we shall transmit to them.

Lisbon, October 28th.

Royal Edict.

It having been represented to the Prince Regent, our Lord, that many persons, forgetful that the defence of their country is a sacred duty dictated by reason and nature, resort to all means in order

to escape from the recruiting service, even retiring from this kingdom in vessels which leave its ports, on board which they are admitted without the necessary passports, or with such passports as are inconsiderately given to them, notwithstanding the laws and proclamations which have repeatedly prohibited the same; and his Royal Highness being desirous of preventing such a shameful and pernicious abuse, particularly at a moment when the greatest efforts are necessary to repel and frustrate the attempts of the common enemy:

He has thought fit, in conformity to the regulation of the 9th of January, 1792, to direct, that during the continuance of the present war, the edicts of the 6th of September, 1645, of the 8th of February, the 4th of July, and the 5th of September, 1646, and of the 6th of December, 1660, be strictly and entirely observed; and he has resolved in consequence,

1st. That no minister resident in this capital, or in the provinces, shall grant passports to leave the kingdom; and that persons who claim them shall apply only to his Royal Highness, through his secretaries of state for foreign affairs and for war, or for the naval service, conformably to every such applicant's situation in life.

2. That all and every person, a subject of this kingdom, who leaves it without a passport from one or other of the above secretaries of state, shall incur the punishment of denaturalization, and the loss of his property and honours; the simple fact of departure sufficing to incur such pains, without any sentence or declaration whatever.

3. That the captains and masters of Portugueze vessels shall be bound to make declaration on oath, that the individuals named in their respective ship lists really belong to their crew, under a penalty of 200,000 reis.

4. That the consuls of foreign nations oblige the captains of foreign ships to give security that they will not carry away natives of this kingdom without passports from the above secretaries of state; and that a copy of the present edict shall be sent to each of the said consuls, signed by the intendant-general of police.

5. Lastly, that the masters of foreign ships, who carry out any Portugueze without the above-mentioned passport, shall be liable to a fine of 1000 cruzadoes, to be paid into the exchequer; that the boatmen who take them on board the said ships, below the tower of Belem, shall be condemned to the loss of their boats, sails, &c. for a period of two years: and, that no one may plead ignorance of the present edict, it shall be published by the intendant of police, both in this capital and in the provinces; the said intendant being charged with the execution of the same, as well as all the civil and military authorities in their several departments.

Signed by the Four Lords
Governors of the kingdom.

Palace of Government,
Oct. 10th, 1811.

The Declaration of Rights of the Provinces of the Caraccas.

The supreme congress of Vene-

zuela, in its legislative session for the province of Caraccas, taking into consideration that to the neglect and disregard of the rights of man, which have hitherto prevailed, must be ascribed all those evils which this people have endured for three centuries past; and actuated by the desire of re-establishing those sacred principles on a solid basis, has resolved, in obedience to the general will, to declare, and doth now solemnly declare, in the presence of the universe, these rights inalienable; to the end that every citizen may, at all times compare the acts of the government with the purposes of the social institutions; that the magistrate may never lose sight of the rules by which his conduct must be regulated; and that the legislator may in no case mistake the objects of the trust committed to him.

Sovereignty of the People.

1. The sovereignty resides in the people, and the exercise of it in the citizens, by the medium of the right of suffrage, and through the agency of their representatives legally constituted.

2. Sovereignty is by its essence and nature imprescriptible, inalienable, and indivisible.

3. A portion only of the citizens, even with the right of suffrage, cannot exercise the sovereignty; every individual ought to participate by his vote in the formation of the body which is to represent the sovereign authority; because all have a right to express their will with full and entire liberty. This principle alone can render the constitution of their government legitimate and just.

4. Any individual, corporate body, or city, which attempts to usurp the sovereignty, incurs the crime of treason against the people.

5. The public functionaries shall hold their offices for a definite period of time, and the investiture with a public function shall not attach any other importance or influence than what they acquire in the opinion of their fellow-citizens, by the virtues they may exercise whilst occupied in the service of the republic.

6. Crimes committed by the representatives and agents of the republic shall not be passed over with impunity; because no individual has a right to become more inviolable than another.

7. The law shall be equal for all, to punish crimes, and to reward virtues, without distinction of birth or hereditary pretensions.

Rights of Man in Society.

1. The purpose of society is the common happiness of the people, and government is instituted to secure it.

2. The felicity of the people consists in the enjoyment of liberty, security, property, and equality of rights, in the presence of the law.

3. The law is formed by the free and solemn expression of the general will, declared by agents whom the people elect to represent their will.

4. The right to declare their thoughts and opinions, through the medium of the press, is unrestrained and free, under responsibility to the law for any violation of the public tranquillity, the religious opinions, property, and honour of the citizen.

5. The object of the law is to regulate the manner in which the citizens ought to act upon occasions, when reason requires that they should conduct themselves, not merely by their individual judgment and will, but by a common rule.

6. When a citizen submits his actions to a law which his judgment does not approve, he does not surrender his right nor his reason, but obeys the law because he should not be influenced by his own private judgment against the general will to which he ought to conform. Thus the law does not exact the sacrifice of reason, nor the liberty of those who do not approve it, because it never makes an attempt upon liberty, unless where the latter violates social order, or swerves from those principles which determine that all shall be governed by one common rule or law.

7. Every citizen cannot hold an equal power in the formation of the law, because all do not equally contribute to the preservation of the state, to the security and tranquillity of society.

8. The citizens shall be ranged in two classes; the one with the right of suffrage, the other without it.

9. Those possessing the right of suffrage are such as are established in the territory of Venezuela, of whatever nation they may be, and they alone constitute sovereignty.

10. Those not entitled to the right of suffrage are such as have no certain place of residence; those without property, which is the support of society. This class, nevertheless, enjoys the benefits of the law, and its protection, in as full a measure as the other, but without participating in the right of suffrage.

11. No individual can be accused, arrested, or confined, unless in cases explicitly pointed out by law.

12. Every act exercised against a citizen, without the formalities of the law, is arbitrary and tyrannical.

13. Any magistrate who decrees or causes any arbitrary act to be executed, shall be punished with the severity the law prescribes.

14. The law shall protect public and individual liberty against oppression and tyranny.

15. Every citizen is to be regarded as innocent, until he shall have been proved culpable. If it become necessary to secure his person, unnecessary rigour for the purpose shall be repressed by law.

16. No person shall be sentenced or punished without a legal trial, in virtue of a law promulgated previously to the offence. Any law which punishes crimes committed previous to its existence, is tyrannical. A retroactive effect assumed by the law is a crime.

17. The law shall not decree any punishment not absolutely necessary, and that shall be proportionate to the crime, and useful to society.

18. Security consists in the protection afforded by society to each of its members, for the preservation of his person, his rights, and his property.

19. Every individual possesses the right to acquire property, and

to dispose of it at will, unless his will be contrary to a previous compact, or to law.

20. No kind of labour, art, industry, or commerce, shall be prohibited to any citizen, save only such establishments as may be required for the subsistence of the state.

21. No one can be deprived of the least portion of his property without his consent, except when the public necessity requires it, and then under the condition of a just compensation. No contribution can be required and established, unless for the general utility. Every citizen entitled to suffrage, has the right, through the medium of his representatives, to advise and consult on the establishment of contributions, to watch over their application, and to require an account of the same from those he has elected as his representatives.

22. The liberty of claiming one's rights, in the presence of the depositories of the public authority, in no case can be withheld, nor confined to any particular citizen.

23. There is individual oppression, when one member of society is oppressed; there is also the oppression of a number, when the social body is oppressed. In these cases the laws are violated, and the citizens have a right to demand the observance of the laws.

24. The house of every citizen is an inviolable asylum. No one has a right to enter it violently; except in cases of conflagration, deluge, or application proceeding from the same house; or for objects of criminal proceedings in the cases and with the essentials determined by law, and under the responsibility of the constituted authorities who have issued the decree. Domiciliary visits, and civil executions, shall take place only in open day, in virtue of the law, and with respect to the person and object expressly pointed out in the act authorising such visitation and execution.

25. Every foreigner, of whatever nation he may be, shall be received and admitted into the state of Venezuela.

26. The persons and properties of foreigners shall enjoy the same security as the native citizens, provided always that they acknowledge the sovereignty and independence, and respect the Catholic religion, the only one in this country.

27. The foreigners who reside in the state of the Caraccas, becoming naturalized and holding property, shall enjoy all the rights of citizenship.

Duties of Man in Society.

1. The rights of others, in relation to each individual, have their limit in the moral principle which determines their duties, the fulfilment whereof is the necessary effect of the respect due to the rights of each of the individuals. Their basis are these maxims:—"Render to others the good which you would they should render unto you." "Do not unto another that which you do not wish to be done unto you."

2. The duties of every individual with respect to society, are; to live in absolute submission to the laws—to obey and respect the legal acts of the constituted au-

thorities—to maintain liberty and equality—to contribute to the public expences—to serve the country in all its exigencies—and, if it becomes necessary, to render to it the sacrifice of property and life; in the exercise of these virtues consists genuine patriotism.

3. Whoever openly does violence to the laws—whoever endeavours to elude them—declares himself an enemy to society.

4. No one can be a good citizen, unless he be a good parent, a good son, a good brother, a good friend, and a good husband.

5. No man can be a man of worth, unless he be a candid, faithful, and religious observer of the laws; the exercise of private and domestic virtues is the basis of public virtue.

Duties of the Social Body.

1. The duty of society with respect to its individual members is the social guarantee. This consists in the obligation on the whole to secure to every individual the enjoyment and preservation of his rights, which is the foundation of the national sovereignty.

2. The social guarantee cannot exist, unless the law clearly determines the bounds of the powers vested in the functionaries; nor when the responsibility of the public functionaries has not been expressly determined and defined.

3. Public succour is a sacred duty of society; it ought to provide for the subsistence of unfortunate citizens, either by insuring employment to those who are capable, or by affording the means of support to such as are unfit for labour.

Declaration of Independence of the Province of Venezuela.

In the Name of the Most High.

We, the representatives of the federal provinces of Caraccas, Cumana, Barinas, Mergalta, Barcelona, Merida, and Truxillo, constituting the confederation of Venezuela, on the southern continent of America, in congress assembled; considering, that we have been in the full entire possession of our natural rights since the 19th of April, 1810, which we re-assumed in consequence of the transaction at Bayonne, the abdication of the Spanish throne, by the conquest of Spain, and the accession of a new dynasty, established without our consent: while we avail ourselves of the rights of men, which have been held from us by force for more than three centuries, and to which we are restored by the political revolutions in human affairs, think it becoming to state to the world the reasons by which we are called to the free exercise of the sovereign authority.

We deem it unnecessary to insist upon the unquestionable right which every conquered country holds to restore itself to liberty and independence: we pass over, in a generous silence, the long series of afflictions, oppressions, and privations, in which the fatal law of conquest has indiscriminately involved the discoverers, conquerors, and settlers, of these countries; whose condition has been made wretched by the very means which should have promoted their felicity; throwing a veil over three centuries of Spa-

nish dominion in America, we shall confine ourselves to the narration of recent and well-known facts, which prove how much we have been afflicted; and that we should not be involved in the commotions, disorders, and conquests which have divided Spain.

The disorders in Europe had increased the evils under which we before suffered, by obstructing complaints, and frustrating the means of redress; by authorising the governor placed over us by Spain, to insult and oppress us with impunity, leaving us without the protection or support of the laws.

It is contrary to the order of nature, impracticable in relation to the government of Spain, and has been most afflicting to America, that territories so much more extensive, and a population incomparably more numerous, should be subjected and dependent on a peninsular corner of the European continent.

The cession and abdication made at Bayonne, the transactions at the Escurial and at Aranjuez, and the orders issued by the Imperial Lieutenant, the Marshal Duke of Berg, to America, authorised the exercise of those rights, which till that period the Americans had sacrificed to the preservation and integrity of the Spanish nation.

The people of Venezuela were the first who generally acknowledged, and who preferred that integrity; never forsaking the interests of their European brethren, while there remained the least prospect of salvation.

America had acquired a new existence; she was able and was bound to take charge of her own safety and prosperity; she was at liberty to acknowledge or to reject the authority of a king who was so little deserving of that power as to regard his personal safety more than that of the nation over which he had been placed.

All the Bourbons who concurred in the futile stipulation of Bayonne, having withdrawn from the Spanish territory contrary to the will of the people, abrogated, dishonoured, and trampled upon all the sacred obligations which they had contracted with the Spaniards of both worlds, who with their blood and treasures had placed them on the throne, in opposition to the efforts of the house of Austria: such conduct has rendered them unfit to rule over a free people, whom they disposed of like a gang of slaves.

The intrusive government, which have arrogated to themselves the authority which belongs only to the national representation, treacherously availed themselves of the known good faith, the distance, and effects which ignorance and oppression had produced among the Americans, to direct their passions against the new dynasty which had been imposed upon Spain; and, in opposition to their own principles, kept up the illusion amongst us in favour of Ferdinand, but only in order to baffle our rational hopes, and to make us with greater impunity their prey; they held forth to us promises of liberty, equality, and fraternity, in pompous discourses, the more effectually to conceal the snare which they were insidiously lay-

ing for us by an inefficient and degrading shew of representation.

As soon as the various forms of the Spanish government were overthrown, and others had been successively substituted, and imperious necessity had taught Venezuela to look to her own safety, in order to support the king, and afford an asylum to their European brethren against the calamities by which they were menaced, all their former services were disregarded; new measures were adopted against us, and the very steps taken for the preservation of the Spanish government were branded with the titles of insurrection, perfidy, and ingratitude; but only because the door was closed against a monopoly of power, which they had expected to perpetuate in the name of a king whose dominion was imaginary.

Notwithstanding our moderation, our generosity, and the purity of our intentions, and in opposition to the wishes of our brethren in Europe, we were declared to the world in a state of blockade; hostilities were commenced against us; agents sent among us to excite revolt, and arm us against each other; whilst our national character was traduced, and foreign nations excited to make war upon us.

Deaf to our remonstrances, without submitting our reasons to the impartial judgment of mankind, and deprived of every other arbitrement but that of our enemies, we were prohibited from all intercourse with our brethren; and, adding contempt to calumny, they undertook to appoint delegates for us, and without our consent, who were to assist at their cortes, the more effectually to dispose of our persons and property, and render us subjects to the power of our enemies.

In order to defeat the wholesome measures of our national representation, when obliged to recognize it, they undertook to reduce the ratio of our population, submitting the forms of election to servile committees acting at the disposal of arbitrary rulers; thus insulting our inexperience and good faith, and utterly regardless of our political importance or our welfare.

The Spanish government, ever deaf to the demands of justice, undertook to frustrate all our legitimate rights, by condemning as criminals, and devoting to the infamy of the gibbet, or to confiscation and banishment, those Americans who at different periods had employed their talents and services for the happiness of their country.

Such were the causes which at length have impelled us to look to our own security, and to avert those disorders and horrible calamities, which we could perceive were otherwise inevitable, and from which we shall ever keep aloof; by their fell policy they have rendered our brethren insensible to our misfortunes, and have armed them against us; they have effaced from their hearts the tender impressions of love and consanguinity, and converted into enemies many members of our great family.

When, faithful to our promises, we were sacrificing our peace and dignity to support the cause of Ferdinand of Bourbon, we saw

that to the bonds of power by which he united his fate to that of the emperor of the French, he added the sacrifice of kindred and friends; and that on this account the existing Spanish rulers themselves have already resolved to acknowledge him only conditionally. In this painful state of perplexity, three years have elapsed in political irresolution, so dangerous, so fraught with evil, that this alone would have authorised the determination which the faith we had pledged and other fraternal attachments had caused us to defer, till imperious necessity compels us to proceed further than we had first contemplated: but, pressed by the hostile and unnatural conduct of the Spanish rulers, we are at length absolved from the conditional oath which we had taken, and now take upon us the august sovereignty which we are called here to exercise.

But as our glory consists in establishing principles consistent with human happiness, and not erecting a partial felicity on the misfortunes of our fellow mortals, we hereby proclaim and declare, that we shall regard as friends and companions in our destiny, and participators of our happiness, all those who, united by the ties of blood, language, and religion, have suffered oppression under the ancient establishments, and who shall assert their independence thereof, and of any foreign power whatsoever; engaging that all who co-operate with us shall partake in life, fortune, and opinion; declaring and recognizing not only these, but those of every nation, in war enemies, in peace friends, brethren, and fellow-citizens.

In consideration, therefore, of these solid, public, and incontestable motives, which force upon us the necessity of re-assuming our natural rights, thus restored to us by the revolution of human affairs, and in virtue of the imprescriptible rights of every people to dissolve every agreement, convention, or social compact, which does not establish the purposes for which alone all governments are instituted, we are convinced that we cannot and ought not any longer to endure the chains by which we were connected with the government of Spain; and we do declare, like every other independent people, that we are free, and determined to hold no dependence on any potentate, power, or government, than we ourselves establish; and that we now take among the sovereign nations of the earth the rank which the Supreme Being and Nature have assigned to us, and to which we have been called by the succession of human events, and by a regard for our own happiness.

Although we foresee the difficulties which may attend our new situation, and the obligation which we contract by the rank which we are about to occupy in the political order of the world; and, above all, the powerful influence of ancient forms and habits by which (to our regret) we have been hitherto affected—yet we also know, that a shameful submission to them, when it is in our power to shake them off, would prove more ignominious to ourselves, and more fatal to posterity, than our long and painful servitude. It there-

fore becomes our indispensable duty to provide for our security, liberty, and happiness, by an entire and essential subversion and reform of our ancient establishments.

Wherefore, believing, for all these reasons, that we have complied with the respect which we owe to the opinions of mankind, and to the dignity of other nations with whom we are about to rank, and of whose friendly intercourse we assure ourselves,—

We, the representatives of the confederated provinces of Venezuela, invoking the Most High to witness the justice of our cause, and the rectitude of our intentions; imploring his divine assistance to ratify, at the epoch of our political birth, the dignity to which his Providence has restored us, the ardent desire to live and die free, and in the belief and defence of the Holy Catholic and apostolic religion of Jesus Christ, as the first of our duties,—

We, therefore, in the name, by the will, and under the authority which we hold for the virtuous people of Venezuela, do solemnly declare to the world, that these united provinces are, and ought to be, from this day forth, in fact and of right, free, sovereign, and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance and dependence on the crown of Spain, and of those who now call, or may hereafter call themselves its representatives, or agents; and that, as free, sovereign, and independent states, we hold full power to adopt whatever form of government may be deemed suitable to the general will of its inhabitants; to declare war, make peace, form alliances, establish commercial treaties, define boundaries, and regulate navigation, and to propose and execute all other acts usually made and executed by free and independent nations; and for the due fulfilment, validity, and stability of this our solemn declaration, we mutually and reciprocally pledge and bind the provinces to each other, our lives, fortunes, and the honour of the nation.

Done at the federal palace of the Caracas, signed with our hands, and sealed with the great seal of the provincial confederation, and countersigned by the secretary to the congress assembled, on the 5th day of July, in the year 1811, and in the first of our independence.

Washington City, Tuesday, Nov. 5.

The President of the United States this day communicated, by Mr. Edward Coles, his private secretary, the following message to Congress:

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives,

In calling you together sooner than a separation from your homes would otherwise have been required, I yielded to considerations drawn from the posture of our foreign affairs; and in fixing the present for the time of your meeting, regard was had to the probability of further developements of the belligerent powers towards this country, which might the more unite the national councils in the measures to be pursued.

At the close of the last session of Congress, it was hoped that the successive confirmations of the extinction of the French decrees, so far as they violated our neutral commerce, would have induced the government of Great Britain to repeal its orders in council; and thereby authorise a removal of the existing obstructions to her commerce with the United States.

Instead of this reasonable step towards satisfaction and friendship between the two nations, the orders were, at a moment when least to have been expected, put into more rigorous execution; and it was communicated, through the British Envoy just arrived, that, whilst the revocation of the edicts of France, as officially made known to the British government, was denied to have taken place, it was an indispensable condition of the repeal of the British orders, that commerce should be restored to a footing, that would admit the productions and manufactures of Great Britain, when owned by neutrals, into markets shut against them by her enemy; the United States being given to understand, that, in the mean time, a continuance of their non-importation act would lead to measures of retaliation.

At a later date, it has, indeed, appeared, that a communication to the British government, of fresh evidence of the repeal of the French decrees against our neutral trade, was followed by an intimation, that it had been transmitted to the British Plenipotentiary here, in order that it might receive full consideration in the depending discussions. This communication appears not to have been received: but the transmission of it hither, instead of founding on it an actual repeal of the orders, or assurances that the repeal would ensue, will not permit us to rely on any effective change in the British cabinet. To be ready to meet with cordiality satisfactory proofs of such a change, and to proceed, in the mean time, in adapting our measures to the views which have been disclosed through that Minister, will best consult our whole duty.

In the unfriendly spirit of those disclosures, indemnity and redress for other wrongs have continued to be withheld; and our coasts and the mouths of our harbours have again witnessed scenes, not less derogatory to the dearest of our national rights, than vexatious to the regular course of our trade.

Among the occurrences produced by the conduct of British ships of war hovering on our coasts, was an encounter between one of them and the American frigate commanded by Captain Rodgers, rendered unavoidable on the part of the latter, by a fire commenced without cause by the former; whose commander is, therefore, alone chargeable with the blood unfortunately shed in maintaining the honour of the American flag. The proceedings of a court of inquiry, requested by Captain Rodgers, are communicated; together with the correspondence relating to the occurrence, between the Secretary of State and his Britannic Majesty's Envoy. To these are added, the several correspondences which have passed on the subject of the

British orders in council; and to both, the correspondence relating to the Floridas, in which Congress will be made acquainted with the interposition which the government of Great Britain has thought proper to make against the proceedings of the United States.

The justice and fairness which have been evinced on the part of the United States towards France, both before and since the revocation of her decress, authorised an expectation that her government would have followed up that measure by all such others as were due to our reasonable claims, as well as dictated by its amicable professions. No proof, however, is yet given of an intention to repair the other wrongs done to the United States; and, particularly, to restore the great amount of American property seized and condemned under edicts, which, though not affecting our neutral relations, and therefore, not entering into questions between the United States and other belligerents, were nevertheless founded in such unjust principles, that the reparation ought to have been prompt and ample.

In addition to this and other demands of strict right on that nation, the United States have much reason to be dissatisfied with the rigorous and unexpected restrictions to which their trade with the French dominions has been subjected: and which, if not discontinued, will require at least corresponding restrictions on importations from France into the United States.

On all those subjects our Minister Plenipotentiary, lately sent to Paris, has carried with him the necessary instructions; the result of which will be communicated to you; and by ascertaining the ulterior policy of the French government towards the United States, will enable you to adapt to it that of the United States towards France.

Our other foreign relations remain without unfavourable changes. With Russia, they are on the best footing of friendship. The ports of Sweden have afforded proofs of friendly dispositions towards our commerce in the councils of that nation also. And the information from our special Minister to Denmark, shews, that the mission had been attended with valuable effects to our citizens, whose property has been so extensively violated and endangered by cruizers under the Danish flag.

Under the ominous indications which commanded attention, it became a duty to exert the means committed to the executive department, in providing for the general security. The works of defence on our maritime frontier have accordingly been prosecuted with an activity leaving little to be added for the completion of the most important ones; and, as particularly suited for co-operation in emergencies, a portion of the gun-boats have, in particular harbours, been ordered into use. The ships of war before in commission, with the addition of a frigate, have been chiefly employed as a cruising guard to the rights of our coast; and such a disposition has been made of our land forces, as was thought to promise services the most appropriate and im-

portant. In this disposition is included a force, consisting of regulars and militia, embodied in the Indiana territory, and marched towards our north-western frontier. This measure was made requisite by several murders and depredations committed by Indians; but more especially by the menacing preparations and aspect of a combination of them on the Wabash, under the influence and direction of a fanatic of the Shawanese tribe. With these exceptions, the Indian tribes retain their peaceable dispositions towards us, and their usual pursuits.

I must now add, that the period is arrived, which claims from the legislative guardians of the national rights a system of more ample provisions for maintaining them.—Notwithstanding the scrupulous justice, the protracted moderation, and the multiplied efforts on the part of the United States, to substitute, for the accumulating dangers to the peace of the two countries, all the mutual advantages of re-established friendship and confidence, we have seen that the British Cabinet perseveres, not only in withholding a remedy for other wrongs, so long and so loudly calling for it, but in the execution brought home to the threshold of our territory, of measures which, under existing circumstances, have the character as well as the effect of war on our lawful commerce.

With this evidence of hostile inflexibility, in trampling on rights which no independent nation can relinquish, Congress will feel the duty of putting the United States into an armour and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations.

I recommend, accordingly, that adequate provision be made for filling the ranks and prolonging the enlistments of the regular troops; for an auxiliary force, to be engaged for a more limited time; for the acceptance of volunteer corps, whose patriotic ardour may court a participation in urgent services; for detachments, as they may be wanted, of other portions of the militia; and for such a preparation of the great body, as will proportion its usefulness to its intrinsic capacities. Nor can the occasion fail to remind you of the importance of those military seminaries, which, in every event, will form a valuable and frugal part of our military establishment.

The manufacture of cannon and small arms has proceeded with due success, and the stock and resources of all the necessary munitions are adequate to emergencies. It will not be inexpedient, however, for Congress to authorize an enlargement of them.

Your attention will of course be drawn to such provisions, on the subject of our naval force, as may be required for the services to which it may be best adapted. I submit to Congress the seasonableness, also, of an authority to augment the stock of such materials as are imperishable in their nature, or may not at once be attainable.

In contemplating the scenes which distinguish this momentous epoch, and estimating their claims to our attention, it is impossible to overlook those developing themselves among the great communities which

occupy the southern portion of our own hemisphere, and extend into our neighbourhood. An enlarged philanthropy, and an enlightened forecast, concur in imposing on the national councils an obligation to take a deep interest in their destinies; to cherish reciprocal sentiments of good-will; to regard the progress of events; and not to be unprepared for whatever order of things may be ultimately established.

Under another aspect of our situation, the early attention of Congress will be due to the expediency of further guards against evasions and infractions of our commercial laws. The practice of smuggling, which is odious every where, and particularly criminal in free governments, where, the laws being made by all for the good of all, a fraud is committed on every individual as well as on the state, attains its utmost guilt, when it blends, with a pursuit of ignominious gain, a treacherous subserviency, in the transgressors, to a foreign policy adverse to that of their own country. It is then that the virtuous indignation of the public should be enabled to manifest itself, through the regular animadversions of the most competent laws.

To secure greater respect to our mercantile flag, and to the honest interests which it covers, it is expedient, also, that it be made punishable in our citizens to accept licences from foreign governments, for a trade unlawfully interdicted by them to other American citizens; or to trade under false colours or papers of any sort.

A prohibition is equally called for against the acceptance by our citizens, of special licences, to be used in a trade with the United States; and against the admission into particular ports of the United States, of vessels from foreign countries, authorised to trade with particular ports only.

Although other subjects will press more immediately on your deliberations, a portion of them cannot but be well bestowed on the just and sound policy of securing to our manufactures the success they have attained, and are still attaining, in some degree, under the impulse of causes not permanent; and to our navigation, the fair extent of which it is at present abridged, by the unequal regulations of foreign governments.

Besides the reasonableness of saving our manufactures from sacrifices which a change of circumstances might bring on them, the national interest requires that, with respect to such articles, at least, as belong to our defence and our primary wants, we should not be left in unnecessary dependence on external supplies. And whilst foreign governments adhere to the existing discriminations in their ports against our navigation, and an equality or lesser discrimination is enjoyed by their navigation in our ports, the effect cannot be mistaken, because it has been seriously felt by our shipping interests; and in proportion as this takes place, the advantages of an independent conveyance of our products to foreign markets, and of a growing body of mariners, trained by their

occupations for the service of their country in times of danger, must be diminished.

The receipts into the treasury, during the year ending on the 30th of September last, have exceeded thirteen millions and a half of dollars; and have enabled us to defray the current expences, including the interest on the public debt, and to reimburse more than five millions of dollars of the principal, without recurring to the loan authorised by the act of the last session. The temporary loan obtained in the latter end of the year 1810 has also been reimbursed, and is not included in that amount.

The decrease of revenue, arising from the situation of our commerce and the extraordinary expences which have and may become necessary, must be taken into view, in making commensurate provisions for the ensuing year. And I recommend to your consideration the propriety of ensuring a sufficiency of annual revenue, at least to defray the ordinary expenses of government, and to pay the interest on the public debt, including that on new loans which may be authorised.

I cannot close this communication without expressing my deep sense of the crisis in which you are assembled, my confidence in a wise and honourable result to your deliberations, and assurances of the faithful zeal with which my co-operating duties will be discharged; invoking, at the same time, the blessing of heaven on our beloved country, and on all the means that may be employed in vindicating its rights and advancing its welfare.

(Signed) James Maddison.

Washington, Nov. 5, 1811.

CHARACTERS.

Gerard Hamilton. From Hardy's Memoirs of Lord Charlemont.

Lord Halifax was attended to Ireland by a gentleman who derived no celebrity from his ancestors, however respectable, but was the founder of his own fame and fortune. This was Mr. Gerard Hamilton—eminent for his very singular talents, and as much distinguished by his speech, as his silence in the House of Commons. The uncommon splendor of his eloquence, which was succeeded by such inflexible taciturnity in St. Stephen's Chapel, became the subject, as might be supposed, of much, and idle speculation. The truth is, that all his speeches, whether delivered in London or Dublin, were not only prepared, but studied, with a minuteness and exactitude of which those who are only used to the carelessness of modern debating, can scarcely form any idea. Lord Charlemont, who had been long and intimately acquainted with him, previous to his coming to Ireland, often mentioned that he was the only speaker, among the many he had heard, of whom he could say, with certainty, that all his speeches, however long, were written and got by heart. A gentleman, well known to his lordship and Hamilton, assured him that he heard Hamilton repeat, no less than three times, an oration, which he afterwards spoke in the House of Commons, and lasted almost three hours. As a debater, therefore, he became as useless to his political patrons as Addison was to Lord Sunderland, and, if possible, he was more scrupulous in composition than even that eminent man. Addison would stop the press to correct the most trivial error in a large publication; and Hamilton, as I can assert, on indubitable authority, would recall the footman, if, on recollection, any word, in his opinion, was misplaced or improper, in the slightest note to a familiar acquaintance. Painful preeminence! Yet this weigher of words, and balancer of sentences, was most easy and agreeable in conversation. He passed his time, except with unnecessary anxiety as to his literary fame, unembarrassed and cheerful, among a few select friends of either sex: (to the fair sex he rendered himself peculiarly acceptable,) intriguing statesmen, and grave philosophers. Johnson highly

valued him, and was never slow or reluctant in acknowledging the superiority of his talents, or the generosity of his disposition, towards those whom he valued and admired. Lord Charlemont was the person who first introduced Edmund Burke to Hamilton, an introduction which, I believe, led to Burke's subsequent fortune. These extraordinary men were afterwards at variance, and Lord Charlemont, being a friend to each, was chosen mediator in their whimsical quarrel, as his Lordship termed it. But whence that quarrel arose, or what was its conclusion, I know not.

Mr. Edmund Pery. From the same.

Mr. Edmund Pery, afterwards Lord Pery, came into the House of Commons in the year 1751. The subsequent session of 1753 was remarkable for the first great parliamentary contest in Ireland. The Duke of Dorset, son of the celebrated and amiable Lord Dorset, was then Lord Lieutenant; government was led on by Primate Stone, a man of unbounded ambition. Lord Charlemont, who knew him perfectly, often assured me, that the temper and genius of the English people, and English constitution, averse to all ecclesiastical interference, or domination, (which the Primate was well aware of) alone prevented him from aspiring to a distinguished place in the councils of Great Britain. He was brother to Andrew Stone, who possessed considerable knowledge and ability, a principal figure in the court of Frederic, Prince of Wales. Mr. Pery at first acted with government, or, what was then called, the Primate's party; and afterwards, in the session of 1755, rendered himself conspicuous, by opposing, though with a small minority, colonel Conway *, then secretary to the Marquis of Hartington. Party-writers said that this opposition was merely in compliance with the wishes of his friend, the Primate. But, if history in general is to be read with caution, the political history of the day should ever be regarded with particular distrust. Mr. Pery could little brook such subjugation. He was, some time after, the leader of what was called the Flying Squadron; a party attached neither to the court nor the opposition, and occasionally joining both. When acting with administration, he was offered the place of Solicitor-General, but he did not chuse to be their servant, and disdained to clothe himself in the spoils of his friend, Mr. Gore, (Lord Annaly) who then held that place.—He was master of his profession; and not only that, but an admirable Member of Parliament. It may be justly said, that there was scarcely any great public measure adopted in Ireland, whilst Lord Pery engaged in business, which had not its seminal principle in his comprehensive mind. The corn laws, the free trade, the independence of the Irish Parliament, the ten-

* Afterwards Marshal Conway.

antry bill, were framed with his assistance, and would not have been carried without it. The tillage of Ireland may be regarded as his child.

The superiority which a certain rectitude of mind and understanding has over talents and pertinacity, is sometimes evinced in no small degree. During the discussion of a question, which Mr. Pery had favoured, and distinguished himself by its support, he was answered by Secretary Hamilton, in a speech of unexampled eloquence. He rose directly after Hamilton had sat down, not, he said, to reply, but at once to declare, that he was convinced.

The first Duke of Leinster. From the same.

The Earl of Kildare, afterwards Marquis, and Duke of Leinster, premier peer of Ireland, had great weight and authority in the House of Lords: not merely from his rank, considerable as it was, but from the honourable and generous part which he always took in the affairs of Ireland. He seldom, if ever, spoke in public; he particularly distinguished himself in the political struggle of 1753, and, disdaining to crouch to an intriguing and ambitious prelate, or the Viceroy *, whom it is to be lamented, that prelate too much influenced, he presented a memorial to the late king, which, in respectful, but spirited language, stated the grievances of Ireland, and particularly the mal-administration of Primate Stone. It occasioned much surprize, and gave great offence to part of the English cabinet. Seldom, very seldom indeed, have the members of that cabinet cause to be so offended. Excepting some occasional visits to England, where he was as highly respected, as illustriously allied †, Lord Kildare resided in Ireland almost constantly. He not only supported his senatorial character with uniform independence, but, as a private nobleman, was truly excellent, living either in Dublin or among his numerous tenantry, whom he encouraged and protected. In every situation he was of the most unequivocal utility to his country; at Carton, in the Irish House of Lords, or that of England, (he was a member of both,) or speaking the language of truth and justice in the closet of his sovereign.

No man ever understood his part in society, better than he did; he was conscious of his rank, and upheld it to the utmost; but, let it be added, that he was remarkable for the dignified, attractive politeness, or, what the French call, nobleness of his manners. So admirable was he in this respect, that when he entertained some Lord Lieutenants, the general declaration, on leaving the room, was, that from the peculiar grace of his behaviour he appeared to be more the Viceroy than they did. He was some years

* The Duke of Dorset.

† He was married, in 1746, to Lady Emily Lennox, sister to the Duke of Richmond, at that time one of the most celebrated beauties of the English court.

older than Lord Charlemont, and took a lead in politics when that nobleman was abroad, and for some time after his return to Ireland; but when the House of Lords became more the scene of action, they, with the late Lord Moira, generally co-operated, and in truth, three noblemen so independent, this country has seldom seen.

The Duke de Nivernois. From the same.

Towards the close of 1762, or rather the commencement of 1763, Lord Charlemont renewed his acquaintance with the Duc de Nivernois, whom he then found ambassador at London, and negotiating, or rather concluding the treaty of peace with France. The Duke resided in Albemarle-street, where Lord Charlemont was always most cordially received. Of this nobleman, so much admired by Lord Chesterfield, so much regarded by Lord Charlemont, and so esteemed at Rome, at Berlin, at London, and in Paris, I shall endeavour to give some account. He was a Mancini, an illustrious Roman name, and perfectly familiar to all who are conversant in the history of Louis the Fourteenth. His grandfather was Duke de Nevers, brother to that renowned beauty, Madame de Mazarin, and Maria Mancini, whose agreeable wit and accomplishments for some time enthralled the affections of the young French monarch. The Duc de Nivernois, (who did not assume the title of Nevers, although his father died in 1768) was appointed ambassador to Rome in 1746, and staid there several years. The embassy to Rome was, during the reigns of Louis XIV. and XV. considered as one of the first if not the highest in diplomatic rank. He acquitted himself entirely to the satisfaction of his own court: the people at Rome looked on him as a Roman, whilst his manners, his learning, and conversation, rendered him peculiarly acceptable to Lambertini, (Benedict the Fourteenth.) It is almost needless to say, that he captivated Lord Charlemont, whose taste and studies, and suavity of disposition, were, in a great measure, similar to his own. Although he did not succeed in the object of his mission at Berlin, (for Frederic had taken his measures previous to the Duke's arrival) he was not the less honoured and distinguished by that monarch and his brother, Prince Henry. They never spoke of him but with applause. When ambassador in London, D'Eon justly says, that however discordant the opinions of the people were as to the peace, there was no difference whatever as to the pacificator; for all ranks seemed to vie with each other in their admiration of, and respect for him. He went every where, and was liked every where. He was at Bath; at Newmarket; was elected Fellow of the Royal Society; and honoured with the degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of Oxford.

He was a little man, with an agreeable, open, and engaging countenance, but so extremely thin, that some of his friends at Paris always called him the poli-

tical Sylph. When he first landed, with his suite, at Dover, two or three old sailors were walking along the beach. Observing the bustle, "Hey! what's this?" said one.—"Oh! the French Ambassador! He has just come out of the boat." "Just Heaven!" exclaimed another, "to what have we reduced the French during this war! Only conceive. When I was prisoner in France, two or three years ago, that emaciated ambassador, whom you see like a withered apple-john, yonder, was then by far one of the fattest men who walked the streets in Paris, He absolutely waddled." When this was told to the Duke, he was delighted, and used often to relate it at his own table, as a most happy instance of national humour *.

In consequence of repeated solicitations to be recalled, for his health, naturally delicate, was almost destroyed by the air of London, he returned, after an eight months' residence in England, to Paris. He continued in that metropolis, or its environs, for more than thirty years afterwards, cultivating letters, and all the refined pleasures of society, but not living, as many men of letters do, in a cold, fastidious indifference to the welfare of his country. On the contrary, though much esteemed, and liked by Louis XV. and one of the principal ornaments of his court, he opposed the inclinations of that monarch, when he considered them as militating against France; and, in conjunction with some most respectable noblemen, took a generous, but decided, part against the system of Chancellor Maupeou. Whilst engaged in this opposition, a circumstance occurred, which I shall take leave to mention, as it is in some measure illustrative of his urbanity and polished wit. Louis XV. held a bed of justice, as it was called, and either then or in one of the audience rooms at Versailles, forbad the members of the Parliament of Paris to trouble him with any further remonstrances; "for," added he, with a most emphatic tone, "I shall never change." His favourite, the beautiful, unfortunate Madame de Barry, and the Duke of Nivernois, were present at the scene. Some days after, she met the Duke, and addressing him with great gaiety, "Well, Monsieur de Nivernois," said she, "you may surely now give up your opposition; for you yourself heard the King say, that he *would never change*." "Certainly, Madam," he replied, "I did hear him; and indeed no wonder, for he was *looking at you*."

He was, when far advanced in life, (for he was then some years beyond seventy) at length called to the councils of his Sovereign. M. de Malsherbes, the Count de la Luzerne, and one or two more, were his assistants. It was then too late. The time of the Court had been long wasted in the most wretched intrigues; and the toilette of that most facinating of all

* D'Eon has mentioned this, but imperfectly, I heard it many years ago, from the late Dominick T. Esq. who had it from Col. Drumgold's own lips. Drumgold landed with the Duke, and was his confidential friend. It is to him that Lord Lyttleton addressed the copy of Verses, which so agreeably depicts the character of Mons. de Nivernois.

women, Madame de Polignac, was, however originally adverse to her inclinations, alternately become, with that of her royal friend, Marie Antoinette, the scene of frivolous, ridiculous appointments, in which vanity, levity, personal whim or caprice, were alone consulted, and the dread exigence of the moment either not understood, or feebly administered to. The waters were out, they had overspread the land; and it required more talents than fell to the share of the Duke de Nivernois, and his coadjutors, had they been all even in the prime of life, to give the repose of a moment to the shattered political vessel of France. The Duke lived long enough to see his well-intentioned sovereign, the unhappy Antoinette, whose beauty, and tenderness of heart, were once the subject of every eulogy, and the angelic Princess Elizabeth, dragged, in the midst of Paris, to the scaffold, by monsters in a human form. Accustomed as this world has ever been to spectacles of sorrow, such a downfall of all earthly grandeur, such a fell vicissitude, it perhaps never before witnessed.

But what is singular in the history of Monsieur de Nivernois's life, is, that although remaining in Paris, he survived even the multiplied atrocities and murders of Robespierre. How he escaped, it is not very easy to conceive, as he had every requisite for the guillotine, which that dæmon so often looked for in the victims of his tyranny—high rank, venerable age, goodness of mind, love of letters, and love of his country. Yet, with all these qualifications for being murdered in such a time, he was not, but lived to publish several of his works, and died very peaceably, in 1798, at the advanced age of eighty two.

Stevenson Hall. From the same.

During this visit to England, Lord Charlemont often met an old intimate, Stevenson Hall, of Skelton, in Yorkshire. This gentleman, at least as well known by the name of Crazy Hall, from certain comic tales which he published, and gave that appellation to, abounded with wit and humour; was perfectly versed in the classics, had been much abroad, and, when not overpowered by spleen and ennui, which was too often the case, a very entertaining companion. A year or two preceding this, he had given to the public his "Fables for grown gentlemen, or, Fables for every Day in the Week;" an original performance, formed on the model of Fontaine; and, in point of ease, shrewdness of remark, and thorough knowledge of the world, not unworthy of that great master. Fontaine's *naivété*, indeed, neither he, nor any one else, could equal; and had Hall even caught it, the genius of the English language could scarcely have incorporated with it. However, this publication gained Hall much celebrity—a celebrity which he took care effectually to dissipate, or at least not to augment, by a succession of poems, sometimes not very intelligible, often very witty, but almost uniformly overflowing with the wildest and grossest li-

centiousness. In truth, he became a literary suicide; he destroyed his own reputation; and, with the justest pretensions, in point of talents, to public favour, he is now very imperfectly known. But, with all his oddities, and irregularities, Hall was a man of real genius, and much good nature. He was perfectly well known to many ennobled bon vivants, and elegant voluptuaries of the day: to Sterne he was ever a steady and tender friend. Though forming, in some respects, a singular contrast to the refined and polished Ambassador whom I have, perhaps, too long dwelt on, he was very acceptable to Lord Charlemont, in whose letters he is frequently mentioned.

Primate Stone and Lord Shannon. From the same.

Lord Northumberland left Ireland in May, 1764, and put the government into his Grace's hands, as well as those of the Earl of Shannon, and Mr. Ponsonby, the speaker. Death soon after closed the eyes of the two great rivals, Stone and Shannon. They both died, whilst Justices, in December following, and within nine days of each other. Had a more splendid theatre been allotted to them, they would have been eminently conspicuous in the page of history. But most wise is the poet's observation, and most consolatory should it be to those who attend closely to the dispositions of many with whom they are in daily intercourse, that, if humility of station circumscribes our growing virtues, it also confines our crimes. The sound superior sense of Lord Shannon would perhaps in any situation, have taught him general moderation; but Stone's ambition, in truth, knew no limits; and, in another country, the chicane of negotiations, the subserviency of foreign cabinets, the tumults of wars, the friendship, or the overthrow, of Princes, would alone have completely filled up every part of his mind. He at first captivated all who approached him, by the uncommon beauty of his person, his address, and the vivacity of his conversation; he had in some respects, far juster views of Ireland than many of his contemporaries; but his own aggrandizement predominated over every other consideration. Whilst in the more early part of his political life, he affected no other character than that of a statesman, he was, though unpopular, dignified and imposing; when, towards the close of it, he thought proper occasionally to assume the lowliness of an ecclesiastic, satiated with the bustle and splendor of the world, the artful statesman still glared so over every part of his behaviour, as to render it in some measure revolting. He quickly perceived this effect of his newly-adopted manner, and re-assumed his old one, in which not the least trace of a churchman was visible. Altogether, it requires a pen, much superior to mine, entirely to delineate his character.

Lord Carhampton. From the same.

Simon Luttrell, Earl of Carhampton, was descended from a

long line of progenitors, who, for several centuries, were seated at Luttrelstown, in the county of Dublin, where, as well as in other counties of Ireland, they had very large possessions. The immediate ancestors of Lord Carhampton, or some of them at least, followed the fortunes of James the Second. His uncle held a high rank in that prince's army, and was by him appointed a privy counsellor of Ireland, on the same day with the celebrated Anthony, Count Hamilton. He was killed at the battle of Landen. Lord Carhampton was bred up in political principles directly opposite to those of his ancestors, and received the first part of his education at Eton, where he formed early habits of intimacy with lord Camden, whose age corresponded exactly with his own *. He was a distinguished member of the House of Lords in Ireland for many years, though by no means young when he took his seat in that assembly. Whilst he was there, he spoke with his accustomed wit and humour, great perspicuity, adroitness, knowledge of mankind, quickness in perceiving, and rallying the foibles of his adversaries, stimulating, if it suited his purpose, a warm temper to warmth still greater, with a general vigilance, and command of his own. To oratory he laid no claim. He was well versed in the proceedings of parliament, as, for the best part of his life, he had sat in the English House of Commons, where, though he did not press forward as a constant debater, he was a most keen and accurate observer of all that passed. As a companion a more agreeable man could scarcely be found. He was the delight of those whose society he frequented, whilst he resided in Dublin, as he did almost constantly towards the close of his life. His conversation (for I had long the honour and happiness of partaking of it) was charming; full of sound sense, perfect acquaintance with the histories of the most distinguished persons of his own age, and that which preceded it; without the least garrulity pursuing various narratives, and enlivening all with the most graceful original humour. In many respects it resembled that species of conversation which the French, at a period when society was best understood, distinguished above all other colloquial excellence of that day, by the appropriate phrase of *l'Esprit de Mortemart*. Gay, simple, very peculiar, yet perfectly natural, easy, and companiable; unambitious of all ornament, but embellished by that unstudied and becoming air, which a just taste, improved by long familiarity with persons of the best manners, can alone bestow. Lord Carhampton was an excellent scholar; but as the subjects which engaged his attention in general were either political, or such as an agreeable man of the world would most dwell on in mixed companies, his literary acquirements were only, or more peculiarly known to those who lived in greater intimacy with him.

* Both were born in the year 1713.

Lord Bellamont. From the same.

Charles Coote, Earl of Bellamont, was, I believe, descended from that Sir Charles Coote, who acted no inconsiderable part as a military personage, in Ireland, during that agitated period which succeeded the calamitous æra of 1641. No portion of his warlike spirit was lost in his descendant, who, at an early period of his life, distinguished himself against the Oak boys, and other insurgents; for which services it was thought proper to reward him with a red ribband; and he was accordingly invested with the ensigns of the order of the Bath, by the Duke of Northumberland, then Lord Lieutenant, at the castle of Dublin. He was a nobleman who possessed much quickness of parts, of real but very singular talents, and most fantastic in the use of them. In his dress, his air, his manners, his diction, whether in common conversation, or debate, he was totally unlike any other man of his time. His person was well formed, of a most advantageous height, and, when decorated with his star, or other emblems of chivalry, he moved along, like a Lord Herbert of Cherbury, or one of those knights who "jousted in Aspramont or Montalban;" as lofty in mien as in phrases; courteous, or hostile, as the occasion required. His oratory cannot be at all adequately described. He must have been heard in the House of Lords; where the stately march of his periods, his solemn pauses, his correspondent gestures, his selection of words, so remote from common use, yet not always deficient in energy, or point, sometimes excited the admiration, and always the amazement of his auditors. The politeness of his manners was certainly engaging though ceremonious, and tinctured with that eccentricity which pervaded his whole deportment. He had a just and becoming public spirit, which conciliated the regard of Lord Charlemont, who acted as his second in his celebrated duel with the Marquis Townshend; when, it is almost superfluous to add, he behaved with his usual characteristic gallantry and punctilious antique courtesy. He was most severely wounded, but lived many years afterwards.

Hussey Burgh. From the same.

Walter Hussey, who afterwards took the name of Burgh, and was advanced to the station of lord chief baron of the exchequer, came at this time, into parliament, under the auspices of James, Duke of Leinster. He immediately joined the opposition then formed against the administration of Lord Townshend. His speeches, when he first entered the House of Commons, were very brilliant, very figurative, and far more remarkable for that elegant poetic taste which had highly distinguished him, when a member of the university, than any logical illustration, or depth of argument. But as he was blessed with great endowments, every session took away somewhat from the unnecessary splendour and redundancy of his harangues. To make use of a phrase of Cicero, in speaking of

his own improvement in eloquence, his orations were gradually deprived of all fever*. Clearness of intellect, a subtle, refined, and polished wit, a gay, fertile, uncommonly fine imagination, very classical taste, superior harmony, and elegance of diction, peculiarly characterised this justly-celebrated man. Though without beauty, his countenance was manly, engaging, and expressive; his figure agreeable and interesting; his deportment eminently graceful.

To those who never heard him, as the fashion of this world in eloquence, as in all things, soon passes away, it may be no easy matter to convey a just idea of his style of speaking; it differed totally from the models which have been presented to us by some of the great masters of rhetoric in latter days. His eloquence was by no means gaudy, tumid, nor approaching to that species of oratory, which the Roman critics denominated Asiatic; but it was always decorated as the occasion required: it was often compressed, and pointed, though that could not be said to have been its general feature. It was sustained by great ingenuity, great rapidity of intellect, luminous and piercing satire; in refinement, abundant, in simplicity, sterile. The classical allusions of this orator, for he was most truly one, were so apposite, they followed each other in such bright, and varied succession, and, at times, spread such an unexpected, and triumphant blaze around his subject that all persons, who were in the least tinged with literature, could never be tired of listening to him. The Irish are a people of quick sensibility, and perfectly alive to every display of ingenuity, or illustrative wit. Never did the spirit of the nation soar higher than during the splendid days of the volunteer institution; and, when Hussy Burgh, alluding to some coercive English laws, and that institution, then in its proudest array, said in the House of Commons, "That such laws were sown like dragons' teeth, and sprung up in armed men†," the applause which followed, and the glow of enthusiasm which he kindled in every mind, far exceed my powers of description.

He accepted the office of prime serjeant during the early part of Lord Buckinghamshire's administration, but the experience of one session convinced him, that his sentiments and those of the English and Irish cabinets, on the great questions relative to the independence of Ireland, would never assimilate. He soon grew weary of his situation; when his return to the standard of opposition was marked by all ranks of people, and especially his own profession, as a day of splendid triumph. Numerous were the congratulations which he received on this sacrifice of official emolument, to the duty which he owed to his country. That country he loved even to enthusiasm. He moved the question of a free trade for Ireland, as the only measure that could then rescue this king-

* "Quasi deferbuerat oratio."
De Claris Oratoribus.

† I remember Mr. Fox speaking of this allusion to the late Mr. Forbes, with peculiar approbation.

dom from total decay. The resolution was concise, energetic, and successful. He supported Mr. Grattan in all the motions which finally laid prostrate the dominion of the British parliament over Ireland. When he did so, he was not unacquainted with the vindictive disposition of the English cabinet of that day, towards all who dared to maintain such propositions. One night, when he sat down after a most able, argumentative speech in favour of the just rights of Ireland, he turned to Mr. Grattan, "I have now," said he, "nor do I repent it, sealed the door against my own preferment; and I have made the fortune of the man opposite to me," naming a particular person who sat on the treasury bench.

Henry Flood. From the same.

Mr. Henry Flood was by far one of the ablest men that ever sat in the Irish parliament. He came into the House of Commons, and spoke during the administration of the Earl of Halifax. Hamilton's success, as a speaker, drew him instantly forward, and his first parliamentary essay was brilliant and imposing. Hutchinson, who was at that time with the court, replied to him with many compliments, and, as has been already observed, he was almost generally applauded, except by Primate Stone. He was a consummate member of parliament. Active, ardent, and persevering, his industry was without limits. In advancing, and, according to the parliamentary phrase, driving a question, he was unrivalled; as, for instance, his dissertations, for such they were, on the law of Poynings, and similar topics. He was in himself an Opposition, and possessed the talent, (in political warfare a most formidable one) of tormenting a minister, and every day adding to his disquietude. When attacked, he was always most successful, and to form an accurate idea of his excellence, it was necessary to be present when he was engaged in such contests, for his introductory, or formal speeches were often heavy and laboured, yet still replete with just argument; and through the whole were diffused a certain pathos, an apparent public care, with which a popular assembly is almost always in unison. His taste was not the most correct, and his studied manner was slow, harsh, and austere; the very reverse of Hamilton, whose trophies first pointed the way to Flood's genius, and whom he avowedly attempted to emulate. But in skirmishing, in returning with rapidity to the charge, though at first shaken, and nearly discomfited, his quickness, his address, his powers of retort, and of insinuation, were never exceeded in Parliament. However, it was from the whole of the campaign that his abilities were to be duly appreciated. He entered, as has been observed by his illustrious opponent *, rather late into the British House of Commons, and was never fairly tried there. His first exhibition was unsuccessful,

* Mr. Grattan.

and it seems to have indisposed him, for a considerable time at least, to any subsequent parliamentary effort. Besides, at the moment that he became a member, that house was completely divided into two distinct contending powers, led on by two mighty leaders; and his declaration, at the onset, that he belonged to no party, united all parties against him. His speech on the India bill, was, as he assured a gentleman from whom I had it, in some measure accidental. The debate had been prolonged to a very late hour, when he got up with the intention merely of saying, that he would defer giving his detailed opinion on the bill, (to which he was adverse) till a more favourable opportunity. The moment that he arose, the politeness of the Speaker, in requesting order, the eagerness of the opponents of the bill, who knew that Flood was with them, seconding the efforts of the Speaker; the civility always paid to any new member, and his particular celebrity as an orator, brought back the crowd from the bar, from above stairs at Bellamy's, and, in short, from the lobby, and every part adjoining the House. There was much civility in this, mingled with no slight curiosity, and altogether it was sufficient to discompose most men. All the members resumed their places, and a general silence took place. Such a flattering attention, he thought, should be repaid by more than one or two sentences. He went on, trusting to his usual powers as a speaker, when, after some diffuse and general reasonings on the subject, which proved, that he was not much acquainted with it, he sat down amid the exultation of his adversaries, and the complete discomfiture, not of his friends, for he could be scarcely said to have one in the house, but of those whose minds breathed nothing but parliamentary, indeed almost personal warfare, and expected much from his assistance. Altogether the disappointment was universal. He spoke, and very fully, some years afterwards, on two or three occasions. On the French treaty, and on the parliamentary reform. On the last-mentioned subject his progress was correspondent to that which has been already stated of him. He introduced it with a heavy solemnity, and great, but laborious knowledge. But his reply, especially to Mr. now Lord, Grenville was, as I have been assured, incomparable, and Mr. Burke particularly applauded it.

He was extremely pleasing in private intercourse; well bred, open, and hospitable. His figure was tall, erect, graceful; and in youth, his countenance, however, changed in our days, was of correspondent beauty. On the whole he made a conspicuous figure in the annals of his country, and he is entitled to the respect of every public-spirited man in it, for, unquestionably, he was the senator who, by his exertions, and repeated discussion of questions, seldom, if ever approached before, first taught Ireland that it had a parliament. Mr. Flood died in December, 1791.

The Bishop of Derry. From the same.

The Bishop of Derry was the son of Lord Hervey, so generally,

but so imperfectly known, by the malign antithesis, and epigrammatic lines of Pope. His mother, Lady Hervey, was also the subject of that poet's muse; but his muse when playful and in good humour. Two noblemen of very distinguished talents, the Earls of Chesterfield and Bath, have also celebrated her in a most witty and popular ballad*. Lord Bristol was a man of considerable parts, but far more brilliant than solid. His family was indeed famous for talents, equally so for eccentricity; and the eccentricity of the whole race shone out, and seemed to be concentrated in him. In one respect, he was not unlike Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, "Every thing by starts, and nothing long." Generous, but uncertain; splendid, but fantastical; an admirer of the fine arts, without any just selection, engaging, often licentious in conversation; extremely polite, extremely violent;—it is indubitably true, that amidst all his erratic course, his bounty was not seldom directed to the most proper and deserving objects. His distribution of church livings, chiefly, as I have been informed, among the older and respectable clergy in his own diocese, must always be mentioned with that warm approbation which it is justly entitled to. It is said, (how truly I know not) that he had applied for the Bishopric of Durham, afterwards for the Lieutenancy of Ireland; was refused both, and, *hinc illæ lacrymæ*, hence his opposition. But the inequality, the irregular flow of his mind at every period of his life, sufficiently illustrate his conduct at this peculiar and momentous period.—Such however was this illustrious prelate, who, notwithstanding he scarcely ever attended Parliament, and spent most of his time in Italy, was now called upon to correct the abuses of Parliament, and direct the vessel of state in that course, where statesmen of the most experience, and persons of the calmest judgment, have had the misfortune totally to fail.—His progress from his diocese to the Metropolis, and his entrance into it, were perfectly correspondent to the rest of his conduct. Through every town on the road he seemed to court, and was received, with all warlike honours; and I remember seeing him pass by the Parliament House in Dublin, (Lords and Commons were then both sitting) escorted by a body of dragoons, full of spirits and talk, apparently enjoying the eager gaze of the surrounding multitude, and displaying altogether, the self-complacency of a favourite Marshal of France, on his way to Versailles, rather than the grave deportment of a Prelate of the Church of England.

Edmund Burke. From the same.

The following is taken partly from Lord Charlemont's hand writing.

"This most amiable and ingenious man was private Secretary to Lord Rockingham. It may not be superfluous to relate the following anecdote, the truth of

* See the verses on Molly Lepel. Lady Hervey was the daughter of General Lepel.

which I can assert, and which does honour to him, and his truly noble patron. Soon after Lord Rockingham, upon the warm recommendation of many friends, had appointed Burke his Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, wishing probably to procure the place for some dependant of his own, waited on Lord Rockingham, over whom his age, party dignity, and ancient family connection, had given him much influence, and even some degree of authority, and informed him, that he had unwarily taken into his service a man of dangerous principles, and one who was by birth and education a Papist, and a Jacobite; a calumny founded upon Burke's Irish connections, which were most of them of that persuasion, and upon some juvenile follies arising from those connections. The Marquis, whose genuine Whiggism was easily alarmed, immediately sent for Burke, and told him what he had heard. It was easy for Burke, who had been educated at the University of Dublin, to bring testimonies to his Protestantism; and with regard to the second accusation, which was wholly founded on the former, it was soon done away, and Lord Rockingham, readily, and willingly disabused, declared that he was perfectly satisfied of the falsehood of the information he had received, and that he no longer harboured the smallest doubt of the integrity of his principles; when Burke, with an honest, and disinterested boldness, told his Lordship, that it was now no longer possible for him to be his Secretary; that the reports he had heard would probably, even unknown to himself, create in his mind such suspicions as might prevent his thoroughly confiding in him, and that no earthly consideration should induce him to stand in that relation, with a man who did not place entire confidence in him. The Marquis, struck with this manliness of sentiment, which so exactly corresponded with the feelings of his own heart, frankly, and positively assured him, that what had passed, far from leaving any bad impression on his mind, had only served to fortify his good opinion, and that, if from no other reason, he might rest assured, that from his conduct upon that occasion alone, he should ever esteem, and place in him the most unreserved confidential trust. A promise which he faithfully performed; neither had he at any time, nor his friends after his death, the least reason to repent of that confidence; Burke having ever acted towards him with the most inviolate faith and affection, and towards his surviving friends, with a constant and disinterested fidelity, which was proof against his own indigent circumstances, and the magnificent offers of those in power. It must, however, be confessed, that his early habits and connections, though they could never make him swerve from his duty, had given his mind an almost constitutional bent towards the popish party. Prudence is, indeed, the only virtue he does not possess; from a total want of which, and from the amiable weaknesses of an excellent heart, his estimation in England, though still great, is certainly diminished. What it was at this period, will appear from the fol-

lowing fact, which, however trifling *, I here relate as a proof of the opinion formed of him by some of his party. Having dined at Lord Rockingham's, in company with him and Sir Charles Sanders, Sir Charles carried me in his coach to Almack's. On the way, Burke was the subject of our conversation, when the Admiral, lamenting the declining state of the empire, earnestly and solemnly declared, that if it could be saved, it must be by the virtue and abilities of that wonderful man."

Thus far Lord Charlemont. Something, though slight, may here be added. Burke's disunion, and final rupture with Mr. Fox, were attended with circumstances so distressing, so far surpassing the ordinary limits of civil rage, or personal hostility, that the mind really aches at the recollection of them. But let us view him, for an instant, in better scenes, and better hours. He was social, hospitable, of pleasing access, and most agreeably communicative. One of the most satisfactory days, perhaps, that I ever passed in my life, was going with him *tête à tête*, from London to Beaconsfield. He stopped at Uxbridge, whilst his horses were feeding, and happening to meet some gentlemen, of I know not what militia, who appeared to be perfect strangers to him, he entered into discourse with them, at the gateway of the inn. His conversation, at that moment, completely exemplified what Johnson said of him; "That you could not meet Burke for half an hour, under a shed, without saying, that he was an extraordinary man." He was, on that day, altogether uncommonly instructive and agreeable. Every object of the slightest notoriety, as we passed along, whether of natural, or local history, furnished him with abundant materials for conversation. The house at Uxbridge, where the treaty was held, during Charles the First's time; the beautiful, and undulating grounds of Bulstrode, formerly the residence of Chancellor Jefferies; and Waller's tomb, in Beaconsfield Church-yard, which, before we went home, we visited, and whose character, as a gentleman, a poet, and an orator, he shortly delineated, but with exquisite felicity of genius, altogether gave an uncommon interest to his eloquence; and, although one and twenty years have now passed since that day, I entertain the most vivid and pleasing recollection of it. He reviewed the characters of many Statesmen; Lord Bath's, whom, I think, he personally knew, and that of Sir Robert Walpole, which he pourtrayed in nearly the same words, which he used with regard to that eminent man, in his appeal from the Old Whigs to the New. He talked much of the great Lord Chatham, and amidst a variety of particulars concerning him, and his family, stated, that his sister, Mrs. Anne Pitt, used often in her altercations with him to say, "That he knew nothing whatever, except Spenser's Fairy Queen." "And," continued Mr. Burke, "no matter how that was said; but whoever relishes, and reads Spenser, as he ought to

* It does not appear at what period the above was written.

be read, will have a strong hold of the English language." These were his exact words. Many passages, or phrases, from his own works, abundantly testify, that he had himself carefully read that great poet. His reflections on the French Revolution particularly. Of Mrs. Anne Pitt, he said, that she had the most agreeable and uncommon talents, and was, beyond all comparison, the most perfectly eloquent person he ever heard speak *. He always, as he said, lamented that he did not put on paper a conversation he had once with her. On what subject I forget. The richness, variety, and solidity of her discourse, absolutely astonished him.

Dr. Beilby Porteus. From his Life, by the Rev. R. Hodgson.

Dr. Beilby Porteus, late Bishop of London, was the youngest but one of nineteen children, and was born at York on the 8th of May, 1731. His father and mother were natives of Virginia, in North America. They were both descended from good families, and, during their residence in that colony, were on a footing with its principal inhabitants, to many of whom they were allied. His father was of no profession; but, being born to what in that country was considered as an independent fortune, lived upon his own estate. It consisted chiefly of plantations of tobacco; and on one of these, called New-bottle, (from a village of that name near Edinburgh, once belonging to his family, but now in possession of the Marquis of Lothian), he usually resided.

His mother's name was Jennings. She was said to be distantly related to Sarah Jennings, the wife of John, Duke of Marlborough: and two of her ancestors, Sir Edmund and Sir Jonathan Jennings, lived at Ripon in Yorkshire, for which place, it appears, they were both representatives in Parliament in the reign of James the Second. Her father, Colonel Jennings, was Sir Edmund's son, and the first of the family who settled in Virginia, where he was Superintendant of Indian affairs for that province; became afterwards one of the Supreme Council; and for some time acted as Deputy Governor of the Colony.

The principal reason which induced the Bishop's father to quit a situation so perfectly independent and comfortable as that he had in America, was the desire of procuring for his children better instruction than he could there obtain. His health besides had been much impaired by the climate; and these causes combined, determined him at length to leave the country, and remove to England, which he accordingly did in 1720, and fixed himself in the city of York.

After having been for several years at a small school at York, Mr. Porteus, then at the age of thirteen, was placed at Ripon, under the care of Mr. Hyde, an

* Lord Bolingbroke admired Mr. Pitt, (Lord Chatham,) extremely, but not so much as his sister, Mrs. Anne Pitt. The former, he always termed Sublimity Pitt, and the latter, Divinity Pitt. However, he never, I believe, heard Pitt speak in the House of Commons.

upright, sensible, judicious man, of whose attention he ever entertained a grateful remembrance; and from him, at an earlier age than is now usually the case, he was sent to Cambridge, where, by the recommendation, and under the immediate superintendance of his elder brother, Mr. Robert Porteus, he was admitted a sizar at Christ's College, of which Dr. Rooke was at that time master, and the only person whom he then knew in the University.

His attention, while he continued under-graduate, was directed chiefly to mathematical studies; and in these he gave the best proof of industry and ability, by the situation he obtained of tenth wrangler amongst the honorary degrees of his year. After having taken his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1752, he became a candidate for one of the gold medals, instituted not long before by His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, on his election to the chancellorship, as the reward of eminence in classical literature: and on this, the first occasion of their being adjudged, he had the merit, after a long and severe examination, of obtaining the second; the other successful competitor being Mr. Maseres, then a student at Clare-hall, and now Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, a man of great erudition in every department of learning, and more particularly distinguished by his uncommon depth and acuteness in the abstruser parts of analytical science.

In the spring of the same year, Mr. Porteus was elected fellow of his college, and became a resident in Cambridge. This, as I have frequently heard him say, was one of the happiest periods of his life. By a series of unlooked for occurrences, he had been placed in a situation which, of all others, he most coveted; he had leisure to prosecute at his own discretion those pursuits which were best suited to his taste and disposition; and during the intervals of study he was passing his time in the society of friends whom he respected and loved.

Mr. Porteus had been long destined for the church, as well by his own deliberate choice, as the wishes of his family; and accordingly, at the age of twenty-six, he took orders, being ordained deacon at Buckden, in the year 1757 by Dr. Thomas then Bishop of Lincoln, and, not long after, priest by Archbishop Hutton at York, where he preached the ordination sermon. On his return to the University, he resumed the charge of his pupils; but, amidst the cares of tuition, he found time for other pursuits, and more particularly for the exercise of his poetical talents, which were certainly of no ordinary stamp. Of this indeed he soon after gave a public proof, by obtaining Mr. Seaton's prize for the best English poem on a sacred subject. The subject fixed upon was "Death;" and it was one perhaps at that time better suited than any other to his feelings, in consequence of his father's death, which had occurred a little before. The loss of so kind a parent, whom he most sincerely loved, had very deeply afflicted him; and he was therefore well prepared to describe, in the language of the heart, the sad and solemn scenes of human mortality. How

admirably he has done it, those who know and can feel the poem, are best able to judge. It has been long in print, and, I believe, has been uniformly considered as a very able composition. Undoubtedly, as a juvenile performance, there are few superior; for it displays a correctness of taste combined with a sublimity of thought, and a power and justness of expression, which have seldom been exhibited in the first effusions of poetry.

In the mean time he was not inattentive to the duties of his profession, nor unmindful of the engagement into which he had entered, "to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word." A profane and very licentious pamphlet, entitled, "The History of the Man after God's own Heart," was about that time much in circulation, and had made a dangerous impression on the public mind. Its object was to strike a secret blow at revelation, by ridiculing the habits, manners, and religion of the Jews, and, particularly, by representing the character of David in a most odious point of view. Mr. Porteus saw at once the fallacy and mischief of this publication; and, with the view of checking its pernicious tendency, composed and preached before the University, a sermon in answer to it, in which he forcibly exposed its many errors and misrepresentations; vindicated the Mosaic Law from the charges brought against it; and gave the clearest and most satisfactory reasons for the high and peculiar name by which David was distinguished, namely, "The man after God's own heart." Nothing indeed can be more strictly just than the character which he has there given of the royal penitent, or more impressive than the moral application; and it is therefore no wonder that the sermon should have been heard, as it was, with great attention at the time, and afterwards, when in print, most favourably received. It is now the fifth in his second volume of Discourses; with the omission, however of some passages of a polemical nature, in order, as he has himself observed, "to render it more practical, and of course more generally useful."

Before the appearance of this sermon, he stood high in the estimation of the University for Literary attainment; but it tended undoubtedly to raise him still higher in the public opinion; and, as a proof of it, he was not long after appointed by Archbishop Secker, one of his domestic chaplains. This appointment took place early in 1762, and in the course of that summer he quitted college, where he had lived most happily for the last fourteen years, to reside at Lambeth. Here he had ample leisure for his professional studies; and it was besides a singular advantage, which he did not fail to improve, to have constantly before him such a guide as the Archbishop; a man whom he well describes "as endowed with superior talents, which he had highly cultivated; of a strong and sound understanding; of extensive and profound erudition, more particularly in Hebrew literature, and every branch of theology; an admired and useful preacher; of unblemished purity

of manners, unaffected piety, unbounded benevolence, and exemplary in the discharge of all his various functions, as a parochial clergyman, a bishop, and a metropolitan." "He was to me," he adds, "a most kind friend and a bountiful benefactor: but far beyond all the other benefits I derived, was that invaluable one of enjoying his conversation, of being honoured with his direction and advice, and of living under the influence of his example. These were advantages indeed; and, although I did not profit by them so much as I ought, yet to them, under Providence, I ascribe whatever little credit I have attained in the world, and the high situation I have since arrived at in the church."

On the 13th of May, 1765, Mr. Porteus married Margaret, eldest daughter of Brian Hodgson, Esq. of Ashbourne in Derbyshire; and in the course of the same year he was presented by the Archbishop to the two small livings of Rucking and Wittersham in Kent; which, however, he soon resigned for the rectory of Hunton, in the same county, in addition to a prebend at Peterborough, which had been given him by his grace before. Upon the death of Dr. Denne, in 1767, he obtained the rectory of Lambeth; and soon after this, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity, on which occasion he preached the commencement sermon.

On the 3d of August, 1768, after a most harassing and painful illness, which he bore with the greatest fortitude, and the most profound acquiescence in the Divine will, Archbishop Secker died at Lambeth, leaving his two chaplains, Dr. Stinton and Dr. Porteus, joint executors, and, amongst other directions of his will, committing to their care the revisal and publication of his Lectures on the Catechism, his manuscript sermons, and other occasional writings. This trust was faithfully fulfilled: and in order to render the work more complete, as well as to pay the last tribute in his power to his deceased friend and benefactor, Dr. Porteus prefixed a "Review of the Archbishop's Life and Character." It is unquestionably a masterly performance, and one of the happiest specimens of biographical composition. The character of the Archbishop is drawn with accuracy and discrimination. There are no false tints thrown in to embellish and set off the picture. It is touched with the firm hand, and in the sober colouring of truth; and the impression left on the mind is a mingled sentiment of admiration and esteem for the talents, the erudition, the unostentatious beneficence, and the profound Christian piety, of that illustrious prelate.

In the year 1769, he had the honour of being appointed chaplain to his Majesty, and soon after he obtained the mastership of the Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester. This piece of preferment had been selected by Archbishop Secker, as one of his options, and the presentation to it, when it became vacant, was left to the discretion of certain trustees, to whom he gave authority for that purpose. The two persons, who were considered, on mature deliberation, as having the strongest claims,

were his grace's chaplains at the time of his decease; and it was determined that Dr. Porteus should have the mastership, and that he should resign his prebend of Peterborough to Dr. Stinton. In consequence of this arrangement, he for some years afterwards resided occasionally at St. Cross. The place had nothing very striking to recommend it, especially after the beautiful scenery which he had in such perfection at Hunton: but there was yet a stillness about it, which pleased him. The neighbourhood afforded excellent society, and he had the satisfaction of improving in some degree the condition of the poor brethren in the hospital, by adding a small increase of salary to each.

About this time a circumstance occurred, which then excited considerable interest, and in which the part that Dr. Porteus took has been much misinterpreted and misunderstood. The following statement, in his own words, will place the fact in its true point of view. "At the close of the year 1772, and the beginning of the next, an attempt was made by myself and a few other clergymen, among whom were Mr. Francis Wollaston, Dr. Percy, now Bishop of Dromore, and Dr. Yorke, now Bishop of Ely, to induce the Bishops to promote a review of the Liturgy and Articles, in order to amend in both, but particularly in the latter, those parts which all reasonable persons agreed stood in need of amendment. This plan was not in the smallest degree connected with the petitioners at the Feathers Tavern, but, on the contrary, was meant to counteract that and all similar extravagant projects; to strengthen and confirm our ecclesiastical establishment; to repel the attacks which were at that time continually made upon it by its avowed enemies; to render the 17th article on Predestination and Election more clear and perspicuous, and less liable to be wrested by our adversaries to a Calvinistic sense, which has been so unjustly affixed to it; to improve true Christian piety amongst those of our own communion, and to diminish schism and separation, by bringing over to the national church all the moderate and well-disposed of other persuasions. On these grounds, we applied in a private and respectful manner to Archbishop Cornwallis, requesting him to signify our wishes (which we conceived to be the wishes of a very large proportion both of the clergy and the laity) to the rest of the Bishops, that every thing might be done, which could be *prudently* and *safely* done, to promote these important and salutary purposes."

The answer given by the Archbishop, Feb. 11, 1773, was in these words: "I have consulted severally my brethren the bishops, and it is the opinion of the bench in general, that nothing can in prudence be done in the matter that has been submitted to our consideration."

The period had now arrived, when Dr. Porteus was to be called to that high station in the church, to which his character and talents so well entitled him, and which he afterwards filled with so much credit to himself, and so much advantage to his country. On the 20th of December 1776, he kissed the King's hand on his promotion

to the see of Chester; a preferment on his own part perfectly unsolicited, and so entirely unlooked for, that, till a short time before it happened, he had not the smallest expectation of it. In consequence of this accession of dignity, which was conferred in the most flattering and gracious manner, he resigned the living of Lambeth, though he had permission to retain it: but he thought that with so many additional cares he should not be able to attend to so large a benefice, at least to the satisfaction of his own mind; and he therefore hesitated not a moment in giving it up into other hands.

The time had now arrived, when the Bishop of Chester was destined to fill a still more distinguished situation in the English Church. The high character he had long maintained; his zeal, his activity, his judgment, his powers of usefulness in every branch of his profession, and all these illustrated and adorned by a most unblemished life, and the most conciliating and attracting manners; naturally marked him out as a person eminently qualified to supply the vacancy which had for some time been expected in the see of London. Accordingly, the very next day, after the death of Dr. Lowth, which took place at the Palace at Fulham, the 3d of November, 1787, the Bishop, who was then at Hunton, received by a king's messenger the following letter from Mr. Pitt.

" My Lord,

" In consequence of the death of the Bishop of London, which took place yesterday, I lost no time in making it my humble recommendation to his Majesty, that your Lordship might be appointed to succeed him. I have this moment received his Majesty's answer, expressing his entire approbation of the proposal, and authorizing me to acquaint your Lordship with his gracious intentions. I have peculiar satisfaction in executing this commission, and in the opportunity of expressing the sentiments of high respect and esteem with which I have the honour to be, my Lord,

" Your Lordship's most obedient, and most humble servant,

" W. Pitt."

This important communication, made in such flattering and gracious terms, was most gratifying to the Bishop's feelings; but yet the high station to which he was raised, did not for a moment carry his thoughts from the great and only Disposer of all earthly good. Much as he felt the honour conferred upon him by his Sovereign, he looked beyond this world, up to Him, who is the King of kings; for, subjoined to a copy of the preceding letter, are written in his own hand the following words: " I acknowledge the goodness of a kind Providence, and am fully sensible that nothing but this could have placed me in a situation so infinitely transcending my expectations and deserts."

This appointment, like all that he had before filled, was on his own part perfectly unsought for and unsolicited. So far indeed from being desirous of a change of station, he had, on the contrary, many substantial reasons

for wishing to retain the Bishoprick of Chester. During his residence in that city, the attention he had uniformly shewed to all ranks of people; the ease and affability of his whole deportment; his kindness to all who needed his assistance; the warm interest he took in the affairs of his clergy; his endeavours to promote in every way the cause of religion, and the good of those committed to his charge; all this had placed him high in public estimation, and rendered him in every part of his diocese respected and beloved. It was not therefore without much regret, and a hard struggle with his own feelings, that he quitted a situation to which he was most sincerely attached, to enter upon another, where the duties were more burthensome, and the responsibility greatly increased.

Memoir of Arthur Murphy, Esq. Written by Himself. From his Life, by Jesse Foote, Esq.

"Richard Murphy, a merchant in the city of Dublin, was this writer's father, by Jane French, who was married to him in 1723. She was one of the daughters of Arthur French, of Clooniquin, in the county of Roscommon, and of Tyrone, in the county of Galway; her offspring were two daughters, who died young and three sons, James, Arthur, and Richard. The last died in his infancy; James was born at my father's house on George's Quay, in the city of Dublin, September, 1725; of the present writer, a memorandum in his mother's Prayer-Book says, he was born on the 27th of December, 1727, at Clooniquin, then the house of her eldest brother Arthur French. Richard Murphy his father sailed in one of his own trading vessels for Philadelphia the 24th June, 1729, but it was an unfortunate voyage: the ship was lost, as there was reason to suppose, in a violent storm, and neither the master, nor any of the ship's company, was ever heard of. From that time Mrs. Murphy continued in the house on George's Quay, which was built by her husband, and there bestowed all her attention on her two surviving sons, James and Arthur, till in December, 1735, by the advice of her brother Jeffery French, of Argyle-buildings, London, she sold all her property in Dublin, and removed with her young family to the metropolis.

"This writer did not remain long in London: his mother's sister, Mrs. Plunkett, wife of Arthur Plunkett, of Castle Plunkett, in the county of Roscommon, being at that time settled at Boulogne with her family, she desired by letter that her nephew Arthur should be sent to her. Accordingly, the young adventurer, early in the year 1736, was embarked, and soon arrived at his aunt's house, which was large and commodious, in the lower town, near the Church. Her family was large; no less than five sons and four daughters, who behaved with the greatest affection to young Arthur; till, in the beginning of 1738, Mrs. Plunkett was ordered by her physicians to the south of France, for the recovery of her health. On that occasion she sent her sons to their father, who was then in London, and placed

her daughters in a convenient situation at Montreal. Young Murphy, then turned of ten years old, was sent to the English college at St. Omer's, and in that seminary he remained six years.

"In February, 1734, he was of course placed in the lowest school, under the Rev. Mr. Stanley; and under him he went through the second school in regular succession, till being at the head of rhetoric, and the first boy in the college, he was dismissed to London in 1744, being then seventeen years old.

"From the middle of the second year in great figures, young Murphy obtained the first place; and except three times maintained his ground throughout five successive years. One thing in particular he cannot help recording of himself: in the middle of the year in poetry, the young scholar stood a public examination of the Æneid by heart. The Jesuits were arranged in order, and several gentlemen from the town were invited. The Rector of the college examined his young pupil, and never once found him at fault: at the end of half an hour, the rector took a pen to write Murphy's eulogium. It should have been premised, that all the scholars went by assumed names; Murphy changed his to Arthur French. The words of the rector were, 'Gallus nomine, Gallus es, qui simul ac alas expandis, cæteros supervolitas.' This at the time filled me with exultation; and even now is remembered by me with a degree of pleasure. I cannot quit this head, without saying, that I often look back with delight to my six years' residence in the college of St. Omer's. During that time I knew no object of attention but Greek and Latin; and I have even thought, and still think it, the happiest period of my life.

"In July, 1744, I arrived at my mother's in York-buildings. My eldest brother James soon came home from his morning walk, and embraced me with great affection. In a day or two after, my uncle Jeffery French, then Member of Parliament for Milbourn Port, came to see me. He talked with me for some time about indifferent things; and then, repeating a line from Virgil, asked me if I could construe it? I told him I had the whole Æneid by heart. He made me repeat ten or a dozen lines, and then said, 'If I have fifty acres of land to plough, and can only get two labouring men to work at two acres per day, how many days will it take to do the whole?' 'Sir!' said I, staring at him; 'Can't you answer that question?' said he; 'Then I would not give a farthing for all you know. Get Cocker's Arithmetic; you may buy it for a shilling at any stall; and mind me, young man, did you ever hear mass while you was abroad?' 'Sir, I did, like the rest of the boys.' 'Then, mark my words; let me never hear that you go to mass again; it is a mean, beggarly, blackguard religion.' He then rose, stepped into his chariot, and drove away. My mother desired me not to mind his violent advice; but my brother, who was educated at Westminster school, spoke strongly in support of my uncle's opinion, and he never gave up the

point till he succeeded to his utmost wish.

"James soon after went to the Temple to study the law, and this writer remained with his mother in York-buildings, till the month of August, 1747; he was then sent by his uncle to the house of Edmund Harold, an eminent merchant in Cork, and there remained a clerk in the counting-house till April, 1749; having first attended at Mr. Webster's academy near the Mews, where he was taught to cast accompts, and instructed in the Italian method of book-keeping. On his uncle's arrival in Dublin, he ordered his nephew to meet him at Headford, in the county of Galway, the seat of lord St. George, but at that time occupied by Arthur French, of Tyrone, nephew to Jeffery French. Nor can I pass by the city of Cork witkout acknowledging the civilities I received from the eminent merchants there. A more hospitable, polite, and generous people, it has not been my lot ever to have known.

"I reached Headford; and, in a few days after my arrival, Jeffery French came there, with his intimate friend Mr. Dodwell, of Golden-square, a gentleman of great taste and eminence in literature. In about ten or twelve days they both set off for Dublin, while I had directions to remain in the country, till such time as my uncle should write to me. In August, 1749, I received a letter from Argyle-buildings, ordering me to repair to Dublin, where I should receive further directions from Dillon the banker. I was there informed that I must embark, in a ship then ready, for Jamaica, where Jeffery French was possessed of a large estate. Upon this I wrote to my mother, who in her answer desired me to return immediately to London. I obeyed her order; and from her house wrote to my uncle as she desired: my uncle was enraged at what he called wilful disobedience, and from that moment would never see me. He imputed to me a love of idleness; but, to remove his suspicions, Alderman Ironside, at that time an eminent banker in Lombard-street, was so polite as to invite me to a station in his counting-house; where I was treated with the greatest civility. At the end of a year, finding that nothing made an impression on Jeffery French, I took leave of Alderman Ironside, where I had remained till the end of 1751.

"The playhouses at that time had great attractions. Quin, at Covent-Garden, and Garrick, at Drury-lane, drew crowded houses. There were besides, Mrs. Cibber, Mrs. Pritchard, Mrs. Clive, and that excellent comedian Harry Woodward. London at that time had many advantages which have been long since lost. There were a number of coffee-houses where the town wits met every evening; particularly the Bedford, in the Piazza, Covent-Garden, and George's, at Temple-Bar. Young as I was I made my way to those places, and there, among the famous geniuses of the time, I saw Samuel Foote and Dr. Barrowby, who was a celebrated wit of that day. Foote, at a table in the Doctor's company, drew out his watch with great parade, and then said, 'My watch does not go.' 'It will go,' said Dr. Bar-

rowby; and Foote was abashed by a loud laugh.

" Another well known person at that time, namely, the famous Doctor Hill, author of a daily paper called, The Inspector, was a constant visitor at the Bedford. The Doctor's essays were weak and frivolous to such a degree, that, though not then two and twenty, I flattered myself that I could overtop Dr. Hill. I passed a few weeks in making preparations; and on Saturday, October 21, 1752, most boldly and vainly published the first number of the Gray's Inn Journal.

" The encouragement I met with emboldened me to persevere; and from that time I went on with great alacrity, without any thing to stop me in my career, till in the month of October, 1753, a very extraordinary occurrence interrupted me in my course. There are a few persons still living who remember all the circumstances of the affair.

" I went on with the Gray's Inn Journal without interruption, even though a circumstance occurred unfavourable to our mother's expectations; for my uncle Jeffery French had at this time almost closed his career. Having agreed with the duke of Bedford, he set out with Mr. Rigby to be chosen member of parliament for Tavistock in Devonshire. The election being over, he went to Bath, in an ill state of health, and died there in the beginning of May, 1754. His will being opened, it appeared that my name was not so much as mentioned. The Jamaica estate and about 900*l.* per annum, in the county of Roscommon, were left to James Plunkett, Esq. who was my first cousin, a very gentleman-like and elegant man. This to me was a terrible disappointment, the more so as I then was in debt no less than 300*l.*; a sum, that seemed sufficient to overwhelm me.

" The late Samuel Foote was, at that time, my intimate friend and chief adviser: he bade me do as he had done, and go on the stage. I approved his advice, so far as to let it be given out, that I intended to pursue that scheme, in hopes that my relations, who by my mother's side were rich and numerous, would take some step to prevent what I imagined they would think a disgrace to themselves, I heard nothing from any of them; they all seemed indifferent about me, and therefore I concluded the Gray's Inn Journal on the 21st of September, 1754, and, in a short time afterwards, appeared at Covent-Garden in the character of Othello.

" In the course of that season I contrived, with economy, to clear off a considerable part of my debts. Mr. Davick Garrick engaged me for the following year at Drury-Lane, when, including salary, profits of the farce called the Apprentice, and a generous support of my friends on my benefit night, I cleared within a trifle of 800*l.* I had now, after paying off all my debts, about 400*l.* in my pocket; and with that sum I determined to quit the dramatic line: this was in the summer 1756.

" In the beginning of 1757, I offered to enter myself a student of the Middle Temple; but the Benchers of that Society thought fit to object to me, assigning as

their reason, that I had appeared in the profession of an actor. This kindled in my breast a degree of indignation, and I was free enough to speak my mind on the occasion. I was obliged, however, to sit down under the affront; and being at the time employed in a weekly paper, called The Test, my thoughts were fixed entirely on that work. It was an undertaking in favour of Mr. Fox, afterwards lord Holland. The Newcastle administration was overturned by the resignation of Mr. Fox, then Secretary of State; and an interval of four or five months ensued without any regular ministry; when the duke of Devonshire, to fill a post absolutely necessary, agreed to be, during that time, First Lord of the Treasury. The contention for fixing a minister lay between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; and, during that time, the Test went on in favour of the latter; but, at length, the City of London declared, in a most open manner, in favour of Pitt and Legge, made them both free of the City, and invited them to a sumptuous entertainment at Guildhall. From this time the contest between the rivals ceased: Mr. Legge was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Pitt secretary of state, and Mr. Fox paymaster of the forces.

" My weekly lucubrations of course terminated: nor, during their publication, had I ever seen Mr. Fox: at length, in August, 1757, I was invited to dine at Holland House. The company were, Horace Walpole, Mr. Calcraft, and Peter Taylor, who was soon after made deputy paymaster of the Forces, and went to the army then commanded by prince Ferdinand. Mr. Fox was a consummate master of polite manners, and possessed a brilliant share of wit. It happened, after dinner, that the present Charles Fox, then about thirteen years old, came home from Eton school. His father was delighted to see him; and, ' Well Charles,' said he, ' do you bring any news from Eton?'—' News! None at all! Hold! I have some news. I went up to Windsor to pay a fruit woman seven shillings that I owed her: the woman stared, and said, Are you son to that there Fox that is member for our town? Yes, I am his son. Po, I wont believe it! if you were his son I never should receive this money.' Mr. Fox laughed heartily; ' And, here Charles; here's a glass of wine for your story.' Mr. Charles Fox seemed on that day to promise those great abilities which have since blazed out with so much lustre.

" The contemptuous treatment I had met with at the Temple occurred to Mr. Fox, and he spoke of it in terms of strong disapprobation. In about a week after he desired to see me at Holland House, and then told me, that he had seen lord Mansfield, who expressed his disapprobation of the Benchers of the Temple, in a style of liberality and elegant sentiment which was peculiar to that refined genius. Lord Mansfield accordingly desired me to offer myself as a student to the society of Lincoln's Inn, where I might be sure of a genteel reception. I obeyed this direction without delay; and I now feel, with gratitude, the polite behaviour I met

with from that Society. This was in the year 1757. I now attended to the law: at the same time I followed lord Coke's advice, who says, Quod sapiunt ultro sacris legis in camœnis. The consequence was, that in the beginning of 1758, I produced the farce of the Upholsterer, which owed its prodigious success to the acting of Garrick, Yates, Woodward, and Mrs. Clive. In the course of this year, 1758, I parted with my brother: he sailed in the month of August, 1758, for the Island of Jamaica, where he went to practise at the bar. In the month of November following I received a letter from him, dated at ——; and the next account was to me most melancholy, as it informed me of his death within a month after he landed. A trunk, containing his papers and letters, were all the property he had to leave, and that came to my hands. Before the end of this year I finished The Orphan of China, of which I need not say any thing, as I have given a full account of it in the life of Garrick. The muse still kept possession of me, and early in 1760 I produced the Desert Island, and the Way to Keep Him, in three acts; which, in the following season, 1761, I enlarged to a comedy of five acts. The season at Drury-Lane playhouse closed in the beginning of June, and then the celebrated Sam Foote proposed a plan for taking Drury-Lane Theatre during the summer months. Of this an account is given in the Life of Garrick, and therefore may be passed by here, without a word more; except, that in the course of that summer I produced the comedy of All in the Wrong, The Citizen, and the Old Maid. I now dedicated my whole time to the study of the law, and continued so to do till the end of Trinity Term 1762, when I was called to the bar. Some little interruption, however, I must acknowledge, from my engagement in The Auditor, in defence of lord Bute against the North Briton, the production of Mr. Wilkes.

"In the summer 1763, I went the Norfolk Circuit, induced by the advice of my good friend Mr. Serjeant Whitaker, a man of infinite wit and humour, and of the highest honour. Being my first adventure, I could not expect to glean much; in fact, I returned to town with an empty purse. My friend Mr. Foote, who never spared his joke, said on the occasion, 'Murphy went the circuit in the stage coach, and came home in the basket.' In Trinity Term 1764, I made my first effort at the bar, in the cause entitled Menaton and Athawes. I was counsel on the part of the plaintiff, and Mr. Dunning was counsel for the defendant. The court divided with me; and lord Mansfield, in his elegant speech on the occasion, gave me the most flattering encouragement. Accordingly I applied with diligence, and attended the King's Bench with great regularity; but the muse still had hold of me, and occasionally stole me away from Coke upon Littleton. Accordingly I produced the farce called, "Three Weeks after Marriage," and in the year 1768 the tragedy of Zenobia, in which Barry and Mrs. Barry, who were then engaged at Drury-Lane Theatre, made a most

distinguished figure. I went on with tolerable success at the bar; but I followed lord Coke's advice.

"In the year 1772, I produced the tragedy of the Grecian Daughter, in which Mrs. Barry acquired immortal honour. In the following year my friend Mr. Harris prevailed on me to give the tragedy of Alzuma to Covent-Garden Theatre; and in 1777, Garrick having abdicated, the same gentleman obtained from me the comedy of Know your own Mind. This is the last piece that I brought on the stage.

"The law now entirely engaged my time till the year 1780, when lord George Gordon's mob set fire to lord Mansfield's house in Bloomsbury-square. The noble lord, in a kind of disguise, made his escape before the flames blazed out. His lordship was astonished at the violent rage of the incendiaries; he never imagined that they would set fire to the house of the Chief Justice of England. From that time his spirit began to droop; and it was to me the greatest mortification to see that exalted genius sinking every day, till I saw him, who stood above all competition, dwindle into inferiority, and become no more than a mere common judge.

"From that time I had no kind of pleasure in attending at the bar. I still, however, continued to go the Norfolk circuit, when the death of Serjeant Whitaker, and two or three more, advanced me to the station of senior counsel. In that employment I remained till 1787, when, on the last day of Trinity Term, to my great astonishment, the chancellor took into his carriage a junior to me on the circuit of St. James's to kiss his Majesty's hand as King's Counsel. This was done with the greatest secrecy; not a word transpiring till the very day on which it was completed. The effect this had on my mind was the more felt by me, as, from my former connexion with lord Thurlow, I had reason to expect a very different kind of treatment. I accordingly resolved, without a moment's hesitation, to go the circuit no more; as I was determined not to be an opening counsel under a person who had been four years my junior. Mr. Partridge was the person thus suddenly advanced over my head: I had no particular objection to him; for in fact he was a man of amiable manners. In a few days he sent me a card of invitation to dinner; but I declined it with all due civility. Soon after Mr. Partridge called upon me, at my chambers in Lincoln's Inn, and pressed me to go the circuit; but I told him I was determined to quit it entirely. He still continued to urge his request: I told him he must excuse the manner in which I should give my final answer, which was as follows: As he was a little man, not much higher than my shoulder, I observed to him that there had been exhibited as a spectacle the Tall Irishman, and at the same time the Norfolk Dwarf; Now, said I, the Tall Irishman will not travel with the Norfolk Dwarf. He affected to laugh, and thus ended our connexion. I kept my word, and in the month of July, 1788, sold my chambers in Lincoln's Inn, and retired altogether from the bar.

"I now bought a house in Hammersmith town, and there prepared my translation of Tacitus for the press, which was published in July, 1793. I ventured to print it on my own account; and George Robinson, of Paternoster-row, was the publisher. I shall not here state an account of the treatment I met with from that man, nor shall I mention the like behaviour from the late Thomas Cadell; they are both dead, and peace be to their ashes. From that time I continued to amuse myself with literary matters: the tragedy of Arminius; The Force of Conscience, being an imitation of the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, with the Life of Garrick, were the productions of three or four years. Besides those pieces, a Latin Translation of Addison's Epistle to lord Halifax from Italy, with an Ode prefixed to lord Loughborough, now lord Rosslyn, served to fill up my time. If I shall have health enough, my intention is to write the life of Samuel Foote; a man, to whose company I owed some of the greatest pleasures of my life, and whose memory I now esteem and value. That, if I should be able to accomplish it, will end my literary career. The polite attention of lord Loughborough (then chancellor) has made the deepest impression on my mind: such was the friendship of that noble lord, with whom I was intimately acquainted from the year 1757, when he was called to the bar, that he wrote a letter to me, desiring that he might appoint me a Commissioner of Bankrupts. My answer to his lordship was, that I felt it very awkward to receive again what I had voluntarily resigned in 1780;—so the matter rested for six months, when I took the liberty to request a favour of his lordship:—his answer was, 'that what I asked was not in his department; but,' said his lordship, 'Why not let me make you a Commissioner of Bankrupts: I know why you resigned, but you will never have those reasons as long as I hold the Great Seal.' His lordship added, 'that a gentleman who then held the office, would resign it, as soon as I should be ready to accept it.' Upon this all my scruples vanished, and from that time I attended the business at Guildhall, till my declining health obliged me a second time to resign the office; which I did, to lord Eldon, who, after a most kind remonstrance on the occasion, which I am proud to mention, did me the honour to receive it.

"I have now gone through the several particulars of my life, and I have stated every thing with the strictest truth. I know that it is of no kind of importance; but, if I am to be mentioned hereafter, I am desirous that it should be with exact conformity to the real state of the case. When I look back, I can see, that in many instances I was too careless, and did not sufficiently attend to my own interest; but the fact is, I never set a great value on money: if I had enough to carry me through, I was content; but though I can accuse myself of neglect of my own interest, I thank God I cannot fix on any action inconsistent with moral rectitude."

‡

Dunning and Foote. From the same.

Mr. Murphy's reception among the Benchers of Lincoln's-Inn appeared to renovate his mind, to excite new ideas, and revive old ones. He seldom mentioned his law friends before this circumstance took place; but he would afterwards wander, and with some delight, into law subjects; nay, he would sometimes tread the flowery path of contingent remainders; and detail the occasions where particular lawyers had obtained distinguished pre-eminence. He would also give, in a very entertaining manner, reports of extraordinary causes, and, like the old soldier, fight his battles o'er again!

As the chief part of his life was divided between law and the drama, it was natural that his select friends should have been chosen from both. Mr. Dunning and Mr. Foote appear to have been his most confidential friends; with them he could safely speak of others, unbend his social hours, and receive a gratification highly pleasing to him. In his apartments there was a portrait of Dunning, a very striking likeness, painted in Crayons by Ozias Humphrey. Mr. Dunning and he sometimes retired to Wimbledon, where the former had a house, a fine garden, and a hot-house, which he saw so seldom that, upon both their calculations, it was found that it cost a hundred pounds a visit. Having less to do than Mr. Dunning, he used to go to his chambers in the hours of business, where he has seen Mr. Lloyd Kenyon returning and receiving opinions. One time Mr. Kenyon asked Mr. Dunning for a frank to a relation in North Wales. Mr. Dunning gravely wrote him one, directed to his relation in North Wales, near Chester. Mr. Kenyon threw down the paper and said, "Take your Franks, Mr. Dunning: I will accept no more from you." Mr. Dunning got between him and the door, and pacified him.

Mr. Dunning having business in the west of England, gave Mr. Murphy a cast in his carriage, and in his way called on Lord Chatham at Burton Pynsent. Mr. Murphy wished to be taken up at the next stage, and to leave Mr. Dunning to call alone on his lordship, as he had formerly conducted a political contest against him: but Mr. Dunning would not part with him: they drove up to the house whilst it poured torrents of rain, and there were large sheets of water round the house. Mr. Dunning left Mr. Murphy in the chaise. But Lord Chatham soon came to Mr. Murphy, and without the least ceremony, told him that "he should not remain as an enemy at his gate," and on the chaise door being opened, he added, "This is kind of you! you see, sir, I am confined here by inundations, like Noah in his ark."

Mr. Murphy used to say, that if ever there was a natural logician, it was Mr. Dunning. When he was in the happiest mood, a speech of his, that took only half an hour, would embrace all the arguments contained in his opponent's of two hours. But yet he agreed, that it required the utmost attention to follow him. His mind laboured. He had, all the while, a movement of his head, a

grinding of his lower jaw, and a certain singular cast of countenance. There was, besides, a huskiness in his throat, which constantly moved him to make use of an endeavour to clear it: this was first produced as a mental excitement, but afterwards became a habit, whenever his subject demanded any extraordinary exertion.

A short time after, Mr. Dunning was created Lord Ashburton: when he awoke one morning and heard the servant-maid in the next chamber, he ordered her to undraw the curtains. He asked her what it was o'clock? she told him "it was late." "Why then undraw the curtains." "They are undrawn," she said. He still thought otherwise, and desired his valet to be called. The valet confirmed the maid's report, and it was not till then, that his lordship found, that, by a paralytic stroke he had been deprived of his eye-sight, without the least sensation of pain.

Soon after this calamitous visitation Mr. Murphy was with him at his house in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, when the name of Colonel Barré was announced; and he was led in, by a guide, as blind as the noble person to whom his visit was directed. These two eminent characters were amongst the strongest opponents of Lord North's administration: and Lord North also, almost at the very same period, experienced the melancholy approach of the privation of his sight: a circumstance in the history of these distinguished characters, which affords an ample scope for serious reflexion.

Shortly after, Lord Ashburton, on his return from the west of England, in his way to London, met Mr. Wallace, the late Attorney General, at an inn upon the road, going to Falmouth for the benefit of his health. They passed the evening together; and when it is considered what these two men had been, and what the condition of both of them then was, I will leave the scene of the evening to be filled up by the mind of the reader. They parted never to meet again. Lord Ashburton died in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, and Mr. Wallace died at Falmouth. Mr. Murphy has composed an elegant Latin epitaph to the memory of the latter.

It will be recollected that Samuel Foote was one of the earliest friends Mr. Murphy had; and so far back as the year 1757, it is seen that they were in the habits of familiar intercourse; and, opposite as they were in their first nature; the one grave and thoughtful, the other gay and witty; they notwithstanding formed an indissoluble friendship. It has been seen that they were concerned together to perform plays at Drury-Lane Theatre during the summer of 1760; and the agreement was, that each of them should produce three new dramatic pieces. I mention this to shew how friendship will cover faults: for although Mr. Foote did not produce one piece, Mr. Murphy only laughed at the trick that was put upon him: and I do not believe there was another man in England that would have served him so, and by the venture escaped with impunity.

Mr. Murphy had it in contemplation to write the life of Mr.

Foote, and he was actually employed in collecting materials for it; but age and infirmity forbade the fulfilment of this intention. Mr. Murphy had already obtained the best account of his early life; and as even that must be interesting I will here give it.

'Samuel Foote was born (I believe, but that may easily be ascertained by the register) about the year 1721, at Truro, in Cornwall: his father, who was an attorney, and some time member for Tiverton in Devonshire, had considerable places under government: his mother was of the ancient family of the Dineleys, of Charlton in Worcestershire, who married with the Gooderes, of Burghope in Herefordshire: both of these families were of an eccentric turn of mind, which Mr. Foote appears to have inherited and preserved to the last.

'These connexions brought him to the college school at Worcester, under the Rev. Mr. Miles, from whence he was elected Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford, being founder's kin, about the year 1737.

'In 1739, being indisposed, he was advised to go to Bath, where he soon made acquaintance with gamesters and men of pleasure. On returning to college, with two footmen and a ridiculous quantity of laced clothes, he was reproved by the Provost; when, finding a college life not suited to his genius, he quitted it in 1740, but without any public censure.

'He had an early turn for mimickry and acting. When at school he was frequently invited by the Sandys's, the Harris's, or others of his relations, to dine with them on Sundays: the consequence was, that Monday morning was spent in taking off every part of the family which entertained him, to the no small diversion of all the boys, but generally to their cost; as hardly any boy ever learned his lesson that morning.

'He is said, when at Oxford, to have acted Punch in disguise. But I remember, in one of his excursions from London to Oxford, which jaunts he made very often, spending an evening with him in company with Martin Maden, Walter Shirley, and others. Those gentlemen and himself acted Punch for a wager, and the company all agreed that Foote was the worst performer of the three.

'Foote's great acquaintance, both at school and college, was one Trott: and they went together upon many expeditions.

'His second brother was a clergyman of Exeter College, Oxon.

'In the interval from his time of leaving college and coming upon the stage, he was frequently in great distress. He was once confined for debt in the Fleet; and, I believe, released by an Act of Insolvency: at the same time one Waite was there confined for cheating the Bank. An old schoolfellow told me he dined with him there on turbot, venison, and claret, and never spent a cheerfuller day; for, while Waite found money, Mr. Foote furnished wit, jollity, and humour. His first essay, as an author, was written about this time; it was a pamphlet giving an account of one of his uncles, who was executed for murdering his other uncle.

'In one of his excursions to

Oxford with a certain lady, for whom he afterwards procured an husband, he drove a coach and six greys. This lady was afterwards married, and Mr. Foote handsomely rewarded for his trouble. He rented Charlton-house, the family-seat in Worcestershire, where he lived in some splendour for about a year and a half. During his magnificence there, he invited his old schoolmaster, Mr. Miles, to dine with him, who, admiring his service of plate and well-furnished sideboard, very innocently asked Mr. Foote what it might cost? Indeed, says he, I know not, but sure I am I shall soon know what it will bring.'

Mr. Foote was buried at Dover, though a monument is erected in the cloisters of Westminter Abbey, by Mr. John Hunter, I believe, or at least he proposed the subscription for it.

I do not think Mr. Murphy would have written a good life of Mr. Foote, because he himself must have been implicated in many of its scenes: and his delicacy would have induced him to suppress them, as he has done in the Life of Mr. Garrick.

Mr. Foote, however, was a very extraordinary man, who had a fund of wit, humour, and sense; but he did not make a good use of his talents, though he got money by them, which he very idly squandered. He was too fond of detraction and mimickry, which were blemishes in his conversation, though you were entertained by them. He was ridiculously vain of his family, and of his classical knowledge, which was superficial, and boasted of his numerous relations amongst the old nobility. He was very extravagant but by no means generous: though he spared no expense in his entertainments nor in wine, yet he did not understand a table. He affected to have disguised cookery, and French dishes, and never eat plain meat. He was not clean in his person, and was disgusting in his manner of eating; but he was so pleasant a fellow, and had such a flow of spirits, that you forgot his faults, and pardoned his want of elegance and decency; he always took the lead in conversation, and was generally the chief or sole performer, and he had such a rage for shining, and was so delighted with applause, that he often brought to my mind those lines of Pope in his character of the Duke of Wharton:

> Though listening senates hung on all he spoke,
> The club must hail him master of the joke.

He was civil to your face, and seldom put you out of humour with yourself; but you paid for his civility the moment you went out of company, and were sure of being made ridiculous: yet he was not as malignant as some men I have known; but his vanity and the desire he had of shewing his wit, made him run into satire and detraction. He loved titled men, and was proud of their company, though he gave himself airs of treating them with scorn. He was licentious and profligate, and frequently made a jest of religion and morality. He told a story very well, and added many pleasant circumstances of his own invention to heighten it. He had

likewise a good choice of words and apt expressions, and could speak plausibly on grave subjects: but he soon grew tired of serious conversation, and returned naturally to his favourite amusement, mimicry, in which he did not excel; for he was coarse and unfair, and drew caricatures. But he entertained you more than a closer mimick. If he had applied to the bar, and took pains in the profession of the law, it is probable he would have succeeded in it; for he was very quick and discerning, and could relate the material circumstances of a trial or a debate in parliament with wonderful precision and perspicuity.

He was a bad actor, and always ran into farce, and in tragedy he was detestable; for whenever he aimed at expression he was distorted. His voice, face and figure, were equally disagreeable, yet, under all these disadvantages, he acted many parts in his own plays much better than those who have appeared in them since his death—such as Major Sturgeon, Cadwallader, the Nabob, &c.; these are characters strongly ridiculous, and he succeeded in them. As a writer he had merit, though his principal characters are portraits: but if he had been more diligent in finishing his pieces, they might afford entertainment on the stage at this day.

He was always buying rings, snuff-boxes, toys, &c. which were a great expence to him, and was a bubble at play. Upon the whole, his life and character would furnish matter for a good farce, with an instructive moral. It would shew us, that parts and talents alone are of little use without prudence or virtue; and that flashes of wit and humour give only a momentary pleasure, but no solid entertainment.

Private Life of Mr. Fox. From Trotter's Memoirs of the last Years of Mr. Fox's Life.

The domestic life of Mr. Fox was equally regular and agreeable. In summer he rose between six and seven; in winter before eight. The assiduous care, and excellent management, of Mrs. Fox, rendered his rural mansion the abode of peace, elegance, and order, and had long procured her the gratitude and esteem of those private friends, whose visits to Mr. Fox, in his retirement at St. Anne's Hill, made them witnesses of this amiable woman's exemplary and endearing conduct. I confess I carried with me some of the vulgar prejudices respecting this great man! How completely was I undeceived! After breakfast, which took place between eight and nine in summer, and at a little after nine in winter, he usually read some Italian author with Mrs. Fox, and then spent the time preceding dinner at his literary studies, in which the Greek poets bore a principal part.

A frugal, but plentiful dinner took place at three, or half past two, in summer, and at four in winter; and a few glasses of wine were followed by coffee. The evening was dedicated to walking and conversation till tea-time, when reading aloud, in history, commenced, and continued till near ten. A light supper of fruit, pastry, or something very trifling, finished the day; and at half past ten the family were gone to rest.

State of Landed Property in India. From the History of Mysoor, by Col. Wilks.

When the English government became the sovereign of a vast territory in India, the question of landed property was investigated with warmth, and two opposite parties arose, respectively affirming the right of the sovereign and of the Zemindar, to the property of the soil. The reasonings on this subject were not only recorded on the official proceedings of the company's government, but were submitted to the judgment of the public by men of respectability and talent, personally conversant with the department of Indian revenue: and a decision on the whole case has been pronounced by the high authority of a lawyer, a statesman and a minister; and generally confirmed in an anonymous work of merit on the husbandry of Bengal, attributed to an author of still greater authority on subjects of this nature. As this decision appears at present to govern the public opinion, I shall quote it at length.

'On the subject of the rights of Zemindars the reasonings continued for years in extremes. On one hand it was asserted that the Zemindar had been merely an officer or collector of revenue; on the other, that he had been a feudatory prince of the empire. It has required the most laborious investigation to discover the fact, viz. that the Mogul was the lord superior or proprietor (terms* equivalent in their meaning) of the soil; that the Zemindars were officers of revenue, justice, and police in their districts, where they also commanded a kind of irregular body of militia; that this office was frequently hereditary, but not necessarily so; that on the failure of payment of the rents, or of fulfilling the other duties of his office, he could be suspended or removed from his situation at the pleasure of the prince; that the rents to be paid to him were not fixed, but assessed, at the will of the sovereign: and that the Ryot or cultivator of the soil, though attached to his possession, and with the right to cultivate it, yet was subjected to payments, varying according to particular agreements and local customs; that, in general, he continued on the spot on which his labours were directed to raise the means for his own subsistence, but that the proportion to be paid to the state was to be judged of by the Zemindar; that the rights of the Ryot had been gradually abridged, and the proportions he paid increased, during the successive revolutions through which his country had to pass before and after the fall of the Mogul empire.'

I have endeavoured to marshal, without any disguise, the mighty phalanx of opinion which is concentrated against me, and I shall now proceed to examine the authorities which have led me to a different conclusion.

Every Indian village is, and ap-

* This is a notable instance of the employment of feodal terms, which, with due submission, appear to me to be rendered *equivalent* by confounding fiction with substantial fact: and at all events cannot, without begging the whole question, be so applied in India.

pears always to have been, in fact, a separate community or republic; and exhibits a living picture of that state of things which theorists have imagined in the earlier stages of civilization, when men have assembled in communities for the purpose of reciprocally administering to each other's wants: 1. the Goud, Potail, Muccuddim, or Mundil (as he is named in different languages), is the judge and magistrate; 2. the Curnum, Shanboag, or Putwaree, is the register; 3. the Taliary or Sthulwar, and 4. the Totie, are severally the watchmen of the village and of the crops: 5. the Neerguntee distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields; 6. the Jotishee, or Joshee, or astrologer, performs the essential service of announcing the seasons of seed time and harvest, and the imaginary benefit of unfolding the lucky or unlucky days and hours for all the operations of farming: 7. the smith, and 8. the carpenter, frame the rude instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwelling of the farmer; 9. the potter fabricates the only utensils of the village; 10. the washerman keeps clean the few garments which are spun, and sometimes woven, in the family of the farmer, or purchased at the nearest market; 11. the barber contributes to the cleanliness, and assists in the toilet of the villagers; 12. the silversmith *, marking the approach of luxury, manufactures the simple ornaments with which they delight to bedeck their wives and their daughters: and these twelve officers (Barra bullowuttee, or Ayangadee), or requisite members of the community, receive the compensation of their labour, either in allotments of land from the corporate stock, or in fees, consisting of fixed proportions of the crop of every farmer in the village. In some instances the lands of a village are cultivated in common, and the crop divided in the proportions of the labour contributed, but generally each occupant tills his own fields: the waste land is a common pasture for the cattle of the village; its external boundaries are as carefully marked as those of the richest field, and they are maintained as a common right of the village, or rather the *township* (a term which more correctly describes the thing in our contemplation), to the exclusion of others, with as much jealousy and rancour as the frontiers of the most potent kingdoms. Such are the primitive component parts of all the kingdoms of India. Their technical combination to compose districts, provinces, or principalities, of from ten to a hundred thousand villages, has been infinitely diversified at different periods by the wisdom or caprice of the chief ruler, or by the vigour and resistance of those who, in every age, country, and condition, have coveted independence for themselves, and the power to govern the greatest possible number of their fellow-creatures. Menu's arrangement places a lord over one town with

* In some parts of the country the silversmith is not found included in the enumeration of twelve, his place being occupied by the *poet*, a less expensive member of the community, who frequently fills also the office of schoolmaster.

its district (which is precisely the township above described); a lord of ten, of twenty, of a hundred, and of a thousand, in a scale of regular subordination, reporting and receiving commands successively from the next in gradation; and fixes with precision the salaries and perquisites of each. His scheme of government recognizes none of those persons who, in these days are known by the several designations of Wadeyars, Poligars, Zemindars *, Deshayes, &c. (all in their respective jurisdictions) assuming when they dare, the title of Raja or king: all the officers enumerated by Menu have, in their several scales, at different periods, simply acted as agents of the sovereign; as farmers of revenue, contracting with the sovereign for a certain sum, and levying what they can, as partisans or chiefs of troops, receiving an assignment on revenues managed by another, or the direct management themselves, for the purpose of defraying the pay of the troops. In these several capacities they may have continued obedient to the sovereign who deputed them; they may have obtained from his favour, or from his fears, a remission of a part of the sum to be accounted for; they may have rebelled and usurped the whole government, or have established a small independant principality, or a larger: but with regard to the villages or townships of which the principality is composed, they have appeared but in one character, viz. the government, the sovereign: a person exercising the sovereign authority on his own account, or by delegation on account of another. The interior constitution and condition of each separate township remains unchanged; no revolutions affect it; no conquest reaches it.

The first discussions of importance on this subject that I have been able to trace on the records of Madras, occurred in the year 1795-6†, when the inhabitants of Trimashy, a village in the district of Poonamalee, firmly refused to accede to the terms demanded by the collector; and that officer, considering the refusal to proceed from a refractory disposition incited by the intrigues of the *dubashes* of Madras (viz. native interpreters and agents to gentlemen in office who were not conversant with the languages of the country,) proposed, that "the *Meerassy* inhabitants of that village should be deprived of their *Meerass*, and that it should be transferred to others who are willing to cultivate on the proposed terms." The Board of Revenue opposed, and the Governor in Council sup-

* In the work of Tippoo Sultaun, who affected new names for all objects, they are called *Boomeean*, the plural of a Persian word nearly synonymous with Zemindar. He, however, applies it not only to the Indian chief of a district which he is reducing to subjection, but frequently (and with more propriety) to the inhabitants of the district generally; apparently intending to convey the idea of their being the aborigines. *Boom*, country, region, *boomee*, belonging to a region; a person who has never left home.

† The Indian year of revenue, which begins in July and embraces portions of two of the Julian calendar, is here adverted to. The English have adopted from the Mohammedans the term *fussilee*, for this description of year, viz. the *year of the seasons*, to distinguish it from the lunar, which confounds all seasons.

ported, the expediency of this measure, and the discussions on the subject were protracted to a voluminous length. The Board of Revenue defended the rights of the occupants under the varied designations of "Meerassy right," "which implies inheritance, property;" "proprietary right;" "Meerassy privileges;" "rights of inheritance in regard to the soil," &c.: but, misled by supposed historical facts, which had not then been sufficiently examined, they unadvisedly admitted a position which had been assumed "as a fundamental axiom" by the government, viz. "that the actual property in the soil is vested in government, who alone have the power of making an absolute sale of the land;" and their defence of rights and privileges, incompatible with this admission, sunk before the superior talents of their opponent. It is certain, from the known characters of the men, that each party sincerely believed itself to be defending the cause of justice. Facts appear to have been on the side of the Board of Revenue; mental power and logical skill on the side of the government: and in commenting, among other expressions, on the phrase "certain defined rights and privileges of the Meerassdars," they arrive at the following conclusion. "This definition then of the *original* right of a Meerassdar, which has been adopted and defended by the Board of Revenue, involves a contradiction of terms; for it defines it to be an *indefeasible proprietary right* in the cultivation of the soil, the proprietary right of which soil is, a priori, vested in the Circar alone: and it is further defined to be a definite right under an indefinite system of law, and an independent right dependent upon the will of an arbitrary sovereign." This (it is added) is the abstract state of the question: but if questions of this nature were to be determined by metaphysical abstraction, it might with equal justice be argued, that law is the child of property and not the parent: that property must exist before laws are invented to protect it: that absolute independence being a creature of the imagination, the words "dependent" and "independent," when employed to describe the qualities of property, can in point of fact be considered no otherwise than merely relative terms: and that it is not the abstract right, but the practical protection, which is wanting under an arbitrary sovereign. We have however shewn the existence not only of a definite right, but of a definite law for its protection, which never had been repealed, excepting by the infamous Mohammedan precept of seizing property as a remuneration for sparing life. However this may be, the doctrine defended by the government was decided in the affirmative; viz. that the occupants of land in India "can establish no more right of inheritance in respect to the soil, than tenantry upon an estate in England can establish a right to the land by hereditary residence; and the *Meerass* of a villager was defined to be "a preference of cultivation derived from hereditary residence."

This decision necessarily became the rule of conduct to all

subordinate boards and officers: and in 1799 we find the board of revenue in a report preparatory to the introduction of the system of Bengal, affirming for the government, and denying to the inhabitants, all property in the soil; and unfolding a slight glance at the difficulties with which they were surrounded in the remarkable phraseology of "proprietary indefeasible fees of hereditary cultivators."

Early in 1800 orders were issued to the collectors to make the requisite preparatory arrangements for dividing the country into estates, for the purpose of being *sold* to persons to be denominated Zemindars: and some of these officers had the courage to plead anew the cause of the actual proprietors. The collector of Dindegul observes that the sale will be "generally impracticable from the poverty of the people, who were expected to become the purchasers, as well as from the objection these very people would have to purchase a proprietary right in what prescription had already made their own."

"The Nautumcars," a local name for the same description of persons, "certainly consider the farm they cultivate *as their own property*, and no government, save the Mussulman, appears to have considered the soil as its own. In forming the present benevolent system this solitary precedent surely will not operate as an example to act upon; but where no written document is found, what has been known as usage will be established as law; this would confirm the prescriptive right of many industrious natives to the lands they have long occupied, and be the certain means of making them comprehend whence their advantages are derived." The collectors of Tinevelly, and of Salem and Coimbetoor, suggested objections of a similar tendency; and the very collector of the jageer, who had formerly proposed the disfranchisement of the *Meerassdars* of Trimashy, appears to have been now satisfied "that the *Meerassdar is the actual proprietor*," and the tenant a very distinct person, the *Pyacaree*, who cultivates the land of another on condition of receiving a portion of the produce.

"If" says the collector, "he (*the Meerassdar*) had only a right to cultivate, or only a preference in the cultivation, it would be equally to him as to the *Pyacaree* a thing of no real value; whereas the Meerassdar sells, mortgages, gives away, or leaves his lands to his posterity, which the other cannot."

"Meerass then," he adds in another place, "is the ultimate and the largest interest that they can covet or have in their lands; and if it bears a construction different from that which I have always given it, and which it has in the *acceptation of the natives themselves*, I can only hope to be excused from having mistaken the rights of government by the beneficial effects of the illusion." Under a government certainly of as great purity as ever directed the affairs of any state, it is truly wonderful that no effect whatever should have been produced by these powerful and eloquent appeals.

In this latter report, however, and in several others on the con-

dition of the company's jageer, I recognize the state of things which has already been noticed in Canara: the occupants clung to the property as long as any proprietor's share was left; and at length, strange as it may appear, the *Pyacarees* are stated generally to have received a larger share of the crop in return for their labour than the proprietors who cultivated their own lands. The latter were probably capable of bearing large exactions, rather than desert their patrimony: they discovered the distinction, and began to disavow their *Meerass* or *Canyatchee*, and to enter themselves on the books as *Pyacarees* who are free to labour where they please. Property, it would seem, had been absorbed in the exactions of the government: and under a continuance of the same order of things, there can be no doubt that the rights which were systematically denied would speedily have been forgotten.

The system however proceeded; the lands were sold * in several districts; and on the first January 1802, laws † and regula-

* "The Salem estates originally sold for 19 per cent. on the annual jumma. What kind of an estate is that which sells for 19 per cent. of the land-tax of one year? In England where the rental is 2,000*l.* the land-tax, at four shillings in the pound, is 400*l.* What would be said to a man who sold such an estate for 76*l.* which is 19 per cent. on 400*l* ?"—*Mr. Thackeray's Report.*

† In order that I may not inadvertently misrepresent this final and solemn decision, the words of the regulations shall be scrupulously quoted.

The proprietary right of the government is affirmed in the following terms.

REGULATION XXXI.

"Whereas the ruling power of the provinces now subject to the government of Fort St. George has, in conformity to the ancient usages of the country, reserved to itself and has exercised the *actual proprietary right of lands of every description,*" &c. &c.

The preamble of Reg. xxv. determines "*to grant to Zemindars* and other landholders, their heirs and successors, a permament property in their land in all time to come," &c. &c.

And the ii. (or first enacting) clause of the same regulation thus proceeds.

"In conformity to these principles an assessment shall be fixed on all lands liable to pay revenue to the government; and in consequence of such assessment the *proprietary right of the soil* shall become vested in the *Zemindars* or other proprietors of land, and in their heirs and lawful successors for ever."

The condition of the *Meerassdars* or *Canyatchikars* (under farmers or Ryots, as they are named) is determined in the following clauses.

REGULATION XXX.

IX. "Where disputes may arise respecting rates of assessment in money or of division in kind, the rates shall be determined according to the rates prevailing in the cultivated lands, in the year preceding the assessment of the permanent jumma on such lands; or where that may not be ascertainable, according to the rates established for lands of the same description and quality as those respecting which the dispute may arise.

X. "Where under farmers or Ryots may refuse to exchange mutual engagements in writing with proprietors or farmers of land, defining the terms on which such under farmers or Ryots are to hold their lands, and may persist in such refusal for the space of one month after the prescribed pottahs may have been offered in presence of witnesses by the proprietors or farmers of land, or may refuse to fulfil those engagements when entered into; such proprietors or farmers of land shall have power to grant the lands of the under farmers or Ryots so refusing to other persons."

tions were enacted for protecting the property thus created.

Suspicions however arose, and began to acquire strength, that there had been some error in these proceedings; and in 1805-6, Lord William Bentinck, then governor of Madras, on whose mind these suspicions had made a deep impression, prepared and circulated a set of queries for the purpose of obtaining farther information for his guidance in the settlement of those districts not yet alienated; the result of this investigation, afterwards recorded on the proceedings of the government, strengthened the opinions which he had previously formed, and induced his lordship to make a journey to Calcutta for the express purpose of obtaining the sanction of the governor general for suspending the farther operation of the Zemindary system.

Remarks on the Administration of Justice in British India. From the same.

Of the actual system for the administration of justice to the native subjects of British India I wish to speak with respect, because it originated and has been continued in the purest intentions. On the political question I presume to risk but one observation. It is impossible to separate the political tendency of laws from the genius of the government from which they emanate. The spirit of the English constitution assigns to the mass of the people an extensive controul over the exercise of public authority; and deems the executive government to be the representative of the public will. This spirit pervades the whole body of its laws; these laws necessarily reflect back, and reproduce the principles from which they spring: and it is matter for grave reflection, that if this species of reaction should ever be produced in India, from that moment it is lost to this country for ever. The efficient protection of our native subjects in all the rights which they themselves consider to be essential to their happiness, is certainly the most sacred and imperious of all our duties; and it is on this express ground that our present regulations, considered as a system of jurisprudence for the south of India, appear to me to require a radical reform.

To apply the *criminal law of Arabia*, the most defective on earth, and the least capable of correction, to the Hindoo subjects of Great Britain under the government of Fort St. George, is just not quite so absurd as to import the criminal law of Japan. If it were even admitted that the principles of the *Koran* are more susceptible of improvement than the law of the Hindoos, the absurdity would still remain of governing that people by a *foreign bad code*, when we may with equal facility govern them by a *foreign good code*; namely, the English law, which even in point of prescription had a local existence before the scourge of Mohammedan conquest and Mohammedan law had yet reached the plains of Coromandel.

In the *civil code* we profess to administer justice according to the laws of the parties. This subject requires a more ample dis-

cussion than can be given in the compass of a note. The essential nature and objects of justice are every where uniform: the end is the same, the means are various. The principles of law in different countries do not materially vary; particular laws or regulations consist less in declaring principles, than in applying them to existing customs, and not unfrequently in a bare enunciation of the forms of legal proceeding. With a people like the Hindoos, among whom religion, and law, and the forms of legal proceeding, are all of equal sanctity, and considered to have the same divine origin, the substitution of the forms of Westminster Hall for the forms prescribed in their sacred codes, or rendered equally venerable by immemorial usage, if not a subversion of an important part of their legal system, is at least a violation of customs which we profess to respect. Principles in all countries are understood by a number sufficiently small; forms by every one: and if we can condescend to govern the Hindoos by their own forms, we may (I do not affirm that we ought) correct the principles of their law without its being generally observed or opposed. But holding in constant recollection the character of the people to be governed, it is incontestable that we may introduce Mohammedan or English law, both, or either, directly, or covertly, without the most distant chance of any influence, immediate or remote, in ameliorating the morals of the people, or changing their opinions, in any other way than that of producing disgust at our rule.

Exclusively of forms, I fear that some fundamental errors of principle have been committed. Imprisonment for debt, for example, which is considered by all philosophical reasoners as one of the most defective institutions of European jurisprudence, is unknown to the ancient codes, or to the common law of the south of India, and is repugnant to all the habits which so peculiarly separate that race from the rest of mankind. But this terrible and most offensive innovation has been introduced into the English civil code, which professes to govern the Hindoos by their own laws. The distinction of casts, which is absolutely the key-stone of Hindoo law, has, unfortunately, either not been recognized at all in our laws and regulations, or indirectly treated with contempt; thus insulting the higher, without gratifying the lower classes; and, added to the novelty of our forms, exciting in both the apprehension of farther change.

In framing a new and full grown system (since, however, exceedingly enlarged), the excellent and able men who were employed naturally referred to the system of jurisprudence which we are all habituated to revere, for their rules, their forms, and modes of proceeding, down in many instances to the very technical terms. Fixed judges and magistrates have been established, and courts of appeal, of circuit, and gaol delivery, with all their English appendages; and a superior Hindoo court, with a Perso-Arabic title, administered by Englishmen; and it has already become a difficult study to be able to understand the voluminous code which has

been framed. Of all this I should wish to speak with reverence; but really an enormous amount of technical labour, and skill, and expence, and the application of most respectable talents, terminates in performing the proposed operation very ill, or not at all: the component parts are clogged by their own complexity and misapplication; the machinery of an Arnold's chronometer has been applied to perform the work of a smoke-jack.

If Anglo-Indian legislators would throw off a little of that which they somewhat too largely ascribe to the natives of India, namely, the prejudice of education, they would find the rules of proceeding prescribed by the Hindoo code (with all its numerous imperfections on its head), combined with the local customs, or common law of India, not ill adapted to the state of society to which it is intended to apply; and in the *Panchaiet* or *Indian jury*, which is (or rather was) universally established in the south as the common law of the land, an admirable instrument of practical decision. The Hindoo character, like all others, is of a mixed nature, but it is composed of strange and contradictory elements. The man who may be safely trusted for uniformly unfolding the whole truth to an European in whom he reposes confidence, may be expected to equivocate, and even to contradict every word he has said, if called on to repeat it in presence of a third person whom he either fears or suspects; and in one of these descriptions he usually includes all strangers. The same description of man, sometimes the same individual, who from pique, and often without any intelligible motive, will perjure himself without shame or compunction at a public trial, is faithful, kind, and respectable in the intercourse of society; and the single but notorious fact of habitual lending and borrowing of money and effects, among the husbandmen, without bond, or note, or witness, abundantly proves, that this people, apparently so destitute of morals in one view of their character, are in another habitually honest and true in their dealings; that they mutually trust and deserve to be trusted. The more intimately they are known, the more favourable is the judgment of every good and humane European on the character of this interesting people; but fully to understand them, requires to have lived and been educated among them, as one of themselves; and I conscientiously believe, that for the purpose of discriminating the motives of action, and the chances of truth in the evidence of such a people, the mature life of the most acute and able European judge devoted to that single object would not place him on a level with an intelligent Hindoo Panchayet.

To govern the Hindoos in reality, and not in pretence, by their own laws and customs, civil and criminal, would admit of extensive aid in judges and juries (panchaiets) from among the natives themselves, checked without material danger of corruption by a reduced scale of European controul. The new establishments of police, on which large sums have been unnecessarily expended, might be entirely retrenched by

putting in activity the admirable institution of village officers, and directing, instead of attempting to destroy, this excellent instrument of police; of which I speak, not from vague tradition of what it has been, but from a close observation of what it is. If theory required that the judicial functions should be rendered distinct from the fiscal, it seemed equally to demand the separation of the duties of magistrate and judge, which have been united in the new system with the most obvious practical inconvenience. There may have been a real propriety in preventing the fiscal officer from being the judge in a contested case of fiscal demand (although we do not see this propriety practically acknowledged in England), but beyond this there seems to have been little necessity for the cumbrous establishments to which we have adverted.

Account of the Family of Hyder Ally. From the same.

The first of the family of whom any tradition is preserved was Mohammed Bhelole, a religious person, who came from the *Penjab* to the south, accompanied by two sons, Mohammed Ali, and Mohammed Welle, and settled at the town of Alund in the district of Calburga, about one hundred and ten miles west, and by north, from Hydrabad. He is said to have founded a small mosque, and fakir's mokan, by charitable contributions, and to have accumulated some property by this religious speculation. He married his son Mohammed Ali to the daughter of one of the servants of the celebrated mausoleum at Calburga, and Mohammed Wellee into another family in the same neighbourhood. After some time, the expenses of this augmented family being greater than the saint was able to defray, the two sons proceeded to the south in search of any service by which they could procure a subsistence; and were engaged at Sera, in the capacity of revenue Peons, in the department of the collection of the town customs. Futtè Mohammed, the son of Mohammed Ali, and the father of Hyder, was born at Sera.

In the course of duty, or for some cause not explained, the two brothers came to Colar, where Mohammed Ali died, and Mohammed Wellee, seizing on all the domestic property, turned Futtè Mohammed and his mother out of doors.

A Naick of Peons in Colar, commiserating their destitute condition, received them into his house, brought up Futtè Mohammed, and at a proper age enrolled him as a Peon in his own command.

While Derga * Kooli Khan was Soubadar of Sera, or affected to be so named, Futtè Mohammed had an opportunity of attracting his attention. The service was the siege of Ganjecottah, near to Balipoor, then the strong hold of a refractory Poligar. The troops were repulsed in a general assault, when Futtè Mohammed seized a standard, and planted it once

* He was appointed in 1729.

more on the breach: the assailants rallied, and the place was taken; and the young man, who had so gallantly restored the fortune of the day, was brought before the Soubadar, and rewarded with the command of twenty Peons as a Naick.

Futtè Mohammed, now Futtè Naick, continued to distinguish himself in the service of the Soubadar, and was gradually advanced in rank and consequence. His first wife was Seydanee Saheba, the daughter of Burra Saheb, a religious person at Colar, who bore him three sons, Wellee Saheb, Ali Saheb, and Beheloe Saheb. It was on the death of this lady at an early age that he began the mausoleum, mosque, tank, and gardens, at which the authors of the manuscript, which is chiefly followed in this statement, now officiate: the buildings are said to have been finished several years afterwards, when he was appointed Foujedar of the district; but in whatever manner these dates may be arranged, the buildings themselves, although far removed from architectural grandeur, exhibit unquestionable evidence that the founder, at the time of their erection, had attained a very respectable degree of rank, property, and consideration. Of the second marriage of Futtè Naick the following account has been communicated to me by several authorities, and confirmed by the written narrative of Budr ù Zeman Khan, for one of whose relations the lady was intended. A Nevayet*, of respectable family, from the Concan, was travelling across the peninsula with his wife, one son (Ibrahim Saheb), and two daughters, to Arcot. At Tarrikera, near the borders of Bednore, he was robbed and murdered; and his family, in the greatest misery, begged their way to the eastward, until their arrival at Colar, where their distresses induced the widow to listen to the proposal of Futtè Naick to be united to one of her daughters. After this marriage, the rest of the family, relieved from their difficulties, proceeded to Arcot.

Derga Kooli Khan of Sera soon afterwards died, and was succeeded by his son Abdul Russool Khan. The new Soubadar or Nabob, and Futtè Naick, for some reason not mentioned, were unfavourably disposed to each other; and the Naick accordingly prepared to seek another master, the Nabob Saadut Oolla Khan, at Arcot. The terms of his service, with fifty horse and fourteen hundred Peons, by whom he was accompanied, were nearly adjusted, when a difficulty arose with regard to his being received with the *tazeem*, or the compliment of other officers rising to salute him when he approached them in the Durbar: a mark of deference which is usual towards persons of rank, but at that period was reserved for officers of horse, who, like the ancient cavaliers of Europe, looked down on the pretensions of an officer of infantry. The Naick could not procure the tazeem, and being resolved not to serve without it, departed to Chit-

* *Nevayet*, generally supposed to be a corruption of the Hindostanee and Mahratta terms for *new comer*.

toor, where he was better received by the Foujedar, or provincial commander, Tahir Khan.

The mother-in-law of Futtè Naick had been ill received at Arcot, on account of her connection with the Naick; and the family into which she expected to marry her other daughter declined the alliance for the same cause. She therefore joined her son-in-law at Chittoor, and he having in the mean time lost his second wife without issue, took to himself her younger sister as a third.

Tahir Mohammed Khan was soon afterwards recalled to court at Arcot; but the Naick, still remembering the tazeem, declined to accompany him. He negociated for the service which he had formerly rejected, and was received by Abdul Russool Khan of Sera as Foujedar, or provincial commandant of Colar, with Boodicota as his Jageer, and the title of Futtè Mohammed *Khan*.

His two sons by the Nevayet lady, the younger of the sisters, were both born at Boodicota; viz. 1. Shabaz Saheb; 2. Hyder Saheb.

When Nizam ul Moolk formed the design of establishing a separate and independent empire in the south, the removal from subordinate commands of all persons who either retained any principle of fidelity to the house of Timour, or had indulged in views of independent authority for themselves, was essential to his success. The money and influence of Saadut Oolla Khan had long been employed to obtain the office of Soubadar of Sera for a dependant of his own; and it was chiefly through his interest that Tahir Khan was appointed to that office, and aided by Saadut Oolla to fight for its possession. He found the standard of his former Naick marshalled on the side of his opponent Abdul Russool, who was slain in a well contested battle, with most of his officers of rank. Futtè Mohammed, and his son Wellee Saheb, fell on this sanguinary field; and the bodies being removed by the pious care of their attendants, their tombs are now shewn in the mausoleum of the family at Colar.

Great Balipoor was the Jageer of the deceased Abdul Russool, and previously to the battle, the families of all his principal officers, and among the rest that of Futtè Mohammed, were, according to the routine of suspicion customary in similar cases, thrown into that fort.

Abbas Kooli Khan, the son of the deceased, was not disturbed in the personal Jageer of his father: maternal feeling, combined with good sense, suggested to his mother, who in a few short years had seen the mangled corpses of her husband and father-in-law, the expedient of securing the Jageer on the condition of a formal renunciation of the office of Soubadar or Nabob, and a solemn promise to exert the influence of the family at court for the confirmation of Tahir Mohammed: and Saadut Oolla Khan, who directed in all things the proceedings of Sera, readily perceived the policy of acceding to this moderate proposition.

Abbas Kooli Khan, however, did not neglect to avail himself of the circumstances in which he was placed, to plunder to the extent

that he durst the families deposited in the fort; and that of Futtè Mohammed was not among those which escaped. The pretext was a balance due from the deceased while Foujedar of Colar. The sons, Shabaz Saheb, and Hyder Saheb, the former about nine, the latter seven years of age, were called upon for payment. The usual methods were resorted to and succeeded; but not before the torture, in its most cruel and ignominious forms, had been applied to both the boys, and probably to their mother. This inhuman conduct was not forgotten; and it will be seen in the sequel that Hyder, in his prosperous fortune, sought his revenge after the lapse of thirty-two years, with all the virulence belonging to the memory of a recent injury.

The family, plundered of its property, was permitted to depart, and the mother *, *after the loss of every thing but her children and her honour*, proceeded to Bangalore to seek the protection of her brother Ibrahim Saheb, who was in the service of the Killadar of that place, with a small command of Peons. When the elder brother Shabaz Saheb had attained a sufficient age, his uncle procured for him a recommendation to a Hindoo officer of rank at Seringapatam, and he was received into the service as a subordinate officer of Peons, in which situation he distinguished himself, and gradually rose to the command of two hundred horse and one thousand Peons, which he now held in the army before Deonhully. Hyder, although twenty-seven years of age, was not in the service; and as he remained through life unacquainted with the first elements of reading or writing, it may be inferred that the misfortunes of his family prevented an attention to this object during his early age, and that his subsequent temper was not found fitted to bear the controul of a pedagogue. When approaching maturity of age, he had shewn a greater disposition to the pursuit of pleasure, and the sports of the chace, than to the restraints of a military life; and would frequently absent himself for weeks together, secretly immersed in voluptuous riot, or passing with facility, as was the habit of his whole life, to the opposite extreme of abstinence and excessive exertion; wandering in the woods while pursuing, not without danger, his favourite amusements. In the siege of Deonhully he began to pay attention to the profession of arms, first appearing as a volunteer horseman in his brother's corps, and afterwards occasionally intrusted with the command of parties of infantry in the trenches. He was observed on every service of danger to lead the way, and to conduct himself with a coolness and self-possession seldom found in a young soldier. This bungling and unskilful siege, directed by a man who had neither seen nor studied the profession of arms, and possessed no quality of a soldier but headlong courage, was protracted for nine months, when the Poligar consented to evacuate the place on condition of being permitted to retire unmolest-

* The exact phrase of the original *Suttaun ù Towareekh* by Tippoo Sultaun.

ed with his family to his relation the Poligar of little Balipoor. In the course of this service Hyder was distinguished by the particular favour of Nunjeraj; and, at its close, was raised at once to the command of fifty horse and two hundred infantry.

Account of a Sect in Mysoor. From the same.

In passing from the town of Silgut to Deonhully in the month of August, 1805, I became accidentally informed of a sect, peculiar, as I since understand, to the north-eastern parts of Mysoor, the women of which universally undergo the amputation of the first joints of the third and fourth fingers of their right hands. On my arrival at Deonhully, after ascertaining that the request would not give offence, I desired to see some of these women, and the same afternoon seven of them attended at my tent.

The sect is a subdivision of the *Murresoo wokul*, and belongs to the fourth great class of Hindoos, viz. the Souder. Every woman of the sect, previously to piercing the ears of her eldest daughter, preparatory to her being betrothed in marriage, must necessarily undergo this mutilation, which is performed by the blacksmith of the village for a regulated fee, by a surgical process sufficiently rude. The finger to be amputated is placed on a block: the blacksmith places a chisel over the articulation of the joint, and chops it off at a single blow. If the girl to be betrothed is motherless, and the mother of the boy have not before been subjected to the operation, it is incumbent on her to perform the sacrifice.

After satisfying myself with regard to the facts of the case, I inquired into the origin of so strange a practice, and one of the women related with great fluency the following traditionary tale, which has since been repeated to me with no material deviation by several others of the sect.

A Rachas (or giant), named *Vrica*, and in after times *Busmaasoor*, or the giant of the ashes, had, by a course of austere devotion to *Mahadeo*, obtained from him the promise of whatever boon he should ask. The Rachas accordingly demanded, that every person, on whose head he should place his right hand, might instantly be reduced to ashes; and Mahadeo conferred the boon, without suspicion of the purpose for which it was designed.

The Rachas no sooner found himself possessed of this formidable power, than he attempted to use it for the destruction of his benefactor. Mahadeo fled; the Rachas pursued, and followed the fugitive so closely, as to chase him into a thick grove, where Mahadeo, changing his form and bulk, concealed himself in the centre of a fruit then called *tunda pundoo*, but since named *linga tunda*, from the resemblance which its kernel thenceforward assumed to the *ling*, the appropriate emblem of Mahadeo.

The Rachas, having lost sight of Mahadeo, inquired of a husbandman who was working in the adjoining field, whether he had seen the fugitive, and what direc-

tion he had taken. The husbandman, who had attentively observed the whole transaction, fearful of the future resentment of Mahadeo, and equally alarmed for the present vengeance of the giant, answered aloud, that he had seen no fugitive, but pointed at the same time with the little finger of his right hand to the place of Mahadeo's concealment.

In this extremity Vishnou descended in the form of a beautiful damsel to the rescue of Mahadeo. The Rachas became instantly enamoured: the damsel was a pure bramin, and might not be approached by the unclean Rachas. By degrees she appeared to relent; and as a previous condition to further advances, enjoined the performance of his ablutions in a neighbouring pool. After these were finished, she prescribed as a further purification the performance of the *Sundia*, a ceremony in which the right hand is successively applied to the breast, to the crown of the head, and to other parts of the body. The Rachas, thinking only of love, and forgetful of the powers of his right hand, performed the *Sundia*, and was himself reduced to ashes.

Mahadeo now issued from the *linga tunda*, and after the proper acknowledgments for his deliverance, proceeded to discuss the guilt of the treacherous husbandman, and determined on the loss of the finger with which he had offended, as the proper punishment of his crime.

The wife of the husbandman, who had just arrived at the field with food for her husband, hearing this dreadful sentence, threw herself at the feet of Mahadeo. She represented the certain ruin of her family, if her husband should be disabled for some months from performing the labours of the farm, and besought the deity to accept two of her fingers, instead of one from her husband. Mahadeo, pleased with so sincere a proof of conjugal affection, accepted the exchange, and ordained, that her female posterity, in all future generations, should sacrifice two fingers at his temple, as a memorial of the transaction, and of their exclusive devotion to the god of the ling.

The practice is accordingly confined to the supposed posterity of this single woman, and is not common to the whole sect of Murresoo wokul. I ascertained the actual number of families who observed this practice in three successive districts through which I afterwards passed, and I conjecture that within the limits of Mysoor they may amount to about two thousand houses.

The hill of Seetee, in the talook of Colar, where the giant was destroyed, is (according to this tradition) formed of the ashes of Busmaasoor: it is held in particular veneration by this sect, as the chief seat of their appropriate sacrifice; and the fact of its retaining little or no moisture, is held to be a miraculous proof that the ashes of the giant continue to absorb the most violent and continued rain. This is a remarkable example of easy credulity. I have examined the mountain, which is of a sloping form, and composed of coarse granite.

The name of Seetee is stated

by the bramins of the vicinity to be an abbreviation of Sree-puttee-Shweragerree, or the hill of the husband of Sree and Ishwara.

Siva's adventure with the giant of the ashes is stated by these bramins to be related in one of the Puranas, with some change in the circumstances, which does not seem to improve its merit as a tale. The flight of Siva is continued through the seven lower and seven upper regions to Vicunta, the paradise of Vishnou, who there appears in the form of a young Bramin, and with the aid of Maya (delusion) persuades the giant that Siva never yet uttered a truth, and that the boon was fallacious, as he might easily ascertain by placing his right hand on his own head.

Swatadry, or Belacul (the white mountain), a temple near the south-eastern frontier of Mysoor, claims, in common with many other places, the honour of possessing the ashes of Busmaasoor; and I am informed that the descent of Vishnou in the form of a damsel, as stated by the Murresoo wokul, is related in the Sthalla Purana, or local history of the origin of that temple*; but the bramins whom I have consulted have not been able to trace in any document the incident of the husbandman and his wife, nor the existence of any written authority for the sacrifice practised by this extraordinary sect.

It is not a little remarkable, that neither the Dewan of Mysoor, nor any of his suite, nor of the bramins belonging to the resident's office, had ever heard of this singular practice, or were acquainted with the existence of this subdivision of the sect of Murresoo wokul.

Account of the Nairs. From the same.

The Nairs, or military class of Malabar, are, perhaps, not exceeded by any nation on earth in a high spirit of independence and military honour; but, like all persons stimulated by that spirit without the direction of discipline, their efforts are uncertain, capricious, and desultory. The military dress of the Nair is a pair of short drawers, and his peculiar weapon is an instrument with a thin but very broad blade, hooked towards the edge like a bill-hook, or gardener's knife, and about the length of a Roman sword; which the weapon of the chiefs often exactly resembles. This hooked instrument, the inseparable companion of the Nair whenever he quits his dwelling on business, for pleasure, or for war, has no scabbard, and is usually grasped by the right hand, as an ornamental appendage in peace, and for destruction in war. When the Nair employs his musquet, or his bow, the weapon which has been described is fixed in an instant by means of a catch in the waist-belt, with the flat part of the blade diagonally across his back; and is disengaged as quickly whenever he drops his musquet in the wood, or slings it across his shoulders for the purpose of rushing to close encounter with this terrible instrument. The army of Hyder had not before engaged so brave or so formidable an enemy: their concealed fire

from the woods could neither be returned with effect, nor could the troops of Hyder be prevailed on to enter the thickets, and act individually against them. In every movement through the forests, with which the country abounds, bands of Nairs rushed by surprise upon the columns of march; and, after making dreadful havock, were in a moment again invisible. On one occasion they were so imprudent as to depart from their characteristic warfare, and openly defended the passage of one of those rivers with which the province is every where intersected to discharge the mountain torrents. Hyder, by passing a column of cavalry at a higher ford, and combining their charge on the flank of the Nairs with a heavy discharge of grape in front, made a dreadful carnage among them. As he advanced to the southward he secured his communications by a series of block houses; and the Nairs, perceiving the object of these erections, impeded his progress by the defence of their own small posts. One of these, which my manuscripts name Tamelpelly, was surrounded by Hyder in the following manner: first, a line of regular infantry, and guns with an abbatis; second, a line of peons; third, of cavalry. This disposition was made for the purpose of striking terror, by not allowing a man to escape destruction. The Nairs defended themselves until they were tired of the confinement, and then leaping over the abbatis and cutting through the three lines with astonishing rapidity, they gained the woods before the enemy had recovered from their surprise.

Account of the Jungum. From the same.

From conversation with some intelligent Jungum priests, I learn that they derive the name from a contraction of the three words, jannana, to be born; gummana, to move; murrana, to die. The word jungum thus constantly reminds them of the most important dogma of the sect, namely, that the man who performs his duties in this world shall be exempted from these changes in a future state of existence, and shall immediately after death be reunited with the divine spirit from which he originally emanated. This doctrine, not altogether unknown to the braminical code, is pushed by the jungum to the extent of denying the metempsychosis altogether. This sect condemns as useless and unmeaning the incessant detail of external ceremonies, which among the bramins of every persuasion occupies the largest portion of their time, and forms the great business of their lives. The jungum disclaim the authority of these gods upon earth, as they impiously and familiarly call themselves. The priests of the jungum are all of the fourth or servile cast, and habitually distinguish the bramins by the opprobrious appellation of dogs; yet, strange to tell, in some districts, by reciprocal concessions, and a coalition of religious dogmas with temporal interests, they have de-

scended to receive as their spiritual preceptors the cast of which they have been successively the martyrs and persecutors, and are consequently considered as heretics or renegadoes by the genuine jungum.

The religion which inculcates what is real, in preference to the observance of form, is, according to this sect, of great antiquity; and they consider Chen Bas Ishwur, a native of Callian in the Deckan, the reputed founder of the sect in the eleventh century, to have been only the restorer of the ancient true belief; and in spite of the most sanguinary persecutions, they are found scattered in considerable numbers over the Concan, Canara, Deckan, Mysoor, and every part of the south of India, and constitute a considerable portion of the population of Coorg, the Raja himself being of that persuasion, as were the former Rajas of Mysoor, Bednore, and Loonda.

The fanciful notions of internal and external purity and uncleanness (the former having a twofold division of bodily and mental) are the foundation of most of the distinction of casts which seem so absurd to Europeans. To the question of what is the difference between such and such a cast, the first answer will certainly be to indicate what they respectively can and cannot eat; but when we consider the plausible dogma not altogether unknown in Europe, that a regular and abstemious life (which they would name the internal purity of the body) contributes to mental excellence, we may be disposed to judge with more charity of the absurdity of these distinctions. The Jungum priests and the elect among their disciples abstain altogether from animal food; while the Shenevea bramins of the Concan and the Deckan indulge in fish; and many of Bengal, Hindostan, and Cashmire, eat the flesh of fawn, of mutton, and whatever is slain in sacrifice: the bramins of the south abhor these abominations, but the latter at least is distinctly authorized by Menu and all the ancient Smirtis, as the most bigoted are compelled to admit.

In the leading traits of the doctrine of the Jungum which have hitherto been noticed, we recognize the hand of a rational reformer. The sequel is not so favourable. The Jungum profess the exclusive worship of Siva; and the appropriate emblem of that deity in its most obscene form, enclosed in a diminutive silver or copper shrine, or temple, is suspended from the neck of every votary as a sort of personal god; and from this circumstance they are usually distinguished by the name of Ling-ayet, or Lingevunt. They profess to consider Siva as the only god; but on the subject of this mode of devotion they are not communicative, and the other sects attribute to them not very decent mysteries. It is however a dogma of general notoriety, that if a Jungum has the mischance to lose his personal god, he ought not to survive that misfortune.

Poornia, the present minister of Mysoor, relates an incident of a Ling-ayet friend of his who had unhappily lost his portable god,

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and came to take a last farewell. The Indians, like more enlightened nations, readily laugh at the absurdities of every sect but their own, and Poornia gave him better counsel. It is a part of the ceremonial preceding the sacrifice of the individual, that the principal persons of the sect should assemble on the bank of some holy stream, and placing in a basket the lingum images of the whole assembly, purify them in the sacred waters. The destined victim, in conformity to the advice of his friend, suddenly seized the basket and overturned its contents into the rapid Caveri. Now, my friends, said he, we are on equal terms: let us prepare to die together. The discussion terminated according to expectation. The whole party took an oath of inviolable secrecy, and each privately provided himself with a new image of the lingum.

Mr. Ellis considers the Jungum of the upper countries, and the Pandarum of the lower, to be of the same sect, and both to deny in the most unequivocal terms the doctrine of the metempsychosis. A manuscript in the Mackenzie collection ascribes the origin of the Pandarums, as a sacerdotal order of the servile cast, to the religious disputes which terminated in the suppression of the Jain religion in the Pandian (Madura) kingdom, and the influence which they attained, to the aid which they rendered to the bramins in that controversy; but this origin seems to require confirmation. In a large portion, perhaps in the whole, of the braminical temples dedicated to Siva in the provinces of Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevelly, the Pandarum is the high priest of the temple, and has the entire direction of the revenues, but allows the bramins to officiate in the ceremonial part according to their own good pleasure, as a concern altogether below his notice. He has generally the reputation of an irreproachable life, and is treated by the bramins of the temple with great reverence; while on his part he looks down with compassion at the absurd trifles which occupy their attention.

These facts seem to point to some former revolution in which a Jungum government obtained the superiority over the braminical establishments, and adopted this mild mode of superseding the substantial part of their authority. It is a curious instance of the sooder being the spiritual lord of the bramin, and is worthy of farther historical investigation.

State of Religion in Spain. From Jacob's Travels in Spain.

On Sunday I went to the Cathedral *, to see the ceremony of high Mass. There is a pomp and splendour in the Catholic worship, when performed in a country where that religion is established, which, like any other pageant, dazzles for a moment, and confines the attention to the imposing spectacle; but it is so different from any of our feelings of religion, that the impression it makes

* At Seville.

upon us, differs little from that which the best scenes in a theatre produce. On those, however, who from early and repeated association have connected these ceremonies with religious ideas, and with the strong feelings of adoration and gratitude, the effect produced must be very great, though I should suspect very transient.

I have frequently visited this Church before, and every time with such increased admiration, that I am afraid to attempt a description of it, from a consciousness of the difficulty to do justice to my own impressions. From the climate, it is necessary to exclude the heat, and of course the light; there are consequently but few windows, and those of painted glass, barely sufficient to give light enough to distinguish, on first entering, the various surrounding objects. This produces a solemn effect on the high altar, which is brilliantly illuminated with wax tapers of an enormous size. The decorations of this altar are splendid and sumptuous beyond description; the quantity of gilding on the borders of the different compartments, filled with images and pictures, the massy silver and gold ornaments, and the rails of bronze, tastefully designed, compose a most impressive whole. The priests kneeling before the altar, and in silence offering up their devotions, the clouds of ascending incense, and the pious on their knees, in the most striking attitudes, altogether form a scene that at once captivates the imagination, and suspends the reasoning faculties; it is a scene to be felt but not described; the sensations it produces may be indulged, but cannot long delude a reflecting mind.

My English ideas were not to be seduced by this imposing spectacle, and I could not refrain, after a few minutes, from calculating what portion of all that is valuable in man, of moral rectitude, of benevolent prospensity, and of patience in adversity, is produced by all this costly machinery. That some part of this machinery may be useful it would be unjust to doubt, and rash must that man be, who would hastily and inconsiderately level to the ground even these supports, feeble as they are, of the virtue and consolation of a whole people. The great distinction between the English Clergy and those of the Catholic Church, as well as some of our English sectaries, is, that the former, in all their public services, strive chiefly to enforce practical virtue, while the latter lay the greatest stress on the adherence to their peculiar rites and doctrines.

Auricular confession is but a poor substitute for public preaching; or rather, public teaching, which the Reformation introduced, is an excellent substitute for auricular confession. The dignity of the pulpit makes reproof more severe, denunciations more alarming, advice more powerful, and consolation more soothing; while the intimacy, and sometimes the familiarity of auricular confession, makes the penitent feel but too forcibly that the spiritual guide has all the passions and weakness of those who rely on him.

I should, however, be sorry to see this practice abolished till

some better were introduced in its stead; for though it be obvious that the profligacy of the higher classes is not corrected by their Religion, and whatever dominion they may allow their priests over their faith and their rituals they allow them very little over their morals, yet, with the middle and lower ranks of society, who form the most virtuous and moral class of the people, they have a beneficial influence. With the higher order, the great struggle of the confessor is to keep the mind free from doubts, to enforce submission to the dogmas and ceremonies of the Church, and prevent the inroad of heresy. With the other classes there is no such task; they never read books written by foreigners, nor ever converse with them; they have no doubts on points of faith, no scruples in matters of ceremony, and the task of the confessor is more directly addressed to the formation of the moral habits of sobriety, honesty, and veracity. On these points they have evidently been successful; for I have never been in any country where the mass of the people has approached the conduct of the Spaniards in these respects; in chastity, as far as I can judge, they have not been so successful; whether the evil arise from the celibacy of the clergy, the voluptuous climate, or the remains of Moorish manners, I cannot determine; but there is, in this respect, a degree of profligacy extending to all ranks in this country, which I trust will ever remain unexampled in our own. A priest, with whom I was conversing on this subject a few days ago, assured me, that of the numerous females who came to him for absolution, he seldom found any who confessed the violation of any commandment but the seventh.

The subject of Religion is too important in this country to be slightly passed over. Its ceremonies, indeed, so frequently recur, expressions derived from it are so commonly used, and the habits of the people are so formed by it, that it merits the greatest attention. The feelings of religion are supported by every object that presents itself to the view: at the corners of most of the principal streets, the shrines of various saints obtrude themselves upon the passenger; even the fronts of many of the houses are adorned with their images, to which the pious stranger uncovers his head with humility, and silently expresses his devotion by making the sign of the cross.

In the midst of the gaieties which commence about 5 o'clock in the evening when the Paseo, or public walk, is crowded with company dressed in their most splendid attire, and indulging in the liveliest conversation, the sound of a bell announces the approaching hour of sunset. At this signal, which is called oracion, every one, as if by magic, seems fixed in his place; every head is uncovered, and the whole company repeats, or is supposed to repeat, a mental prayer: after a few minutes devoted to these formalities, the lively scene is resumed, and the conversation continued from the point at which it met this pious interruption. This ceremony takes place in every part of Spain; and where theatres or other public amusements are open, the sound

of this bell suspends the entertainment till the prayer is over; so great is its effect, that it is even said that assassins, at the moment of executing their horrid design, have held their hand at the sound of the oracion, and, after repeating the habitual prayer, have perpetrated their diabolical purpose.

I have reason to suspect that this practice, as well as some others, arises more from conformity to the usages of their country, than from any strong religious feelings, for I have observed in private houses, that the attention paid to this bell diminishes in proportion to the rank of the family: among the lower classes of people it is usual to kneel or stand up; among those of greater consequence they merely sit still and remain silent; while those of the highest rank suffer the bell to toll unheard and unregarded.

No one of the various religious observances, with which this city abounds, appears more ludicrous to me, or more solemn to the inhabitants, than the procession of the host to the houses of the sick, at the hour of approaching dissolution. A priest, seated in a sedan chair, with the holy elements in a gold case on his lap, escorted by a guard of soldiers, and preceded by a bellman, is literally denominated by the people, "His Majesty coming down the street." To increase the singularity of the spectacle, the bellman strikes three strokes, in allusion to the three persons of the Trinity, and then ceases. At this well known sound, whatever be the state of the weather, or the condition of the streets, every one drops on his knees, and continues in this devout posture till the object of adoration is out of sight. If this procession should pass through a street, containing a theatre or a ball-room, the actors on the stage, and the dancers at the assembly, alike drop on their knees till the sound is lost, when they resume their thoughtless dissipation.

There are nightly processions through the streets of this city, called the Rosario, one of which I mentioned having met, in a former letter, as I entered this place. The different wards conduct this procession by turns, so that it is every night parading in some part of the town; being more or less splendid, according to the revenues of the church or convent whence it proceeds. The Rosario is complimented by the inhabitants of the streets through which it passes, by illuminations, that have a splendid effect, but which is in a great measure counteracted by the horrid noise of the singers and chanters.

The common forms of salutation, perhaps, partake no more of religion than those of other countries; and "va ja usted con Dios," is only equivalent to the French "adieu," or the English "good bye;" but a mode of expression is adopted, much more striking and singular, on visiting any family; when you ring or knock, a servant within inquires, "who calls?" and the person who wishes for admission exclaims, "Ave Maria purissima," to which those within, on opening the door, make response, "Sin pecado concebida;" and as the first of these sentences cannot be uttered by the Devil, and the second will not be said by a heretic, there is no danger in the visit, when such ortho-

dox formalities have been mutually exchanged. When our party has been introduced into a family, I have frequently heard the inquiry made in a whisper, "Are they Christians?" if the persons who introduced us, replied, "they are Protestants," a sigh, with the exclamation, "que lastima," (what a pity) frequently escaped their lips.

However decorous the Spaniards may be in the performance of their public devotions, nothing can be more indecent and slovenly than the manner in which their domestic worship is conducted; a circumstance which I have frequently noticed in the family with whom I lodge. Towards the conclusion of supper, when seated round the table the master of the house commences with repeating ten Ave Marias; the wife repeats the Pater Noster and her ten Ave Marias, others at table repeat in the same manner, while one of them with a rosary of beads keeps the account, till they have repeated the Ave Maria fifty times, and the Lord's Prayer five times, the number being accurately corrected by the string of beads. They then say a litany, adding to the name of every saint of a long list, "ora pro nobis;" then a prayer for the dead, another for protection during the night, and conclude the whole with a Gloria Patri. The words are uttered with as much rapidity as possible; and if any employment calls away the person who is repeating, he performs the work without interrupting the prayer, or losing any time; in fact, the Spaniards appear to act slowly and deliberately in every thing they undertake, except it be in this single instance of family worship.

Under every strong emotion of mind, a Spaniard has recourse to religion, and naturally crosses himself, to calm the rage of passion, dispel the horrors of fear, and allay the feelings of surprise and astonishment. The solitude of a Church-yard, the loneliness of a desart, and the darkness of night, are disarmed of their terrors by this magic sign, and even the exclamations of wonder, excited by English ships of war and English regiments (and nothing has excited more wonder) can only be silenced by using this never-failing and powerful charm.

With all this attachment to forms and ceremonies, it might naturally be expected, that the clergy would be looked upon as objects of veneration; but, so far as I can judge, this is by no means the case. The language held towards the ministers of religion is not always respectful, and is sometimes scurrilous. A few days ago the auxiliary bishop of this city made a tour round his diocese, for the purpose of confirmation; from every person confirmed, a small sum of money was required, which was either an increase of the customary fee, or a novel demand. On his return to the city with the money, he had thus collected, he was attacked by a banditti, who robbed him, not only of his extorted wealth, but also of all the clothes and vestments which he carried in his coach. The knowledge of the story excited the jokes and the merriment of the people, mixed with wishes that the clergy were

the only victims of robbers. The character and conduct of the friars is generally the object either of virulent reprobation, or ludicrous jocularity. They have lost the esteem of every one, and instead of being respected for their seclusion from the world, they are reproached by all classes for their indolence, their voluptuousness, and their profligacy; their dispersion is generally looked forward to with pleasing anticipation, as an event that must take place, if ever the people of Spain are assembled by their representatives the Cortes.

It would have appeared singular, had I not been prepared for the fact, that among the warmest advocates for the destruction of ancient institutions, I have seldom heard the inquisition spoken of as an evil of great magnitude. I have introduced the subject frequently, and have uniformly found it treated as an institution, which, though originally bad, is now too insignificant to merit attention; and yet two instances have occurred within my own knowledge, since I have been here, which shew its meddling disposition. An Englishman had imported some printed handkerchiefs, with patriotic emblems, and the names of the patriot generals. But the printer in England had unfortunately mixed with these patriotic emblems some of the symbols of religion, such as the crosier, the cross, and the mitre. The inquisition became acquainted with the fact, and, fearing that using handkerchiefs on which such sacred objects were imprinted, would tend to bring religion into contempt, seized the whole parcel, and they were burnt by the holy office. Another merchant had a number of bales of Spanish wool, which were about to be shipped for England; by accident, these bales were marked with a cross; information of it was conveyed to the inquisitors, and a consultation was held, to determine in what mode proceedings should be instituted against a person who could apply that sacred symbol to so common a purpose. As the person in question was an undoubted Catholic, a friend gave him information of what was going forward, and being aware of the consequences, he immediately rectified his error by protracting the upright line of the cross, and adding to the bottom of it two flukes, so that when the officers of the inquisition came to seize the bales, they were found to be marked with an anchor, and not with a cross, as the information had stated.

The terror of the inquisition has considerably abated of late years; one of the last victims in this city was Olavide, a most respectable man, who applied the wealth he had acquired in South America, to the patriotic purpose of cultivating the Sierra Morena, with a number of German settlers, and to adorning and improving the public walks of the city, as well as the wharfs on the banks of the Guadalquivir. He had read the writings of some of the French unbelievers, and was suspected of having imbibed a portion of their opinions, and for this unproved, if not unfounded charge, he was immured within the walls of a prison, and passed many years of his life amid the horrors of so-

litary confinement. Since that period, the discipline has been confined to a lower class of crimes, and I am informed, that the only prisoners of late, have consisted of those who merited punishment for having acted as the panders to illicit pleasure.

I found no difficulty in obtaining permission to see the inquisition, and went through the whole. It is a cheerful, pleasant abode, and does not at all correspond with the ideas of Englishmen respecting it. The hall of judgment contains simply a table, three chairs for the inquisitors, a stool for the secretary, and one which is lower for the prisoner. On the table is a silver crucifix, upon which the deposition is made; and on a small stand, a Latin prayer said by each inquisitor before the trial commences. The prayer is appropriated to a judge, and merely implores divine guidance to enable him to discharge his duty with uprightness and impartiality. The records of this court, with all the processes against those who have been confined, are preserved with regularity in an adjoining room, but are not allowed to be examined. The Church is simple and elegant. The interior is of white marble. The form is circular; and it is lighted from a beautiful dome. I saw one of the apartments in which prisoners are confined, and was told the others were similar; it is light and airy, placed in a little garden planted with orange and fig trees; the door of this garden is strongly secured, and no person can have access to it when the cell is occupied. I inquired if there were any prisoners in confinement, any subterraneous cells or instruments of torture; but to these questions *I could obtain no replies.* The alcayde who attended us, exulted not a little at our remarking the neatness and comforts of the building, and I suspect, mistook us for pious Catholics, because we gave vent to no execrations at the existence of such an infamous tribunal.

This building was formerly the college of the Jesuits, the most able and enlightened, but the most dangerous of all the religious orders of the Catholic Church. On the abolition of that order, the inquisition was removed, from its former situation in the suburb of Triana, to this building, which I hope will be the last it will occupy in Spain; for, whatever political events may take place, its destruction is inevitably at hand. The remarks I have made on the religion of Spain, you will recollect are drawn from what I have seen in Seville, a city more esteemed for its piety than any other in Spain; so rigid, indeed, is the religion of this place, and so great the influence of the clergy, that neither a theatre, nor any place of public amusement, is permitted.

Church Revenues. From the same.

In a country where the wealth of the Church forms so considerable a part of the national property, its origin, its mode of collection, and its distribution, deserve particular notice. In the information I shall communicate to

you on this subject, you may suppose I shall have principally in view the revenues of the diocese of Seville; but I have good reason to believe, that in the other dioceses of Spain the system is nearly the same.

The Archbishop, as the superior minister of Religion (assisted by his auxiliary Bishop) confines his attention solely to the spiritual concerns of his flock; and all matters concerning revenue devolve on the Cabildo of the Cathedral, a kind of ecclesiastical corporation, for the administration of temporal matters, and not very dissimilar to the chapters of our cathedral churches. All the revenues of the diocese, whether belonging to the Archbishop, to the auxiliary Bishop, to any other dignitaries, or to the parochial Clergy, are brought under the management of the Cabildo. They are collected into one fund, and from that fund, after deducting five per cent. allotments, called repartimientos, are distributed to each person possessing a claim on it, according to the judgment of the Cabildo, which is directed in the distribution by ancient regulations, and is accountable to no other tribunal for the fairness and impartiality of its proceedings. The deduction, which the Cabildo makes of five per cent. is annually divided among its own members, called the canons, who are formed into different classes, and receive their portion according to seniority. The sum which the higher orders in this city receive amounts to about two thousand dollars annually, and that devolving to the inferior order to about one thousand, besides which, each member of the Cabildo has the use of a house, rent free, for his residence.

Although the revenues are thus thrown into one mass, yet each person, having claims upon it, has the exact amount of those claims regularly kept in the accounts of the Cabildo, and no suspicion is entertained, that any unfair practices to the detriment of one person, or to the benefit of another, are employed by the Cabildo. One great source of the revenues is derived from the rents of houses within this city, in which, I am informed, that no less than two thousand seven hundred houses are the property of the Church. This branch of the revenue is collected with trifling expence; for as Spanish dwellings are built of stone, brick, and tarras, without much wood, little is required for repairs, nor is it liable to much variation, since the collection is made weekly, and few of the houses remain long unoccupied. The Church is also possessed of some land, but the greater part of the ecclesiastical territory belongs to different monasteries, and not to the secular clergy.

The most important branch, however, of the ecclesiastical revenues, is that accruing from tithes, which are collected with a strictness that far exceeds what is known in any other part of Europe. In describing the rigour with which this system is enforced, or in pointing out the evils which arise from it, I must observe, that it is far from my intention to apply my remarks to the English clergy. Whatever may be said in be-

half of this most respectable class of society, whenever their ancient title to tithes is questioned, can never be said, with equal truth, in behalf of a body of men, who, under the pretension of celibacy, have insulated themselves from the rest of their species, to practise with greater impunity the vices of luxury and debauchery. The tithes collected in Andalusia extend to every agricultural production, and are rigidly exacted, not, as with us, on the ground, but after it has gone through all the necessary processes to fit it for the use of man. Thus wheat and barley must not only be cut, but threshed and winnowed, before the tithes are taken. Olives, which form a most important article in this vicinity, when they are sold in the state in which they are grown, pay the tithe only on the quantity carried away; but if there be a mill, and oil-presses on the farm, one-tenth of the oil is taken by the collector. In the same manner the tithe upon grapes, when the grapes are sold, is paid in fruit, but when made into wine within the district, the Church receives one tenth of the liquor.

The principle upon which this is founded seems to be, that the Church may receive one-tenth of the produce in the first stage in which it becomes fit for use; for if wine be made into brandy, or vinegar, the Church receives its dues from the wine, and not from those articles into which it is afterwards converted. The more valuable productions of the field, such as liquorice and sumach, as well as the minuter articles of the garden, such as melons, pumpkins, onions, garlick, peas, and beans, all contribute an equal proportion to the support of the ecclesiastical establishment. The right to tithes has been lately extended to such wild fruits as can be sold, even for the smallest sums: thus the tunas, or prickly pears, the figs growing on the opuntia, a wild fruit with which the hedges abound, and consequently of little value, have lately been subjected to the tithing system. One-tenth also of all the domesticated animals is delivered to the tithe-collector, as well as the wool annually shorn from the sheep.

Composition for tithes is a practice wholly unknown in Andalusia. The Cabildo annually sells the tithes by a species of auction, and where no person bids sufficiently high, the articles are taken into its own hands, and collected in storehouses within the district. In either case, the collectors of the tithes have no common interest with the farmers, who, from submission to the Church, frequently suffer the grossest impositions without an effort for redress, knowing that in any appeal they might make, priests would be their judges. Before the revenues are collected, the Cabildo issues its billets of repartimento to the different claimants on their fund, which entitle the bearer to a certain sum of money, or a specific quantity of produce, and being easily transferred, are frequently sold by the necessitous clergy. Those who have billets for produce, receive it at the storehouses where it has been deposited by the collecters, but those who have billets for money, receive it from the treasurer of the

Cabildo, as the purchasers of the tithes make their payments. There is an uniformity in this system which produces effects diametrically opposite to those which are felt in England. In Spain, it is the clergy who oppress, and the farmer who is defrauded; in England, it is the farmer who imposes, and the clergyman who is the sufferer.

The monastic bodies depend for their support on the lands they possess, and many of them have estates of considerable extent and of great value. The Carthusians are the richest as well as the most rigid order in Andalusia: they let large tracts of land to farmers, who pay them partly in produce and partly in money: at the same time they occupy very extensive farms themselves, and have for many years been the greatest breeders and proprietors of the best Andalusian horses, but their revenues are ill administered. The voluptuous lives of the priors, and the peculations of the procuradores, have involved the convents in embarrassments which have placed them under the necessity of anticipating their resources, and of lessening them by borrowing money on mortgages. The convent of St. Heronymo de Buena Vista possesses a tract of land highly productive of corn, wine, and oil. I was informed by the monks of St. Heronymo, that they could travel to the city of Carmona, which is about twenty-four miles from Seville, without treading upon any soil which did not belong to their convent; yet with this valuable estate, from bad management, they are deeply in debt, and obliged to retrench even some of the necessaries of the monks. Having mentioned the lands of the Church, which are thus in mortmain, I will just observe that the Cabildos, or municipal corporations of the different cities, are proprietors of large estates, which, like those of the Church, are badly managed, and equally unalienable.

Spanish Manners. From the same.

A large fair, which is annually held at Santi-ponce, a few miles from this city, afforded me an opportunity of observing national manners in their most unmixed state, and I accordingly went there on Sunday last, with a party of Englishmen. It is held on an open plain between the town and the river Guadalquivir, and was crowded with booths, cattle, and spectators, to a great extent. Even in this scene of revelry, the solemnity of the Spanish character was visible, and its sobriety may be inferred from this circumstance, that there very few booths in which wine or brandy was sold, but a considerable number for the sale of water cooled in porous jars; an article which forms so great a luxury in this country.

The young farmers gallopped about to shew the beauty of their horses, and their skill in managing them. Their dresses were very fantastical, and the trappings of the horses sufficiently cumbrous. These singularities, however, only served to display the national peculiarities more strikingly. The toys perhaps of every nation offer traits of national character; and I

could not help remarking, on the present occasion, that almost every one, exhibited at this fair, bore some allusion to that illicit intercourse between the sexes, which forms the great stain upon the moral character of the country. Horns of various shapes, with bells, and inscriptions of indecent import, were most prevalent, and the presenting them to each other, with sarcastic insinuations, appeared the most universal species of wit. A marked deference was paid to the female sex even by the peasantry, which shewed that a degree of gallantry is customary with this nation, which is too often dispensed with in other countries.

I heard that two assassinations had occurred at this fair that day, both caused by jealousy, not between husbands and the lovers of their wives, but between young men who sighed for the same married woman. It appears most extraordinary, but it is nevertheless notoriously the fact, that though husbands feel no jealousy on account of their wives, yet that this powerful passion should be felt in the most acute manner between men who wish to supplant each other in the affections of the same female; and that other parts of a family, so far from feeling resentment towards the man who addresses their mother or sister, treat him with as much kindness and attention as if he were connected with them by legal and honourable ties, or paid a compliment to the family by selecting a member of it for the object of his attachment. These kind of attachments are much more durable, and more assiduously cultivated, than affection between a married couple. Inconstancy to a favourite mistress, perhaps the wife of a friend, is deemed a greater disgrace to the party than any matrimonial infidelity, and more effectually excludes a man from the future confidence and respect of the ladies, all of whom are jealous of the privileges of their sex, and preserve no terms with a man who is unfaithful to his fair friend. The females of all classes, considering their husbands as beings of no consequence, expect a degree of attention from a cortejo, which a Spaniard can alone pay; and the consequence is, that foreigners, especially Englishmen, are by no means favourites with the Spanish ladies.

These attachments between the sexes are notorious to all the acquaintance of the parties, and a breach between two lovers interests the family and friends to produce a reconciliation. The connexion is, however, conducted with outward decorum, and the cortejo, though ever attentive to the movements and wishes of the lady, observes before company the most distant and respectful behaviour; but should he fail in attending her to the public walks, or the private parties, where she visits, it would be deemed an enormous offence, only to be pardoned after a long period of submission and penitence.

The disgusting spectacle exhibited in England and France, of meretricious beauty decked out for sale, is not to be seen in Spain, unless perhaps, and that rarely, in the sea ports. From this circumstance I have heard sensible Spaniards, who have been in England, contend for the superiority

of their country over ours in regard to the intercourse of the sexes. It is not, however, easy for foreigners to form a proper estimate of our national morals on this subject; they have seldom opportunities of observing the domestic attachments in our more sober and worthy families, which they see only at formal parties, nor of conceiving the delights of conjugal and parental love which in England, though less ostentatiously, are more purely enjoyed than in any other part of Europe. I have been led to these remarks unintentionally, by the sight of the fair at Santi-Ponce; and having now begun upon manners, I may as well continue the subject through this letter.

I have remarked a degree of familiarity between all classes of society, which we should deem rudeness, and find troublesome, but which is considered here as a matter of course: the apartments of a gentleman, or the chamber of a lady, when you have passed the outer door, are always found open, and it is deemed no intrusion to enter without being announced; even the cabinet of the ministers is equally accessible; and I know that lord Wellesley, who readily sees every one that has business, is considered extremely proud, because the politicians of this city, who have no other concern with him but to ask for news, or express their attachment to England, frequently find him too much occupied to see them.

This familiarity extends through all the relations of society, and though sometimes it may be the expression of endearment, as in the application of diminutives, such as calling a man Juanico or Jacky, instead of Juan or John, or a lady Mariqueta or Polly, instead of Maria, yet when used so frequently as in this country, it appears to a stranger more disgusting than affectionate. The behaviour of servants to masters is equally unconstrained, and they converse while attending at table, with the familiarity of friends. Centini, a valet de place whom I have hired in this place, makes no scruple of helping himself to a glass of wine, taking snuff from my box, or lighting his segar at my candle, while I am writing: all this, which at first appears very impertinent, arises merely from habit, without intending offence, or even supposing that any can be given by these and similar freedoms. In the first circles, the practice of calling people by their Christian names, and even titled ladies, is very common: thus, the Marchioness Calsado, the daughter of the celebrated Don Juan Ulloa, one of the most charming women in Seville, is commonly spoken of as Carmen Ulloa; and another lady called Maria Dolores, one of the whimsical names of the mother of our Saviour, is generally distinguished by those who are acquainted with her by the simple appellation of Dolores.

Temperance seems the prevailing habit of the Spaniards in eating, but more especially in drinking. I have known many gentlemen who never drink any wine; and those who do, generally mix it with a large quantity of water. I am informed, however, that in the winter the lower or-

ders indulge, but not to excess, in the use of brandy mixed with aniseed, and sweet wine. In England, every family has a store of beer, wine, and such other necessaries as they require for daily use, ready at all times; but the best families in Seville keep nothing of the kind in their houses. If company accidentally drop in to a meal, a thing not common, they send to the shops for such food as they want, and to the wine-house for a pint or a quart of wine, for they are never provided with the commonest of those articles, and at the conclusion of the day no provision is left in the house. Though I have visited a good deal at some of the best houses, and at all hours, I have seldom known where the comidero, or eating room, was placed: where I have seen it, I have generally found it the smallest and darkest apartment, and in the most obscure part of the dwelling, whereas the rooms for the reception of company are usually spacious and lofty, but in them no refreshment is offered, except cool water for visitors to drink.

Of the numerous culinary utensils which are to be found in England, none are to be seen in a Spanish kitchen; neither jack, spit, nor grate are wanted; a small stove, with a handful of charcoal and two or three earthen pans that will bear the fire, answer every purpose of cooking. The most common dish, the olla, is a quantity of onions, cabbage, turnips, carrots, and potatoes, all stewed together in an earthen pot; when it is ready, the pot is turned upside down on a plate, and the food is brought to table (retaining the shape of the pot, from which it takes its name), and, with the addition of a small piece of bacon, or other meat, is highly relished. The common people feed on a dish called Gaspacho, composed of bread and vegetables of various kinds, with oil and vinegar, all boiled together, and set before them in the pans in which it is cooked, from which each feeds himself with a spoon, so as to render the use of plates, knives, and forks, quite superfluous.

I have been pleased with the general cleanliness of the people in their houses, especially with that in which we lodge; they are continually washing and dusting, and keep every thing very neat, though, as you may suppose, very homely: brick floors, lime-washed walls, brick stairs, and windows with very little glass, are objects perfectly new to me; but as cleanliness is prevalent, I do not, and have no reason to complain.

The education of the higher classes in Spain is intolerably bad, which, perhaps, is a greater evil than the deficiencies of the lower orders in other countries. I am informed, that among the nobility the instances of their being incapable of writing are far from uncommon; that to appear learned would by no means be considered a distinction; and that the whole care of keeping accounts, and even writing letters, devolves on their domestics. I have scarcely seen a book in any of their houses, and a library is so rare, that the man who possesses one is regarded almost as a phenomenon. The faculties of the higher orders are so blunted

by early dissipation, that they want that acuteness which distinguishes their inferiors, by whom they are consequently despised.

The university of Seville is almost solely appropriated to the education of the clergy: the course of study occupies five years, which are principally devoted to the acquirement of the Latin language, the knowledge of civil law, the philosophy of Aristotle, and scholastic divinity. Scarcely any improvement has been introduced within the last four hundred years; the philosophy of Bacon, Locke, and Newton, is utterly unknown to either professors or pupils. The war has considerably lessened the number of students, as a large portion has entered into the army. They do not reside within the university, but have private lodgings in different parts of the city.

The education of the females of the best families, is, if possible, still worse. They are early sent to a convent as pensioners, and under the care of some of the aged nuns are instructed in reading, writing, and needle-work, but especially in the outward forms of religion. They are usually kept in these houses of seclusion till they arrive at a proper age, and frequently till some matrimonial engagement is formed. From the retirement of a convent, with all its uniformity and dulness, they are suddenly introduced into circles of gaiety and dissipation, and it is not wonderful that from so violent a change, and from the example of the married females, with whom they associate, they become victims to the dissolute habits of their country.

The Tertulla of the Countess Villamanrique is the most crouded of any in Seville, and is more frequented, by the English, than any other. It is in fact, a gaming house, where a bank is kept by the old lady, in partnership with the Marquis Ensenada, and considerable sums are won and lost at it daily. The male visitors consist chiefly of officers of the army, who might be infinitely better employed with the troops in La Mancha, than in the dissipation of this capital. Neither music nor dancing is allowed at their meetings: but there are some intelligent persons generally in company, who never enter into the spirit of the play table, and enjoy conversation in another apartment.

The ladies at the house of the Countess seldom engage at the card table, but form small parties for conversation; and do not appear to be at all discomposed by the tobacco smoke puffed in their faces from the segars of the men. There is a coarseness of manners among the higher ranks very visible in these parties, and language sometimes passes which in other countries would lead to serious consequences. To call a man a liar, or even to take him by the nose, would not here produce a duel, nor perhaps be thought of the next day; the point of honour is not observed, and there is in consequence none of that delicate sensibility which characterises gentlemen in England. Abstractedly considered, the appeal to single combat cannot be justified; but when all the circumstances of society are considered, it is probable that more benefit

than evil may have arisen from the practice.

The shops in Seville are wretched in their appearance, and very ill supplied with almost every article; indeed, the contrast between them and those of England is strikingly obvious: however, in the shops of embroiderers, of gold and silver lacemakers, and in others for church ornaments, there is no scarcity.

The shops at which glass, knives, forks, spoons, and other German articles are sold, are mostly kept by native Germans, or their descendants, who are distinguished by the name of Bohemians. They converse with each other in the high Dutch language, are well supplied with different articles of Nuremburg manufacture, and are by far the most civil shopkeepers of Spain; in every part of which I am told they are to be found.

The booksellers inhabit a street called Calle Genova, and are as badly furnished as other traders. Most books of value are printed in Madrid; and, from the present state of the intercourse between the two capitals, cannot be conveyed hither without incurring great risk. The principal stock consists of old books of divinity, lives of saints, dissertations on the antiquities of the country, and a very few bad editions of the Latin classics. You will be surprised to be informed, that in this city the only map of Spain I could procure was, a very bad one, published in London. I remarked in looking over the catalogues of the different booksellers, that I did not see a single book in the Greek language; a pretty convincing proof that the knowledge of it in this country must be at a very low ebb.

Spanish Peasantry. From the same.

The inhabitants of Ronda have peculiarities common to themselves and the other people in the mountainous districts, and obviously differ from the people on the plains. The dress both of the males and females varies as well in the colour and shape of the garments as in the materials of which they are composed, and is peculiarly calculated for cold weather. Their countenances, as I have before noticed, are very expressive, and, in my judgment, superior to those of any race of people I have seen. The men are remarkably well formed, robust, and active, with a flexibility of well-turned limbs, which, doubtless, contributes to that agility for which they are celebrated: but the females in general are of short stature, and the cumbersome dress which they wear so conceals the figure, that it is difficult to determine whether they are well or ill formed; but there is an expression of sensibility in their countenances, and a peculiar grace in all their movements, which is extremely fascinating. In walking the streets the women wear veils, to cover their heads, as a substitute for caps and hats, neither of which are worn. These veils are frequently made of a pink or pale blue flannel, and, with a petticoat of black stuff, form their principal dress. The men wear no hats; but instead of

them, what are called montero caps, made of black velvet or silk, abundantly adorned with tassels and fringe; and a short jacket, with gold or silver buttons, and sometimes ornamented with embroidery, is worn just sufficiently open to display a very highly-finished waistcoat; they wear leather or velvet breeches, with gaiters; so that the whole of the figure, which is generally extremely good, is distinctly seen.

Having observed much of the manners and character of the Spanish peasantry, more especially within the last fourteen days, I feel I should not be doing them justice were I to abstain from speaking of them according to my impressions. I have given some account of their figures and countenances, and though both are good, I do not think them equal to their dispositions. There is a civility to strangers, and an easy style of behaviour, familiar to this class of Spanish society, which is very remote from the churlish and awkward manners of the English and German peasantry. Their sobriety and endurance of fatigue are very remarkable; and there is a constant cheerfulness in their demeanour, which strongly prepossesses a stranger in their favour. This cheerfulness is displayed in singing either ancient ballads, or songs which they compose as they sing, with all the facility of the Italian improvisatori. One of their songs varying in words, according to the skill of the singer, has a termination to certain verses, which says, "that as Ferdinand has no wife, he shall marry the King of England's daughter." Some of these songs relate to war or chivalry, and many to gallantry and love: the latter not always expressed in the most decorous language, according to our ideas.

The agility of the Spaniards in leaping, climbing, and walking, has been a constant subject of admiration to our party. We have frequently known a man on foot start from a town with us, who were well mounted, and continue his journey with such rapidity as to reach the end of the stage before us, and announce our arrival with officious civility. A servant likewise, whom we hired at Malaga, has kept pace with us on foot ever since; and though not more than seventeen years of age, he seems incapable of being fatigued by walking. I have heard the agility of the Spanish peasants, and their power of enduring fatigue, attributed to a custom, which, though it may probably have nothing to do with the cause, deserves noticing from its singularity. A young peasant never sleeps on a bed till he is married; before that event he rests on the floor in his clothes, which he never takes off but for purposes of cleanliness: and during the greater part of the year it is a matter of indifference whether he sleep under a roof or in the open air.

I have remarked that though the Spaniards rise very early, they generally keep late hours, and seem most lively and alert at midnight: this may be attributed to the heat of the weather during the day, and to the custom of sleeping after their meal at noon,

which is so general, that the towns and villages appear quite deserted from one till four o'clock. The labours of the artificer, and the attention of the shopkeeper, are suspended during those hours; and the doors and windows of the latter are as closely shut as at night, or on a holiday.

Though the Spanish peasantry treat every man they meet with politeness, they expect an equal return of civility; and to pass them without the usual expression, "Vaja usted con Dios," or saluting them without bestowing on them the title of Cabaleros, would be risking an insult from people who, though civil and even polite, are not a little jealous of their claims to reciprocal attentions. I have been informed, that most of the domestic virtues are strongly felt, and practised, by the peasantry; and that a degree of parental, filial, and fraternal affection is observed among them, which is exceeded in no other country. I have already said sufficient of their Religion; it is a subject on which they feel the greatest pride. To suspect them of heresy, or of being descended from a Moor or a Jew, would be the most unpardonable of all offences; but their laxity with respect to matrimonial fidelity, it must be acknowledged, is a stain upon their character; which, though common, appears wholly irreconcileable with the general morality of the Spanish character. They are usually fair and honourable in their dealings; and a foreigner is less subject to imposition in Spain than in any other country I have visited.

NATURAL HISTORY.

On a Case of Nervous Affection cured by Pressure of the Carotids; with some physiological Remarks. By C. H. Parry, M.D. F.R.S. From Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, for 1811.

Observing that the Royal Society, of which I have the honour to be a member, occasionally receives communications illustrative of the laws of animal life, which are indeed the most important branch of physics, I take the liberty of calling their attention to a case, confirming a principle which I long ago published, and which, I believe, had never till then been remarked by pathologists.

About the year 1786, I began to attend a young lady, who laboured under repeated and violent attacks, either of head-ach, vertigo, mania, dyspnoea, convulsions, or other symptoms usually denominated nervous. This case I described at large to the Medical Society of London, who published it in their Memoirs, in the year 1788. Long meditation on the circumstances of the case, led me to conclude, that all the symptoms arose from a violent impulse of blood into the vessels of the brain; whence I inferred, that as the chief canals conveying this blood were the carotid arteries, it might, perhaps, be possible to intercept a considerable part of it so impelled, and thus remove those symptoms which were the supposed effect of that inordinate influx. With this view, I compressed with my thumb one or both carotids, and uniformly found all the symptoms removed by that process. Those circumstances of rapidity or intensity of thought, which constituted delirium, immediately ceased, and gave place to other trains of a healthy kind; head-ach and vertigo were removed, and a stop was put to convulsions, which the united strength of three or four attendants had before been insufficient to counteract.

That this extraordinary effect was not that of mere pressure, operating as a sort of counteracting stimulus, was evident: for the salutary effect was exactly proportioned to the actual pressure of the carotid itself, and did not take place at all, if, in consequence of a wrong direction either to the right or left, the carotid escaped the effects of the operation.

This view of the order of phœnomena was, in reality, very conformable to the known laws of the animal œconomy. It is admitted that a certain momentum of the circulating blood in the brain, is

necessary to the due performance of the functions of that organ. Reduce the momentum, and you not only impair those functions, but, if the reduction go to a certain degree, you bring on syncope, in which they are for a time suspended. On the other hand, in nervous affections, the sensibility and other functions of the brain are unduly increased; and what can be more natural than to attribute this effect to the contrary cause, or excessive momentum in the vessels of the brain? If, however, this analogical reasoning has any force in ascertaining the principle, I must acknowledge that it did not occur to me till twenty years afterwards, when a great number of direct experiments had appeared to me clearly to demonstrate the fact.

From various cases of this kind, I beg leave to select one which occurred to me in the month of January, 1805.

Mrs. T. aged 51, two years and a half beyond a certain critical period of female life, a widow, mother of two children, thin, and of a middle size, had been habitually free from gout, rheumatism, hœmorrhoids, eruptions, and all other disorders, except those usually called nervous, and occasional colds, one of which, about two years and a half before, had been accompanied with considerable cough, and had still left some shortness of breathing, affecting her only when she used strong muscular exertion, as in walking up stairs, or up hill.

In February 1803, after sitting for a considerable time in a room without a fire, in very severe weather, she was so much chilled as to feel, according to her own expression, 'as if her blood within was cold.' In order to warm herself, she walked briskly for a considerable time about the house, but ineffectually. The coldness continued for several hours, during which she was seized with a numbness or sleepiness of her left side, together with a momentary deafness, but no privation or hebetude of the other senses, or pain or giddiness of the head. After the deafness had subsided, she became preternaturally sensible to sound in the ear of the affected side, and felt a sort of rushing or tingling in the fingers of the left hand, which led her to conclude that 'the blood went too forcibly there.'

Though the coldness went off, what she called numbness still continued, but without the least diminution of the power of motion in the side affected. In about six weeks, the numbness extended itself to the right side.

Among various ineffectual remedies for these complaints, blisters were applied to the back, and the inside of the left arm above the elbow. The former drew well. The latter inflamed without discharging: so that a poultice of bread and milk was put on the blistered part. After this period the muscles of the humerus began to feel as if contracted and stiff; and these sensations gradually spread themselves to the neck and head, and all across the body, so as to make it uncomfortable for her to lie on either side, though there was no inability of motion.

She now began to be affected with violent occasional flushings of her face and head, which oc-

curred even while her feet and legs were cold, together with a rushing noise in the back of the head, especially in hot weather, or from any of those causes which usually produce the feelings of heat.

It is difficult to give intelligible names to sensations of a new and uncommon kind. That, which this lady denominated numbness, diminished neither the motion nor the sensibility of the parts affected. It was more a perception of tightness and constriction, in which the susceptibility of feeling in the parts was in fact increased; and the skin of the extremities was so tender, that the cold air produced a sense of uneasiness, the finest flannel or worsted felt disagreeably coarse, and the attempt to stick a pin with her fingers caused intolerable pain.

In the month of September 1803, not long after the application of the blisters, she experienced in certain parts of the left arm and thigh, that sensation of twitching which is vulgarly called the 'life blood,' and which soon extended itself to the right side. Shortly afterwards, she began to perceive an actual vibration or starting up of certain portions of the flexor muscles of the fore-arm, and of the deltoid on the left side; not so, however, as to move the arm or hand.

This disorder had continued with little variation to the period of my first visit. The vibrations constantly existed while the arm was in the common posture, the fore-arm and hand leaning on the lap. If the arm was stretched strongly downwards, the vibration of the flexors ceased, but those of the deltoid continued. The arm being strongly extended forwards, all ceased; but returned as soon as the muscles were relaxed. The vibrations were of different degrees of frequency, and at pretty regular intervals, usually about 80 in a minute. They were increased in frequency and force by any thing which agitated or heated the patient, and were always worse after dinner than after breakfast. The pulse in the radical artery was 80 in a minute, and rather hard. That in the carotids was very full and strong; and each carotid appeared to be unusually dilated for about half an inch in length, the adjacent portions above and below being much smaller, and of the natural size. I much regret that I find in my notes of this case, no inquiry whether there was any coincidence between the systoles of the heart, and the muscular vibrations. The patient's feet were usually cold, and her head and face hot. The feeling in her limbs was much as I have above described, except that the sensibility was somewhat less acute than it had been, and she complained of a tightness all over her head, as if it had been bound with a close night-cap. Her sleep was usually sound on first going to bed, but afterwards, for the most part, interrupted by dreaming. Bowels generally costive: appetite moderate: no flatulency or indigestion; tongue slightly furred, without thirst: urine variable, but generally pale.

The late Mr. George Crook, surgeon, was present while I made these examinations; and when we afterwards conversed together, I

remarked to him, that if my theory of the usual cause of spasmodic or nervous affections were well founded, I should probably be able to suppress or restrain these muscular vibrations of the left arm, by compressing the carotid artery on the opposite or right side; while little effect might perhaps be produced, by compressing the carotid of the side affected. The event was exactly conformable to my expectation. Strong pressure on the right carotid uniformly stopped all the vibrations, while that on the left had no apparent influence. I may add that these experiments were afterwards, at my request, repeated on this lady in London by Dr. Baillie, and, as he informed me in a letter, with a similar result.

It is perfectly well known to many of the learned Members of this Society, that irritations of the brain, when of moderate force, usually exhibit their effects on the nerves or muscles of the opposite side of the body; and in the case before us, it is difficult to understand how the suspension of these automatic motions could have been produced by this pressure of the opposite carotid, in any other way than by the interruption of the excessive flow of blood through a vessel morbidly dilated: in consequence of which interruption, the undue irritation of the brain was removed, and the muscular fibres permitted to resume their usual state of rest.

From these and many other similar facts, I am disposed to conclude, that irritation of the brain, from undue impulse of blood, is the common though not the only cause of spasmodic and nervous affections: and I can with the most precise regard to truth add, that a mode of practice, conformable to this principle has enabled me, during more than twenty years, to cure a vast number of such maladies, which had resisted the usual means.

An investigation of all the modifications of the principle itself, and of its numerous relations to Therapeutics, would be inconsistent with the views of the Royal Society, and must be reserved for another place.

On the Causes which influence the Direction of the Growth of Roots. By T. A. Knight, Esq. F.R.S. In a Letter to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K.B. P.R.S. From Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. 1811.

I have shewn, in a former communication, the effects of centrifugal force upon germinating seeds; from which I have inferred that the radicles are made to descend towards the earth, and the germs, or elongated plumules, to take the opposite direction, by the influence of gravitation; and I believe the facts I have stated to be sufficient to support the inferences I have drawn *. But the fibrous roots of plants, being much less succulent, though not uninfluenced in the directions they take by gravitation, are, to a great extent, obedient to other laws, and are generally found to extend themselves most rapidly, and to

* Phil. Trans. 1806, 1st Part, page 5.

the greatest length, in whatever direction the soil is most favourable: whence many naturalists have been disposed to believe that these are guided by some degrees of feeling and perception, analogous to those of animal life.

I shall proceed to state some of the facts upon which this hypothesis has been founded, and others which have occurred in the course of my own experience, and which are favourable to it; after which I shall endeavour to trace the effects observed to the operation of different causes.

When a tree, which requires much moisture, has sprung up, or been planted, in a dry soil, in the vicinity of water, it has been observed, that much the largest portion of its roots has been directed towards the water; and that when a tree of a different species, and which requires a dry soil, has been placed in a similar situation, it has appeared, in the direction given to its roots, to have avoided the water and moist soil.

A tree growing upon a wall, at some distance from the ground, and consequently ill supplied with food and water, has also been observed to adapt its habits to its situation, and to make very singular and well directed efforts to reach the soil beneath, by means of its roots*. During the period in which it is making such efforts, little addition is made to its branches, and almost the whole powers of the plant appear to be directed to the growth of one or more of its principal roots. To these much is in consequence annually added, and they proceed perpendicularly towards the earth, unless made to deviate by some opposing body: and as soon as the roots have attached themselves to the soil, the branches grow with vigour and rapidity, and the plant assumes the ordinary habits of its species.

Du Hamel caused two trenches to be made so as to intersect each other at right angles, and a tree to be planted at the point of intersection; and taking up this tree some years afterwards, he found that the roots had almost wholly confined themselves to the trenches, in which the soil of the former surface must have been buried.

A trench which was twenty feet long, six wide, and about two deep, was prepared in my garden, in the bottom of which trench was placed a layer, about six inches deep, of very rich mould, incorporated with fresh vegetable matter. This was covered, eighteen inches deep, with light and poor loam, and upon the bed thus formed, seeds of the common carrot (*Daucus carota*) and parsnip (*Pastinaca sativa*) were sowed. The plants grew feebly till near the end of the summer, when they assumed a very luxuriant growth, grew rapidly till late in the autumn, and till their leaves were injured by frost. The roots were then examined, and were found of an extraordinary length, and in form almost perfectly cylindrical, having scarcely emitted any lateral fibrous roots into the poor soil, whilst the rich mould beneath was filled with them.

* Smith's Introduction to Botany.

In another experiment of the same season, the preceding process was reversed, the rich soil being placed upon the surface, and the poor beneath. The plants here grew very luxuriantly, and acquired a considerable size early in the summer; and when the roots were taken up in the autumn, they were found to have assumed very different forms. The greater part had divided into two or more unequal ramifications, very near the surface of the ground, and those which were not thus divided tapered rapidly to a point at the surface of the poor soil, into which few of their fibrous roots had entered.

In other experiments seeds of almost all the common esculent plants of a garden were so placed that the young plants had an opportunity of selecting either rich, or poor soil; which was disposed, in almost every possible way, within their reach; and I always found abundant fibrous roots in the rich soil, and comparatively few in the poor.

The following experiment afforded the most remarkable result, and one the least favourable to the hypothesis which I have advanced in a former Paper*, and to the conclusion which I shall now endeavour to support; and therefore I think it necessary to describe it very minutely. Some seeds of the common bean (*Vicia faba*) the plant with which many former experiments were made, were placed upon the surface of the mould in garden pots, in rows which were about four inches distant from each other. A grate, formed of slender bars of wood, was then adapted to the surface of each pot, so as to prevent both the mould and the seeds falling out, in whatever position the pots might be placed; and the bars were so disposed, as not at all to interfere with the radicles of the seeds, when protruding. The pots were then directly inverted; and the seeds were consequently placed beneath the mould; but each seed was so far depressed into the mould, as to be about half covered: by which means each radicle, when first emitted, was in contact with the mould above, and the air below. Water was then introduced through the bottom of the inverted pot, in sufficient quantity to keep the mould moderately moist; and, the pots being suspended from the roof of a forcing house, the seeds soon vegetated.

In former experiments†, wherever the seeds were placed to vegetate at rest, the radicles descended perpendicularly downwards, in whatever direction they were first protruded; but under the preceding circumstances they extended horizontally along the surface of the mould, and in contact with it; and in a few days emitted many fibrous roots upwards into it: just as they would have done, if guided by the instinctive faculties and passions of animal life; and as I concluded before I made the experiment that they would do, under the guidance of much more simple laws, whose mode of operating I shall endeavour to explain.

Whatever be the machinery by

* Phil. Trans. 1806, page 1. † Ibid.

which the sap of trees is raised to the extremities of their branches, it is obvious that this machinery is first put into action by the stems and branches, and not by the roots: for the graft or bud, whenever it has become fully united to the stock, wholly regulates the season and temperature, in which the sap is to be put in motion, in perfect independence of the habits of the stock; whether those be late or early. If all the branches of a tree, exclusive of one, be much shaded by contiguous trees*, or other objects, the branch which is exposed to the light attracts to itself a large portion of the ascending sap, which it employs in the formation of leaves and vigorous annual shoots, whilst the shaded branches become languid and unhealthy. The motion of the ascending current of sap appears therefore to be regulated by the ability to employ it in the trunk and branches of the tree; and this current passes up through the alburnum, from which substance the buds and leaves spring. But the sap which gives existence to, and feeds the root, descends through the bark†; and if the operation of light give ability to the exposed branch to attract and employ the ascending or alburnous current of sap, it appears not improbable that the operation of proper food and moisture in the soil, upon the bark of the root, may give ability to that organ to attract and employ the descending, or cortical current of sap; and if this be the case, an easy explanation of all the preceding phenomena immediately presents itself.

A tree growing upon a wall, and unconnected with the earth, will almost of necessity grow slowly, and as it must be scantily supplied with moisture during the summer, it will rarely produce any other leaves than those which the buds contained, which were formed in the preceding year. Some of the roots of a tree, thus circumstanced, will be less well supplied with moisture than others, and these will be first affected by drought: their points will in consequence become rigid and inexpansible, and they will thence generally cease to elongate at an early period of the summer. The descending current of sap will be then employed in promoting the growth and elongation of those roots only, which are more favourably situated, and those, comparatively with other parts of the tree, will grow rapidly. Gravitation will direct these roots perpendicularly downwards, and the tree will appear to have adopted the wisest and best plan of connecting itself with the ground: and it will really have employed the readiest means of doing so, as effectively as it could have done, if it had possessed all the feelings and instinctive passions and powers of animal life. The subsequent vigorous growth of such a tree is the natural consequence of an improved and more extensive pasture.

When the seeds of the carrot and parsnip, in the experiments I have stated, were placed in a poor

* Phil. Trans. 1805 and 1809, p. 8.
† Phil. Trans. 1809, 1st Part, p. 1.

superficial soil, but which permitted the roots of the plants to pass readily through it, these were conducted downwards by gravitation; whilst the plants grew feebly, because they received but little nutriment. The roots were in a situation analogous to that of the stems of trees in a crowded forest; and when the leading fibres of the roots came into contact with the rich mould, they acquired a situation correspondent to that of the leading branches of such trees, which are alone exposed to the light. The form of the roots of the plants was consequently long, slender, and cylindrical, like the stem of such trees. The roots of the one required the actual contact of proper soil and nutriment; and the branches of the other required the actual contact of light, to promote their growth.

When, on the contrary, the seeds of the preceding species of plants were placed in a rich superficial soil, their situation was analogous to that of a tree fully exposed, on every side, to the light, whose branches would be extended, in every direction, immediately above the surface of the ground: and as the fibrous roots of the plants came into contact with the subsoil, which was not well calculated to promote their growth, their situation became analogous to that of shaded branches; and they consequently ceased to extend downwards. The fibrous roots of a tree, under similar circumstances, would have extended along the lower surface of the favourable soil; but after these roots had much increased in bulk, they would be found partly compressed into the subsoil, however poor and unfavourable, provided it contained no ingredients actually noxious. In obedience to similar laws, the roots of an aquatic tree will not extend freely in dry soil, nor those of a tree which requires but little moisture in a wet soil; and on this account the roots of the one will appear to have sought, and those of the other to have avoided, the contiguous water; though both, in the first period of their growth, pointed their roots alike in every direction.

When the seeds of the bean, in the experiment I have described, were placed to vegetate beneath the mould of an inverted pot, a sufficient quantity of moisture was afforded by the mould to occasion the protrusion of the radicles: but as soon as the under points of these had penetrated through the seed-coats, their surfaces were necessarily exposed to dry air, and were consequently rendered rigid and inexpansible; whilst their upper surfaces, being in contact with the moist mould, remained soft and expansible. If both the upper and lower surfaces of the radicles, at their points, had been equally well supplied with moisture, gravitation would have attracted the sap to the lower sides, where new matter would have been added; and the radicles would have extended perpendicularly downwards, as in former experiments: but the influence of gravitation was, to a great extent, counteracted by the effects of drought upon the lower sides of the radicles, nearly as it was

counteracted by centrifugal force, when made to act horizontally *.

As soon as the radicles had acquired sufficient age and maturity, efforts were made by them to emit fibrous roots; when want of proper moisture on the lower sides prevented their being protruded, in any other direction, except upwards. In that direction therefore they were alone emitted, (as I was confident that they would before I began the experiment) and having found proper food and moisture in the pots, they extended themselves upwards through more than half the mould, which these contained.

This experiment was repeated, and water was so constantly and abundantly given, that every part of the radicles was kept equally wet; and they then became perfectly obedient to gravitation, without being at all influenced by the mould above them.

In other experiments pieces of alum and of the sulphates of iron and copper were placed at small distances perpendicularly beneath the radicles of germinating seeds, of different species, to afford an opportunity of observing whether any efforts would be made by them to avoid poisons; but they did not appear to be at all influenced, except by actual contact of the injurious substances. The growth of their fibrous lateral roots was, however, obviously accelerated, when their points approached any considerable quantity of decomposing vegetable or animal matter: and when the growth of the roots was retarded by want of moisture, the contiguity of water, in the adjoining mould, though not apparently in actual contact with them, operated beneficially: but I had reason to suspect that the growth of roots was, under these circumstances, promoted by actual contact with the detached and fugitive particles of the decomposing body, and of the evaporating water.

The growth and forms assumed by the roots of trees, of every species, are to a great extent, dependent upon the quantity of motion, which their stems and branches receive from winds; for the effects of motion upon the growth of the root, and of the trunk and branches, which I have described in a former memoir, are perfectly similar †. Whatever part of a root is moved and bent by winds, or other causes, an increased deposition of alburnous matter upon that part soon takes place, and consequently the roots which immediately adjoin the trunk of an insulated tree, in an exposed situation, become strong and rigid; whilst they diminish rapidly in bulk, as they recede from the trunk, and descend into the ground. By this sudden diminution of the bulk of the roots, the passage of the descending sap, through their bark, is obstructed; and it in consequence generates, and passes into many lateral roots; and these, if the tree be still much agitated by winds, assume a similar form, and consequently divide into many others. A kind of net-work com-

* Phil. Trans. 1806, p. 6.

† Ibid. p. 7.

posed of thick and strong roots is thus formed, and the tree is secured from the dangers to which its situation would otherwise expose it.

In a sheltered valley, on the contrary, where a tree is surrounded and protected by others, and is rarely agitated by winds, the roots grow long and slender, like the stem and branches, and comparatively much less of the circulating fluid is expended in the deposition of alburnum beneath the ground; and hence it not unfrequently happens, that a tree, in the most sheltered part of a valley, is uprooted; whilst the exposed and insulated tree, upon the adjoining mountain, remains uninjured by the fury of the storm.

In all the preceding arrangement, the wisdom of nature, and the admirable simplicity of the means it employs, are conspicuously displayed; but I am wholly unable to trace the existence of any thing like sensation or intellect in the plants: and I therefore venture to conclude, that their roots are influenced by the immediate operation and contact of surrounding bodies, and not by any degrees of sensation and passion analogous to those of animal life; and I reject the latter hypothesis, not only because it is founded upon assumptions which cannot be granted, but because it is insufficient to explain the preceding phenomena, unless seedling plants be admitted to possess more extensive intellectual powers, than are given to the offspring of the most acute animal. A young wild duck or partridge, when it first sees the insect upon which nature intends it to feed, instinctively pursues and catches it; but nature has given to the young bird an appropriate organization. The plant, on the contrary, if it could feel and perceive the objects of its wants, and will the possession of them, has still to contrive and form the organ by which these are to be approached. The writers who have contended for the existence of sensation in plants, appear to have been sensible of the preceding and other obstacles, and have all betrayed the weakness of their hypothesis, in adducing a few facts only which are favourable to it, and waving wholly the investigation of all others.

An Account of a Vegetable Wax from Brazil. By William Thomas Brande, Esq. F.R.S. From the same.

§ 1. The vegetable wax described in this Paper, was given to the President by lord Grenville, with a wish, on the part of his lordship, that its properties should be investigated, in the hope that it might prove an useful substitute for bees wax, and constitute, in due time, a new article of commerce between the Brazils and this country.

It was transmitted to lord Grenville from Rio de Janeiro, by the Comte de Galveas, as a new article lately brought to that city, from the northernmost parts of the Brazilian dominions, the Capiteneas of Rio Grande and Seara, between the latitudes of three and seven degrees north: it is said to be the production of a tree of slow growth, called by the natives

Carnauba, which also produces a gum used as food for men, and another substance employed for fattening poultry.

When the Comte wrote to lord Grenville in July last, orders had been sent to the governors of the districts where it grows, requiring them to report more particularly, on the nature and qualities of this interesting tree; we may therefore hope that information will soon be obtained, whether the article can be procured in abundance, and at a reasonable price, in which case it will become a valuable addition to the comforts of mankind, by reducing the price and improving the quality of candles, flambeaux, &c.

The article, in the state in which it was sent, resembles much that described by Humboldt, as the produce of the Ceroxylon Andicola*, but it is not likely to be the same, as Humboldt's wax is collected from a stately palm tree, which grows on the high mountains, from 900 to 1450 toises above the level of the sea, and on the edge of the regions of perpetual snow. On the other hand, the Brazilian plant is described as a slow growing tree, but not as a large one, and there are no high mountains delineated in the most accurate and recent maps of the Capiteneas where it is found. But a more decisive argument against their identity, is the analysis of Vaquelin, published by Humboldt, which shews that the produce of the Ceroxylon consists of two-thirds resin and only one-third wax: but the Brazilian article is entirely wax, and affords not the smallest trace of resin. The Brazilian plant, however, was not entirely unknown to Humboldt, for it appears from his book, that M. Correa had informed him that a palm, called *Carnauba* by the natives of Brazil, produced wax from its leaves.

1. § 2. The wax in its rough state, is in the form of a coarse pale gray powder, soft to the touch, and mixed with various impurities, consisting chiefly of fibres of the bark of the tree, which, when separated by a sieve, amount to about 40 per cent.

It has an agreeable odour, somewhat resembling new hay, but scarcely any taste.

At 206° Fahrenheit, it enters into perfect fusion, and in this state it may be further purified, by passing it through fine linen. By this process, it requires a dirty green colour, and its peculiar smell becomes more evident. When cold, it is moderately hard and brittle. Its specific gravity is .980.

2. Water exerts no action on the wax, unless boiled with it for some hours; it then acquires a slight brown tinge, and the peculiar odour of the wax.

3. Alcohol does not dissolve any portion of the wax, unless heat be applied.

Two fluid ounces of boiling alcohol, spec. grav. .826, dissolve about ten grains of the wax, of which eight grains are deposited as the solution cools, and the remaining two grains may be afterwards precipitated by the addition of water, or may be obtained unaltered by evaporating the alcohol.

* Plantes Equinoctiales, p. 3.

The solution of the wax in alcohol has a slightly green tinge.

4. Sulphuric ether, spec. grav. ,7563, dissolves a very minute portion of the wax, at the temperature of 60°.

Two fluid ounces of boiling sulphuric ether dissolve thirty grains of the wax, of which twenty-six grains are deposited by cooling the solution, and the remaining four grains may be obtained by allowing the ether to evaporate spontaneously.

5. The fixed oils very readily dissolve the wax at the temperature of boiling water, and form with it compounds of an intermediate consistence, very analogous to those which are obtained with common bees wax.

In examining some combinations which I had made of the vegetable wax with olive oil, I was surprised to find them perfectly soluble in ether, and sparingly soluble in boiling alcohol.

As it is commonly stated that the fixed oils are insoluble in ether and in alcohol, I was led to attribute the solution of the oil, in these instances, to its being combined with the wax; but subsequent experiments, of which I shall state the general results, have shewn me that these opinions are erroneous.

Four fluid ounces of sulphuric ether, spec. grav. ,7563, dissolve a fluid ounce and a quarter of the expressed oil of almonds; of olive oil, the same quantity of the ether dissolves a fluid ounce and a half; of linseed oil, two fluid ounces and a half; and castor oil is soluble in any proportion in sulphuric ether of the above specific gravity.

The expressed oils of almonds and of olives, are very sparingly soluble in alcohol, spec. grav. ,820.

Linseed oil is more soluble than the two former. Four fluid ounces of alcohol, spec. grav. ,820. dissolve nearly one fluid drachm.

Castor oil is perfectly soluble in every proportion in alcohol, spec. grav. ,820. In alcohol of a higher specific gravity, as ,840, it is very sparingly soluble *.

As some of the difficultly soluble resins are more easily dissolved in alcohol, to which a small proportion of camphor has been added, I endeavoured to ascertain whether the fixed oils were rendered more soluble by the same means, but found that this was not the case, excepting with regard to castor oil, which although very sparingly dissolved by alcohol of a spec. grav. above ,840°, becomes abundantly soluble, by the addition of one part of camphor, to eight parts of the alcohol.

Boiling alcohol, spec. grav. ,840, takes up a considerable portion of castor oil and of linseed oil; it also dissolves a small quantity of the oils of almonds and of olives; but they are copiously deposited during the cooling of the alcohol, and only a small portion retained in permanent solution.

When water is added to any of these solutions of the fixed oils in ether, and in alcohol, a milky mixture is formed, and the oil

* The solubility of castor oil in alcohol was mentioned to me some months ago by Dr. Wollaston, who also informed me, that it had on that account been employed to adulterate certain essential oils of high value, especially the oil of cloves.

gradually separates upon the surface, without having undergone any apparent alteration.

6. One hundred grains of the wax were boiled for half an hour in a solution of caustic potash, spec. grav. 1090. The solution acquired a pale rose colour, but appeared to exert no further action on the wax, which after having been washed with warm water, retained its fusibility and other properties. No combination therefore, similar to a soap, was produced, nor was any precipitate occasioned by the addition of acids to the rose coloured alkaline solution.

7. The effects produced by boiling the wax in solutions of pure soda, and of the subcarbonates of soda and of potash, were analogous to those of the caustic potash.

8. Solutions of pure and of carbonated ammonia exert scarcely any action on the wax.

9. When the wax is boiled in nitric acid, spec. grav. 1,45. there is some escape of nitrous gas, and the colour of the wax is gradually changed to a deep yellow.

When the wax is removed from the acid, and washed with hot water, it is found to have become more brittle and hard, but it still retains much of its peculiar odour.

In this state it remains insoluble in the alkalies, but they now change its colour to a very bright brown, which is destroyed by washing with dilute muriatic acid, and its original yellow colour restored.

Neither the fusibility, nor the inflammability of the wax, are impaired by this process.

Nitric acid, diluted with eight parts of water, produces the same change in the colour of the wax as the concentrated acid.

Having been unsuccessful in my attempts to bleach the wax in its original state, I made some experiments to ascertain whether its colour could be more easily destroyed, after it had been acted upon by nitric acid, and found, that by exposing it spread upon glass to the action of light, it became in the course of three weeks of a pale straw colour, and on the surface nearly white. The same change was produced, by steeping the wax in thin plates, in an aqueous solution of oxymuriatic gas, but I have not hitherto succeeded in rendering it perfectly white.

10. Muriatic acid has little action on the wax: when boiled upon it for some hours, it destroys much of its colour.

11. Sulphuric acid changes the colour of the wax to a pale brown, and when water is added, it becomes of a deep rose colour; the inflammability and the fusibility of the wax are slightly impaired by the process.

When heat is applied, the wax is decomposed with the usual phenomena, sulphurous acid is developed, and charcoal deposited.

12. Acetic acid has very little action on the wax, when cold.

When the wax is boiled in this acid, a minute portion is dissolved, and again deposited as the solution cools. By long continued boiling in acetic acid, the wax is rendered nearly white; but when it is afterwards washed with water, and fused, it resumes its former colour.

13. When the wax is fused in oxymuriatic gas, it is rapidly decomposed, and parting with hydrogen and oxygen, muriatic acid and water are formed, and charcoal is deposited.

14. The results of the destructive distillation of the vegetable wax, are very analogous to those of bees wax.

An acid liquor, mixed with a volatile oil, are the first products; these are succeeded by a large proportion of a butyraceous oil, and a very small quantity of charcoal affording traces of lime, remains in the retort. During the process, a little carbureted hydrogene gas is given off.

I have not considered it necessary to dwell upon the relative proportions of these different products, as they will necessarily vary according to the rapidity with which the distillation is conducted.

§ 3. From the preceding detail of experiments, it appears, that although the South American vegetable wax possesses the characteristic properties of bees wax, it differs from that substance in many of its chemical habitudes; it also differs from the other varieties of wax, namely, the wax of the myrica cerifera *, of lac †, and of white lac ‡.

The attempts which I have made to bleach the wax, have been conducted on a small scale; but from the experiments related, it appears that after the colour has been changed by the action of very dilute nitric acid, it may be rendered nearly white by the usual means. I have not had sufficient time to ascertain whether the wax can be more effectually bleached by long continued exposure, nor have I had an opportunity of submitting it to the processes employed by the bleachers of bees wax.

Perhaps the most important part of the present inquiry, is that which relates to the combustion of the vegetable wax, in the form of candles.

The trials which have been made to ascertain its fitness for this purpose, are extremely satisfactory, and when the wick is properly proportioned to the size of the candle, the combustion is as perfect and uniform, as that of common bees wax.

The addition of from one-eighth to one-tenth part of tallow, is sufficient to obviate the brittleness of the wax in its pure state, without giving it any unpleasant smell, or materially impairing the brilliancy of its flame. A mixture of three parts of the vegetable wax, with one part of bees wax, also makes very excellent candles.

Observations and Experiments on Vision. By W. C. Wells, M.D. F.R.S. From the same.

I. I was consulted, in the beginning of the year 1809, upon a

* Vide Dr. Bostock's Experiments on the Wax of the Myrica cerifera, in Nicholson's Journal for March, 1803.

† Vide Analytical Experiments and Observations on Lac, by Charles Hatchett, Esq. F.R.S. in the Philosophical Transactions for 1804.

‡ Vide Observations and Experiments on a Wax-like Substance from Madras, by George Pearson, M.D. F.R.S. in the Philosophical Transactions for 1794.

disease of vision, which, as far as I know, has not hitherto been mentioned by any author. The subject of it was a gentleman about thirty-five years old, very tall, and inclining to be corpulent. About a month before I saw him, he had been attacked with a catarrh, and as this was leaving him, he was seized with a slight stupor, and a feeling of weight in his forehead. He began at the same time to see less distinctly than formerly with his right eye, and to lose the power of moving its upper lid. The pupil of the same eye was now also observed to be much dilated. In a few days the left eye became similarly affected with the right, but in a less degree. Such was the account of the case, which I received from the patient himself, and from the surgeon who attended him. The former added, that previously to his present ailment his sight had always been so good, that he had never used glasses of any kind to improve it. On examining his eyes myself, I could not discover in them any other appearance of disease, than that their pupils, the right particularly, were much too large, and that their size was little affected by the quantity of light which passed through them. At first, I thought that their dilatation was occasioned by a defect of sensibility in the retinas; but I was quickly obliged to abandon this opinion, as the patient assured me, that his sensation of light was as strong, as it had ever been during any former period of his life. I next inquired, whether objects at different distances appeared to him equally distinct. He answered, that he saw distant objects accurately, and in proof told me what the hour was, by a remote public clock; but he added, that the letters of a book seemed to him so confused, that it was with difficulty he could make out the words which they composed. He was now desired to look at a page of a printed book through spectacles with convex glasses. He did so, and found that he could read it with ease. From these circumstances it was very plain, that this gentleman, at the same time that his pupils had become dilated, and his upper eye-lids paralytic, had acquired the sight of an old man, by losing suddenly the command of the muscles, by which the eye is enabled to see near objects distinctly; it being known to those, who are conversant with the facts relating to human vision, that the eye in its relaxed state is fitted for distant objects, and that the seeing of near objects accurately is dependant upon muscular exertion.

The disease of which I have spoken is perhaps not extremely rare. For having related the preceding instance of it to Mr. Ware, a Fellow of this Society, he was kind enough shortly after to send to me a young woman, who appeared to be likewise affected with it. But as I saw her only once, and had not then sufficient time to examine her case minutely, I speak with diffidence concerning its nature.

II. After I had reflected frequently upon these cases, it occurred to me, that as the juice of the herb Belladonna, when applied to the eye, occasions the pupil to dilate considerably, and to become unalterable by light,

an effect might at the same time be produced by it upon vision, similar to that which I have just described. I had, indeed, in the course of a few years immediately preceding applied Belladonna several times to my own eyes, without observing any change in my sight, beyond what I referred to the increased size of the pupils; but as I had not looked for any other, I thought it possible, that some additional one might have happened, without my having perceived it. I resolved therefore to make the experiment anew. But to conduct it with precision, it was previously necessary to know, to what extent I possessed the faculty of adapting my eyes to different distances. On this subject I had made many experiments with great care, nearly twenty years before, and had ascertained *, that with my left eye, which was more perfect than the right, I could bring to single points on the retina pencils of rays, which flowed from every distance, greater than that of seven inches from the cornea. In the mean time, however, my eyes had altered considerably, with respect to their seeing near objects distinctly, and I had, in consequence, been obliged, not only to use convex glasses, but to change them several times for others of higher power. No dependence therefore being now to be placed in my former experiments, in regard to the present state of my sight, I repeated them, and found, to my great surprise, that the power I once possessed of adapting my eyes to different distances was entirely gone; in other words, that I was now obliged to regard all objects, whether near or remote, in the same refractive state of those organs. I found also, that my eyes, considered as mere optical instruments, were nearly the same as they had been in my youth, and that the convex glasses which I used did very little more, than supply, with respect to near objects, the place of a living power which I had lost, without compensating, except in a very small degree, for any alteration in the external shape of the eye, or any change in the configuration of its interior parts. I ascertained, for instance, that to give my left eye the refractive power which it formerly possessed while in its most relaxed state, that by which it was enabled to bring a pencil of parallel rays to a point on the retina, a glass of thirty-six inches focus was fully sufficient; whereas to produce an equal effect upon rays proceeding from a point at the distance of seven inches from my eye, the other extremity of my ancient range of perfect vision, I was now obliged to employ a glass having a focus of only six inches. I regret much that I had not made such experiments frequently before, as I think it very probable, that I should have found a period in the progress of my vision to its present state, in which my capacity of seeing distant objects was the same as in my youth, and when therefore the whole of my imperfect vision of near objects would have been owing to a loss of the muscular powers of my eye.

As there can be no good reason for supposing, that the changes

* Essay on Single Vision with two Eyes, &c. p. 137.

which have occurred in my eyes are different from those, which the eyes of by far the greater number of persons, who are not short-sighted, undergo at the approach of old age, it is evident, that the experiments of Dr. Young * on the eye of Hanson, whom the learned author considered as a very fair subject for such trials, furnish no proof, that the want of the crystalline lens disables a person from having perfect vision at different distances; for as Hanson was sixty three years old, it is highly probable, that the results of the experiments would have been exactly the same, if he had still possessed that part of his eye.

III. Having discovered that my own eyes were unfit for the experiments, which I wished to be made with Belladonna, I instructed an ingenious young physician, Dr. Cutting, from the island of Barbadoes, and now residing there, in the manner elsewhere described by me †, of ascertaining the range of perfect vision by means of luminous points. This he found, in consequence, to begin, with respect to his left eye, at the distance of six inches, and not to terminate at the distance of eight feet, beyond which he could not see clearly the object, with which he had hitherto made his experiments, the image of the flame of a candle in the bulb of a small thermometer. The flame of a lamp, distant about sixty yards, gave a faint indication of its rays meeting before they fell upon the retina; the rays from a star had very evidently their focus a little before that membrane. He now applied the juice of Belladonna to his left eye. Half an hour after, when his pupil was but little dilated, perfect vision commenced at the distance of seven inches; in fifteen minutes more, it began at the distance of three feet and a half. When his pupil had acquired its greatest enlargement, the rays from the image of the flame of a candle, in the bulb of a small thermometer at the distance of eight feet, could not be prevented from converging to a point behind the retina. The rays from lamps still more distant, and from stars, had their focusses at the same time on the retina. This state of vision continued, in its greatest extent, to the following day; and it was not till the ninth day after the application of the Belladonna, that he completely recovered the power of adapting his eye to near objects. While his left eye was thus affected, the vision of the right remained unaltered.

Dr. Cutting remarked, while his left eye was returning to its natural condition, that the diminution of the pupil, and the increase of the range of perfect vision, did not keep regular pace with each other; but that after his pupil had nearly returned to its former size, his capacity of adapting the eye to different distances was still very limited. As these effects therefore are not inseparably connected, they may occur in others in a different manner from that which he observed.

* Phil. Trans. 1801, p. 66.

† Essay on Single Vision, &c. p. 116.

A great degree of dilatation, for example, may take place in the pupil, without a total want of the power to adapt the eye to different distances.

Though I could not doubt the accuracy of Dr. Cutting's observations, more especially as the altered state of his eye had lasted a considerable time, and as he had not been prevented by other occupations from attending minutely to the appearances, which were consequent upon it; yet, as he was the first person who had ever applied Belladonna to his eye for the purpose which has been mentioned, and as the results had been remarkable, I requested him to repeat the experiment with his other eye. He complied with my desire, and found, that the appearances which followed were similar to those, which had been produced by the application of Belladonna to his left eye.

It will, perhaps, be thought extraordinary, that Dr. Cutting's eye in its relaxed state, before the application of the Belladonna, brought parallel rays to a focus anterior to the retina; but that similar rays met in a point upon the retina, while the eye was under the full influence of that substance; as it may hence seem, that the Belladonna had done more than merely suspend the exercise of the power, by which the eye is fitted to see near objects distinctly. An observation drawn from the former state of my own sight will, I expect, make this matter plain.

When I enjoyed the faculty of adapting my eyes to objects at different distances, the rays of a star, which was viewed attentively by me, always met in a point a little before the retina *; whence I at first concluded, that my eye was unfit for accurate vision by parallel rays. But I afterwards found, that if I looked at a star carelessly, its rays had then their concourse on the retina. In the former case, from long habit, originating in my having chiefly viewed near objects with attention, some small exertion was made for the accurate view of a distant object, though none was requisite; in the latter, all demand for exertion ceasing, my eye fell into the most relaxed condition, that by which it was fitted for parallel rays. Dr. Cutting's eye seems to have been similar to what my own once was, in regard to such rays; but as he had not acquired the faculty of viewing a distant object, without making some exertion, the rays from a star crossed one another in his eye before they came to the retina. The capacity, however, of making any exertion was taken away by the Belladonna, and pencils of parallel rays were, in consequence, brought to points upon that membrane.

IV. Being now in possession of a new instrument, I next attempted to gain, by means of it, some illustration of the changes, which the vision of short-sighted persons undergoes from age.

It has been very generally, if not universally, asserted by systematic writers upon vision, that the short-sighted are rendered by age fitter for seeing distant objects

* Essay on Single Vision, &c. p. 138.

than they were in their youth. But this opinion appears to me unfounded in fact, and to rest altogether upon a false analogy. If those who possess ordinary vision, when young, become, from the flatness of the cornea, or other changes in the mere structure of the eye, long-sighted as they approach to old age, it follows, that the short-sighted must, from similar changes, become better fitted to see distant objects. Such appears to have been their reasoning. But the course pursued by nature seems very different from that which they have assigned to her. For of four short-sighted persons of my acquaintance, the ages of whom are between fifty-four and sixty years, and into the state of whose vision I have inquired particularly, two have not observed that their vision has changed since they were young, and two have lately become, in respect to distant objects, more short-sighted than they were formerly. As the manner, in which this change has occurred, is unnoticed, I believe, by any preceding author, I shall here relate the more remarkable of the two cases.

A gentleman, who is a Fellow of this Society, became short-sighted in early life, and as his profession obliged him to attend very much to minute visible objects, he for many years wore spectacles with concave glasses almost constantly, by the aid of which he saw as distinctly, and at as great a variety of distances, as those who enjoy the most perfect vision. At the age of fifty, however, he began to observe, that distant objects, though viewed through his glasses, appeared indistinct, and he was hence led to fear, that his eyes were affected with some disease. But happening one day to take up, in an optician's shop, a single concave glass, and to hold it before one of his eyes, while his spectacles were on, he found to his great joy, that he had regained distinct vision of distant objects. With regard to such objects, therefore, he had lately become shorter-sighted than he had formerly been. But along with this change, another occurred of a directly opposite kind. For when he wished to examine a minute object attentively, such as he used to see accurately by means of his spectacles, he now found it necessary to lay them aside, and to employ his naked eye. He had become, therefore, in respect to near objects longer-sighted. The power, consequently, in this gentleman, to adapt the eye to different distances, is either totally lost or much diminished; but the point, or small space to which his perfect vision is now confined, instead of being the most remote to which he could formerly accommodate his eyes, as is commonly the case with the ordinarily sighted when they are becoming old, is now placed *between* the two extremes of his former range of accurate vision. The eyes of the other short-sighted person, a physician of considerable learning, whose vision has been altered by age, have been affected in a similar manner, but not in so great a degree.

As the only change, which had occurred from age in the sight of such of my acquaintance as were

considerably myopic was a lessening, on both sides, of their range of perfect vision, I conceived that this might be the ordinary procedure of nature in such cases, and that it might be imitated, in a young short-sighted person, by the application of Belladonna to his eyes. I have hitherto not been able to obtain permission to make the experiment on any young person, who is very short-sighted. Two gentlemen, however, who are somewhat short-sighted, have readily submitted to it; one of them, Mr. Blundell, a diligent and ingenious student of medicine; the other, Mr. Patrick, a well educated young surgeon in London. The first experiment was on Mr. Blundell, and the apparent result was, that the range of his accurate vision was considerably diminished at both ends, but not annihilated. Mr. Blundell, however, afterwards informed me, that he repeated the experiment with more care in the country, and found, that in one eye the nearest point of perfect vision was moved forward about two-thirds of the whole range, and in the other about one-third; but that, with respect to both eyes, the most remote points of the ranges were unchanged. He added, that while one eye was under the influence of the Belladonna, the other became shorter-sighted than it had been before; but the difference was not so great, as to induce me to place entire confidence in the justness of his observation. I think it right to mention here, that from mistake I applied only two-thirds of the ordinary quantity of Belladonna to his eye, in the first experiment; and that he probably, in consequence of my example, applied no more when he made the second; as this might have been the reason, that during both experiments he retained, in part, the capacity of adapting his eyes to different distances.

The experiment on Mr. Patrick was conducted by myself, after he had been frequently exercised in observing the extent of his perfect vision. The results were similar to those which had been remarked by Dr. Cutting. The power of altering the adaptation of his eye, according to the distance of the objects viewed, was for some time entirely lost, and his sight became accurately fitted for such only, as were placed at the farther extremity of his former range of perfect vision. While one eye was under the influence of the Belladonna, the vision of the other was unaffected.

From these experiments it seems probable, that Belladonna will in no case produce the same effect upon a young short-sighted person, that age has produced in the two instances of which I have spoken. I expect, however, to have an opportunity of repeating the experiment on two persons, who are very considerably short-sighted, and I shall take the liberty of communicating the result to the Royal Society, together with some observations I have already made, and others which I hope to make, respecting those persons, who seem to retain to extreme old age the power of seeing perfectly, as far as the accommodating power of the eye is concerned, both distant and near ob-

jects; and of others, who, after being without this power for many years, appear to regain it at a similar period of life. Probably the making known my intention may facilitate its accomplishment, by inducing other Fellows of the Society to furnish me with opportunities of increasing my knowledge of these subjects. In the mean time, I shall offer a few words upon two other topics in vision, which seem to derive illustration from my experiments with Belladonna.

V. 1. Not only do the pupils move together, when both eyes are in a healthy state, but the pupil of one eye affected with gutta serena moves with the pupil of the other, as long as this remains sound. These facts are generally, but in my opinion erroneously, attributed to an immediate sympathy between the pupils. For when the pupil of one eye becomes dilated from the application of Belladonna, the pupil of the other, so far from dilating, becomes smaller. It follows, therefore, that the size of the pupil is dependant, not only on the impression of light on the retina of its own eye, but on that also which is made on the retina of the other, and that the moving of the two together, which for the most part takes place, is only an accidental consequence of the fact which I have mentioned.

2. As the action of the external muscles of the eye has been frequently resorted to, for an explanation of its capacity to see objects perfectly at different distances, I requested Dr. Cutting to attend to this matter. He accordingly ascertained, while his eye was in its natural state, the distance from his face of the nearest point, at which he could make the two optic axes meet, this being the greatest trial of strength, to which those muscles can be exposed. Shortly after, he repeated the experiments, while, in consequence of the application of Belladonna, he was without the power of adapting his eye to different distances, and found, that the strength of those muscles was not diminished. It follows, therefore, not only that the external muscles have little or no concern in fitting the eye to see distinctly at different distances, but that the same is true with respect to the cornea, as we cannot suppose, that its mechanical properties were altered by the Belladonna, or at least, that it became more inflexible from the application to it of the juice of that herb. I had before made a similar experiment on myself, by comparing what had been the strength of the external muscles of my eyes twenty years ago*, with what it was after I had lost the power of altering their refractive state; but though I found no difference, yet, as their coats might have in the mean time become more rigid, I thought it right to have the experiment repeated, in a manner to which no objection could be taken.

The only other part of the eye, or its appendages, which remains for enabling us to see equally well at very different distances, is the crystalline; and that it does

* Essay on Single Vision, &c. p. 136.

produce this effect, either wholly, or very nearly so, is manifest, from the necessity even young persons are under, who have lost it, of using glasses of very different convexities for near and remote objects. But in what way this important office is performed by it seems still unknown. The learned Dr. Young, indeed, as well as others before him, has supposed, that the crystalline has the power of altering its figure; but the proofs hitherto given in favour of this opinion appear very defective. In 1794, I attempted to submit its justness to the test of direct experiments, by applying to the crystallines of oxen, which had been felled from thirty seconds to a minute before, chemical and mechanical stimuli, and those of Galvanism and electricity; but in no instance was any alteration of figure, or other indication of muscular power, observed. All of these stimuli were applied to the crystalline while it was surrounded by air, and some of them while it was covered with warm water. Last summer, after I knew that men lose, from increase of years, the faculty of altering the refractive state of the eye, I thought it possible, that the oxen on which I had made the experiments were too old for them. I therefore repeated most of them on the crystallines of a calf and a lamb; but still no motion was to be seen. Dr. Young has made similar experiments with a similar event; but he thinks that no argument can hence be derived against his opinion, as neither can motion be excited in the uvea, by any artificial stimulus. In the first place, however, it is not agreeable to just reasoning to regard an unknown thing as an exception to a general rule, rather than as an example of it; in the second, the motions of the uvea are involuntary, whereas the adaptation of the eye is, in part at least, under the command of the will: and in the third, the crystalline seems very unfit for performing the motions which he assigns to it: for if its figure be altered out of the body, by external force, it does not restore itself, but retains the shape which has been given to it, like a piece of dough, or soft clay. Possibly further experiments with Belladonna may contribute to remove the obscurity, which at present surrounds this subject.

Account of the Pitch-Lake in the Island of Trinidad. By Nicholas Nugent, M. D. From Transactions of the Geological Society. Vol. I.

Being desirous to visit the celebrated lake of pitch, previously to my departure from the Island of Trinidad, I embarked with that intention in the month of October, 1807, in a small vessel at Port Spain. After a pleasant sail of about thirty miles down the Gulf of Paria, we arrived at the point la Braye, so called by the French from its characteristic feature. It is a considerable headland, about eighty feet above the level of the sea, and perhaps two miles long and two broad. We landed on the southern side of the point, at the plantation of Mr. Vessigny; as the boat drew near the shore, I was struck with the appearance of a rocky bluff or small promon-

tory of a reddish-brown colour, very different from the pitch which I had expected to find on the whole shore. Upon examining this spot, I found it composed of a substance corresponding to the porcelain jasper of mineralogists, generally of a red colour where it had been exposed to the weather, but of light slate-blue in the interior; it is a very hard stone with a conchoidal fracture, some degree of lustre, and is perfectly opake even at the edges; in some places, from the action of the air, it was of a reddish, or yellowish brown, and an earthy appearance. I wished to have devoted more time to the investigation of what in the language of the Wernerian school is termed the geognostic relations of this spot, but my companions were anxious to proceed. We ascended the hill, which was entirely composed of this rock, to the plantation, where we procured a negro guide, who conducted us through a wood about three quarters of a mile. We now perceived a strong sulphureous and pitchy smell, like that of burning coal, and soon after had a view of the lake, which at first sight appeared to be an expanse of still water, frequently interrupted by clumps of dwarf trees or islets of rushes and shrubs: but on a nearer approach we found it to be in reality an extensive plain of mineral pitch, with frequent crevices and chasms filled with water. The singularity of the scene was altogether so great, that it was some time before I could recover from my surprise so as to investigate it minutely. The surface of the lake is of the colour of ashes, and at this season was not polished or smooth, so as to be slippery; the hardness or consistence was such as to bear any weight; and it was not adhesive, though it partially received the impression of the foot; it bore us without any tremulous motion whatever, and several head of cattle were browsing on it in perfect security. In the dry season, however, the surface is much more yielding, and must be in a state approaching to fluidity, as is shown by pieces of recent wood and other substances being enveloped in it. Even large branches of trees which were a foot above the level, had in some way become enveloped in the bituminous matter. The interstices or chasms are very numerous, ramifying and joining in every direction, and in the wet season being filled with water, present the only obstacle to walking over the surface: these cavities are generally deep in proportion to their width, some being only a few inches in depth, others several feet, and many almost unfathomable: the water in them is good, and uncontaminated by the pitch; the people of the neighbourhood derive their supply from this source, and refresh themselves by bathing in it; fish are caught in it, and particularly a very good species of mullet. The arrangement of the chasms is very singular; the sides which of course are formed of the pitch, are invariably shelving from the surface, so as nearly to meet at the bottom, but then they bulge out towards each other with a considerable degree of convexity. This may be supposed to arise from the tendency in the pitch slowly to coalesce, whenever softened by the intensity of the sun's

rays. These crevices are known occasionally to close up entirely, and we saw many marks or seams from this cause. How these crevices originate it may not be so easy to explain. One of our party suggested that the whole mass of pitch might be supported by the water which made its way through accidental rents; but in the solid state it is of greater specific gravity than water, for several bits thrown into one of the pools immediately sank *. The lake (I call it so, because I think the common name appropriate enough) contains many islets covered with long grass and shrubs, which are the haunts of birds of the most exquisite plumage, as the pools are of snipe and plover. Alligators are also said to abound here; but it was not our lot to encounter any of these animals. It is not easy to state precisely the extent of this great collection of pitch; the line between it and the neighbouring soil is not always well defined, and indeed it appears to form the substratum of the surrounding tract of land. We may say, however, that it is bounded on the north and west sides by the sea, on the south by the rocky eminence of porcelain jasper before mentioned, and on the east by the usual argillaceous soil of the country; the main body may perhaps be estimated at three miles in circumference; the depth cannot be ascertained, and no subjacent rock or soil can be discovered. Where the bitumen is slightly covered by soil, there are plantations of cassava, plantain, sand pine-apples, the last of which grow with luxuriance, and attain to great perfection. There are three or four French and one English sugar estates in the immediate neighbourhood: our opinion of the soil did not, however, coincide with that of Mr. Anderson, who in the account he gave some years ago thought it very fertile. It is worthy of remark, that the main body of the pitch, which may properly be called the lake, is situated higher than the adjoining land, and that you descend by a gentle slope to the sea, where the pitch is much contaminated by the sand of the beach. During the dry season, as I have before remarked, this pitch is much softened, so that different bodies have been known slowly to sink into it: if a quantity be cut out, the cavity left will be shortly filled up; and I have heard it related, that when the Spaniards undertook formerly to prepare the pitch for œconomical purposes, and had imprudently erected their cauldrons on the very lake, they completely sank in the course of a night, so as to defeat their intentions. Numberless proofs are given of its being at times in this softened state: the negroe houses of the vicinage, for instance, built by driving posts in the earth, frequently are twisted or sunk on one side. In many places it seems to have actually

* Pieces of asphaltum are, I believe, frequently found floating on the Dead Sea in Palestine; but this arises probably from the extraordinary specific gravity of the waters of that lake, which Dr. Marcet found to be 1.211. Mr. Hatchett states the specific gravity of ordinary asphaltum to vary from 1.023 to 1.165, but in two varieties of that of Trinidad it was as great as 1.336 and 1.744 which led Mr. Hatchett to form a conjecture which I shall afterwards notice.

overflown like lava, and presents the wrinkled appearance which a sluggish substance would exhibit in motion.

This substance is generally thought to be the asphaltum of naturalists: in different spots, however, it presents different appearances. In some parts it is black, with a splintery conchoidal fracture, of considerable specific gravity, with little or no lustre, resembling particular kinds of coal, and so hard as to require a severe blow of the hammer to detach or break it; in other parts it is so much softer as to allow one to cut out a piece in any form with a spade or hatchet, and in the interior is vesicular and oily: this is the character of by far the greater portion of the whole mass; in one place, it bubbles up in a perfectly fluid state, so that you may take it up in a cup; and I am informed that in one of the neighbouring plantations there is a spot where it is of a bright colour, shining, transparent and brittle, like bottle-glass or resin. The odour in all these instances is strong, and like that of a combination of pitch and sulphur. No sulphur, however, is any where to be perceived: but from the strong exhalation of that substance, and the affinity which is known to exist between the fluid bitumens and it, much is, no doubt, contained in a state of combination: a bit of the pitch held in the candle melts like sealing-wax and burns with a light flame, which is extinguished whenever it is removed, and on cooling, the bitumen hardens again. From this property it is sufficiently evident that this substance may be converted to many useful purposes, and accordingly it is universally used in the country wherever pitch is required; and the reports of the naval officers who have tried it are favourable to its more general adoption: it is requisite merely to prepare it with a proportion of oil, tallow, or common tar, to give it a sufficient degree of fluidity. In this point of view, this lake is of vast national importance, and more especially to a great maritime power. It is indeed singular that the attention of government should not have been more forcibly directed to a subject of such magnitude; the attempts that have hitherto been made to render it extensively useful have for the most part been only feeble and injudicious, and have consequently proved abortive. This vast collection of bitumen might in all probability afford an inexhaustible supply of an essential article of naval stores, and being situated on the margin of the sea could be wrought and shipped with little inconvenience or expense *. It would be great injustice to Sir Alexander Cochrane not to state explicitly that he has at various times, during his long and active command on the Leeward Island station, taken considerable pains to insure a proper and fair trial of this mineral production for the highly important uses of which it is generally believed to be capable. But whether it has arisen from certain perverse occurrences or from the

* This island contains also a great quantity of valuable timber, and several plants which yield excellent hemps.

prejudice of the mechanical superintendants of the colonial dock-yards, or really, as some have pretended, from an absolute unfitness of the substance in question; the views of the gallant admiral have, I believe, been invariably thwarted, or his exertions rendered altogether fruitless. I was at Antigua in 1809, when a transport arrived laden with this pitch for the use of the dock-yard at English Harbour: it had evidently been hastily collected with little care or zeal from the beach, and was of course much contaminated with sand and other foreign substances. The best way would probably be to have it properly prepared on the spot, and brought to the state in which it may be serviceable, previously to its exportation. I have frequently seen it used to pay the bottoms of small vessels, for which it is particularly well adapted, as it preserves them from the numerous tribe of worms so abundant in tropical countries *. There seems indeed no reason why it should not when duly prepared and attenuated be applicable to all the purposes of the petroleum of Zante, a well-known article of commerce in the Adriatic, or that of the district in Burmah, where 400,000 hogsheads are said to be collected annually †.

It is observed by Capt. Mallet, in his Short Topographical Sketch of the island, that "near Cape la Brea (la Brave) a little to the south-west, is a gulf or vortex, which in stormy weather gushes out, raising the water five or six feet, and covers the surface for a considerable space with petroleum or tar:" and he adds, that "on the east coast in the Bay of Mayaro, there is another gulf or vortex similar to the former, which in the months of March and June produces a detonation like thunder, having some flame with a thick black smoke, which vanishes away immediately: in about 24 hours afterwards is found along the shore of the bay a quantity of bitumen or pitch, about three or four inches thick, which is employed with success." Captain Mallet likewise quotes Gumilla, as stating in his description of the Orinoco, that about seventy years ago "a spot of land on the western coast of this island, near half way between the capital, an Indian village sank suddenly, and was immediately replaced by a small lake of pitch, to the great terror of the inhabitants."

I have had no opportunity of ascertaining personally whether these statements are accurate, though sufficiently probable from what is known to occur in other parts of the world; but I have been informed by several persons that the sea in the neighbourhood of La Braye is occasionally covered with a fluid bitumen, and in the south-eastern part of the

* The different kinds of bitumen have always been found particularly obnoxious to the class of insects. There can be little doubt but that they formed ingredients in the Egyptian compost for embalming bodies, and the Arabians are said to avail themselves of them in preserving the trappings of their horses. Vide Jameson's Mineralogy.

† Vide Aikin's Dictionary of Chemistry, quoted from Captain Cox in the Asiatic Researches.

island there is certainly a similar collection of this bitumen, though of less extent, and many small detached spots of it are to be met with in the woods: it is even said that an evident line of communication may thus be traced between the two great receptacles. There is every probability, that in all these cases the pitch was originally fluid, and has since become inspissated by exposure to the air, as happens in the Dead Sea and other parts of the East.

It is for geologists to explain the origin of this singular phœnomenon, and each sect will doubtless give a solution of the difficulty according to its peculiar tenets. To frame any very satisfactory hypothesis on the subject, would require a more exact investigation of the neighbouring country, and particularly to the southward and eastward, which I had not an opportunity of visiting. And it must be remembered, that geological inquiries are not conducted here with that facility which they are in some other parts of the world: the soil is almost universally covered with the thickest and most luxuriant vegetation, and the stranger is soon exhausted and overcome by the scorching rays of a vertical sun. Immediately to the southward, the face of the country as seen from la Braye, is a good deal broken and rugged, which Mr. Anderson attributes to some convulsion of nature from subterranean fires, in which idea he is confirmed by having found in the neighbouring woods several hot springs. He is indeed of opinion that this tract has experienced the effects of the volcanic power which, as he supposes, elevated the great mountains on the main and the northern side of the island *. The production of all bituminous substances has certainly with plausibility been attributed to the action of subterranean fires on beds of coal, being separated in a similar manner as when effected by artificial heat, and thus they may be traced through the various transformations of vegetable matter. I was accordingly particular in my inquiries with regard to the existence of beds of coal, but could not learn that there was any certain trace of that substance in the island; and though it may exist at a great depth, I saw no strata that indicate it. A friend, indeed, gave me specimens of a kind of bituminous shale mixed with sand, which he brought from Point Cedar, about twenty miles distant, and I find Mr. Anderson speaks of the soil near the pitch lake containing burnt cinders, but I imagine he may have taken for them the small fragments of the bitumen itself.

An examination of this tract of country could not fail, I think, to be highly gratifying to those who embrace the Huttonian theory of the earth; for they might behold the numerous branches of one of the largest rivers of the world (the Orinoco) bringing down so amazing a quantity of earthy particles as to discolour the sea in a most remarkable

* Vide Philos. Trans. vol. lxxix.

manner for many leagues distant *; they might see these earthy particles deposited by the influence of powerful currents on the shores of the Gulph of Paria, and particularly on the western side of the island of Trinidad; they might there find vast collections of bituminous substances, beds of porcelain jasper, and such other bodies as may readily be supposed to arise from the modified action of heat on such vegetable and earthy materials as the waters are known actually to deposit. They would further perceive no very vague traces of subterranean fire, by which these changes may have been effected and the whole elevated above the ordinary level of the general loose soil of the country: as for instance, hot springs, the vortices above mentioned, the frequent occurrence of earthquakes, and two singular semi-volcanic mounds at Point Icaque, which, though not very near, throw light on the general character of the country. Without pledging myself to any particular system of geology, I confess an explanation similar to this appears to me sufficiently probable, and consonant with the known phænomena of nature. A vast river, like the Orinoco, must for ages have rolled down great quantities of woody and vegetable bodies, which from certain causes, as the influence of currents and eddies,—may have been arrested and accumulated in particular places; they may there have undergone those transformations and chemical changes which various vegetable substances similarly situated have been proved to suffer in other parts of the world. An accidental fire, such as is known frequently to occur in the bowels of the earth, may then have operated in separating and driving off the newly formed bitumen more or less combined with siliceous and argillaceous earths, which forcing its way through the surface, and afterwards becoming inspissated by exposure to the air, may have occasioned such scenes as I have ventured to describe. The only other country accurately resembling this part of Trinidad, of which I recollect to have read, is that which borders

* No scene can be more magnificent than that presented on a near approach to the north-western coast of Trinidad. The sea is not only changed from a light green to a deep brown colour, but has in an extraordinary degree that rippling, confused and whirling motion, which arises from the violence of contending currents, and which prevail here in so remarkable a manner, particularly at those seasons when the Orinoco is so swollen by periodical rains, that vessels are not unfrequently several days or weeks in stemming them, or perhaps are irresistibly borne before them far out of their destined track. The dark verdure of lofty mountains, covered with impenetrable woods to the very summits, whence, in the most humid of climates, torrents impetuously rush through deep ravines to the sea; three narrow passages into the Gulf of Paria, between rugged mountains of brown micaceous schist, on whose cavernous sides the eddying surge dashes with fury, and where a vessel must necessarily be for some time embayed, with a depth of water scarcely to be fathomed by the lead, —present altogether a scene which may well be conceived to have impressed the mind of the navigator who first beheld it with considerable surprise and awe. Columbus made this land in his third voyage, and gave it the name of the *Bocas del Drago*. From the wonderful discoloration and turbidity of the water, he sagaciously concluded that a very large river was near, and consequently a great continent.

on the Gulf of Taman in Crim Tartary: from the representation of travellers, springs of naphtha and petroleum equally abound, and they describe volcanic mounds precisely similar to those of Point Icaque. Pallas's explanation of their origin seems to me very satisfactory; and I think it not improbable that the river Don and Sea of Azof may have acted the same part in producing these appearances in the one case, as the Orinoco and Gulf of Paria appear to have done in the other *. It may be supposed that the destruction of a forest, or perhaps even a great savanna on the spot, would be a more obvious mode of accounting for this singular phænomenon; but, as I shall immediately state, all this part of the island is of recent alluvial formation, and the land all along this coast is daily receiving a considerable accession from the surrounding water. The pitch lake with the circumadjacent tract being now on the margin of the sea, must in like manner have had an origin of no very distant date; besides, according to the above representation of Captain Mallet, and which has been frequently corroborated, a fluid bitumen oozes up and rises to the surface of the water on both sides of the island, not where the sea has encroached on and overwhelmed the ready-formed land, but where it is obviously in a very rapid manner depositing and forming a new soil.

From a consideration of the great hardness, the specific gravity, and the general external characters of the specimens submitted a few years ago to the examination of Mr. Hatchett, that gentleman was led to suppose that a considerable part of the aggregate mass at Trinidad was not pure mineral pitch or asphaltum, but rather a porous stone of the argillaceous genus, much impregnated with bitumen. Two specimens of the more compact and earthy sort, analysed by Mr. Hatchett, yielded about 32 and 36 per cent. of pure bitumen: the residuum in the crucible consisted of a spongy, friable and ochraceous stone; and 100 parts of it afforded, as far as could be determined by a single trial, of silica 60, alumina 10, oxide of iron 10, carbonaceous matter by estimation 11; not the smallest traces of lime could be discovered; so that the substance has no similarity to the bituminous limestones which have been noticed in different parts of the world †. I have already remarked, that this mineral production differs considerably in different places. The specimens examined by Mr. Hatchett by no means correspond in character with the great mass of the lake, which, in most cases, would doubtless be found to be infinitely more free from combination with earthy substances; though from the mode of origin which I have assigned to it, this intermixture may be regarded as more or less unavoidable. The analysis of the stone after the separation of the bitumen, as Mr.

* Vide Universal Magazine for February 1808, Mrs. Guthrie's Tour in the Tauride, or Voyages de Pallas.

† Vide Linnean Trans. vol. viii.

Hatchett very correctly observes, accords with the prevalent soil of the country; and I may add, with the soil daily deposited by the gulf, and with the composition of the porcelain jasper in immediate contact with the bituminous mass.

All the country which I have visited in Trinidad is either decidedly primitive or alluvial. The great northern range of mountains which runs from east to west, and is connected with the Highlands of Paria on the continent by the Islands at the Bocas, consists of gneiss, of mica slate containing great masses of quartz, and in many places approaching so much to the nature of talc as to render the soil quite unctuous by its decomposition, and of compact blueish gray limestone, with frequent veins of white crystallized carbonate of lime. From the foot of these mountains, for many leagues to the southward, there is little else than a thick fertile argillaceous soil, without a stone or a single pebble. This tract of land, which is low and perfectly level, is evidently formed by the *detritus* of the mountains, and by the copious tribute of the waters of the Orinoco, which being deposited by the influence of currents, gradually accumulates; and, in a climate where vegetation is astonishingly rapid, is speedily covered with the mangrove and other woods. It is accordingly observed, that the leeward side of the island constantly encroaches on the gulf, and marine shells are frequently found on the land at a considerable distance from the sea. This is the character of Naparima and the greater part of the country I saw along the coast to la Braye. It is not only in forming and extending the coast of Trinidad, that the Orinoco exerts its powerful agency; co-operating with its mighty sister flood, the Amazons, it has manifestly formed all that line of coast and vast extent of country included between the extreme branches of each river. To use the language of a writer in the Philosophical Transactions of Edinburgh: "If you cast your eye upon the map, you will observe from Cayenne to the bottom of the Gulf of Paria this immense tract of swamp, formed by the sediment of these rivers, and a similar tract of shallow muddy coast, which their continued operation will one day elevate. The sediment of the Amazons is carried down thus to leeward (the westward) by the constant currents which set along from the southward and the coast of Brazil. That of the Oroonoko is detained and allowed to settle near its mouths by the opposite island of Trinidad, and still more by the mountains on the main, which are only separated from that island by the Bocos del Drago. The coast of Guiana has remained, as it were, the great eddy or resting-place for the washings of great part of South America for ages; and its own comparatively small streams have but modified here and there the grand deposit*."

Having been amply gratified with our visit to this singular place, which to the usual magnificence of the West Indian land-

* Vide Mr. Lochhead's Observ. on the Nat. Hist. of Guiana. Edin. Trans. vol. iv.

scape unites the striking peculiarity of the local scene, we re-embarked in our vessel, and stood along the coast on our return. On the way we landed, and visited the plantations of several gentlemen, who received us with hospitality, and made us more fully acquainted with the state of this island: a colony which may with truth be described as fortunate in its situation, fertile in its soil, and rich beyond measure in the productions of nature; presenting, in short, by a rare combination, all which can gratify the curiosity of the naturalist, or the cupidity of the planter; restrained in the developement of its astonishing resources, only by the inadequacy of population, the tedious and ill-defined forms of Spanish justice, and the severe, though we may hope transient, pressure of the times.

Account of the Souffriere of Montserrat. By Nicholas Nugent, M. D. From the same.

On my voyage last year (October 1810) from Antigua to England, the packet touched at Montserrat, and my curiosity having been excited by the accounts I received of a place in the island called the *Sulphur*, and which, from the descriptions of several persons, I conceived might be the crater of an inconsiderable volcano, I determined to avail myself of the stay of the packet to visit that place.

The island of Montserrat, so called by the Spaniards from a fancied resemblance to the celebrated mountain of Catalonia, is every where extremely rugged and mountainous, and the only roads, except in one direction, are narrow bridle-paths winding through the recesses of the mountains: there is hardly a possibility of using wheeled carriages, and the produce of the estates is brought to the place of shipment on the backs of mules. Accompanied by a friend, I accordingly set out on horseback from the town of Plymouth, which is situated at the foot of the mountains on the sea-shore. We proceeded by a circuitous and steep route about six miles, gradually ascending the mountain, which consisted entirely of an uniform porphyritic rock, broken every where into fragments and large blocks, and which in many places was so denuded of soil, as to render it a matter of astonishment how vegetation, and particularly that of the cane, should thrive so well. The far greater part of the whole island is made up of this porphyry, which by some systematics would be considered as referable to the newest floëtz trap formation, and by others would be regarded only as a variety of lava. It is a compact and highly indurated argillaceous rock of a grey colour, replete with large and perfect crystals of white felspar and black hornblende. Rocks of this description generally pass in the West Indies by the vague denomination of fire-stone, from the useful property they possess of resisting the operation of intense heat. A considerable quantity of this stone is accordingly exported from Montserrat to the other islands which do not contain it, being essential in forming the ma-

sonry around the copper-boilers in sugar-works. We continued our ride a considerable distance beyond the estate called Galloway's (where we procured a guide,) till we came to the side of a very deep ravine which extends in a winding direction the whole way from one of the higher mountains to the sea. A ruggid horse path was traced along the brink of the ravine, which we followed amidst the most beautiful and romantic scenery. At the head of this ravine is a small amphitheatre formed by lofty surrounding mountains, and here is situated what is termed *The Sulphur*. Though the scene was extremely grand, and well worthy of observation, yet I confess I could not help feeling a good deal disappointed, as there was nothing like a crater to be seen, or any thing else that could lead me to suppose the place had any connexion with a volcano. On the north, east and west sides were lofty mountains wooded to the tops, composed apparently of the same kind of porphyry we had noticed all along the way. On the south, the same kind of rock of no great height, quite bare of vegetation, and in a very peculiar state of decomposition. And on the south-eastern side, our path and the outlet into the ravine. The whole area, thus included, might be three or four hundred yards in length, and half that distance in breadth. The surface of the ground, not occupied by the ravine, was broken and strewed with fragments and masses of the porphyritic rock for the most part so exceedingly decomposed, as to be friable, and to crumble on the smallest pressure. For some time I thought that this substance, which is perfectly white, and in some instances exhibits an arrangement like crystals, was a peculiar mineral; but afterwards became convinced that it was merely the porphyritic rock singularly altered, not by the action of the air or weather, but, as I conjecture, by a strong sulphureous or sulphuric acid vapour, which is generated here, and which is probably driven more against one side by the eddy wind up the ravine, the breeze from any other quarter being shut out by the surrounding hills.

Amidst the loose stones and fragments of decomposed rock are many fissures and crevices, whence very strong sulphureous exhalations arise, and which are diffused to a considerable distance: these exhalations are so powerful, as to impede respiration, and near any of the fissures are quite intolerable and suffocating. The buttons of my coat, and some silver and keys in my pockets, were instantaneously discoloured. An intense degree of heat is at the same time evolved, which, added to the apprehension of the ground crumbling and giving way, renders it difficult and painful to walk near any of these fissures. The water of a rivulet, which flows down the sides of the mountain, and passes over this place, is made to boil with violence, and becomes loaded with sulphureous impregnations. Other branches of the same rivulet, which do not pass immediately near these fissures, remain cool and limpid; and thus you may with one hand touch one rill, which is at the boiling point, and

with the other hand touch another rill, which is of the usual temperature of water in that climate. The exhalations of sulphur do not at all times proceed from the same fissures, but new ones appear to be daily formed, others becoming, as it were, extinct. On the margins of these fissures, and indeed almost over the whole place, are to be seen most beautiful crystallizations of sulphur, in many spots quite as fine and perfect as those from Vesuvius, or indeed as any other specimens I have ever met with. The whole mass of decomposed rock in the vicinity is, in like manner, quite penetrated by sulphur. The specimens which I collected of the crystallized sulphur, as well as of the decomposed and undecomposed porphyry, were left inadvertently on board the packet at Falmouth, which prevents my having the pleasure of exhibiting them to the society. I did not perceive at this place any trace of pyrites, or any other metallic substance, except indeed two or three small fragments of clay iron-stone at a little distance, but did not discover even this substance any where *in situ*. It is very probable that the bed of the glen or ravine might throw some light on the internal structure of the place; but it was too deep, and its banks infinitely too precipitous, for me to venture down to it. I understood that there was a similar exhalation and deposition of sulphur on the side of a mountain not more than a mile distant in a straight line; and a subterranean communication is supposed to exist between the two places.

Almost every island in the western Archipelago, particularly those which have the highest land, has, in like manner, its *Sulphur*, or as the French better express it, its *Souffrière*. This is particularly the case with Nevis, St. Kitt's, Guadaloupe, Dominica, Martinico, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent's. Some islands have several such places, analogous, I presume, to this of Montserrat; but in others, as Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent's there are decided and well characterized volcanos, which are occasionally active, and throw out ashes, scoriæ and lava with flame. The volcano of St. Vincent's is represented by Dr. Anderson, and others who have visited it, as extremely large and magnificent, and would bear a comparison with some of those of Europe. These circumstances appear to have been entirely overlooked by geologists in their speculations concerning the origin and formation of these islands. It has indeed occurred to most persons, on surveying the regular chain of islands extending from the southern Cape of Florida to the mouths of the Orinoco, as exhibited on the map, to conclude that it originally formed part of the American continent, and that the encroachments of the sea have left only the higher parts of the land, as insular points above its present level. But this hypothesis, however simple, and apparently satisfactory in itself, will be found to accord very partially with the geological structure of the different islands. Many of them are made up entirely of vast accretions of marine organized substances; and others evidently owe their origin to a volcanic agency, which is either in some degree apparent at

the present time, or else may be readily traced by vestiges comparatively recent. There is every reason to believe, however, that some of the islands are really of contemporaneous formation with the adjacent parts of the continent, from which they have been disjoined by the incursions of the sea, or by convulsions of nature, and it is probably in those islands which contain primitive rocks, that we are chiefly to look for a confirmation of this supposition.

Account of an Ourang Outang. From Annales du Museum d'Hist. Nat. By M. Frederick Cuvier.

The female ourang outang which formed the subject of my observations belonged to the same species with the ourang outangs described by Tulpius, Edwards, Vosmaer, Allamand, and Buffon: it is the *Simia Satyrus* of Linnæus. When erect in its natural position its height did not exceed from 26 to 30 inches: the length of the arms from the arm-pits to the tips of the fingers was 18 inches, and the lower extremities from the top of the thigh to the tarsus were only from eight to nine inches. The upper jaw had four sharp incisors, the two in the middle were double the breadth of the lateral, two short canine teeth, similar to those of men, and three molaria on each side, with soft tubercles. The lower jaw had also four incisors, two canine teeth, and six molaria, but the incisors were of equal size. The number of the molaria was not complete. The germ of a tooth was seen on each side at the extremity of the upper and under jaws, and it is probable that others would be produced at subsequent periods. The form of these teeth was the same with that of the molaria of men and apes in general.

The hands had five fingers precisely like those of men, only the thumb extended no further than the first joint of the fore finger. The feet also had five toes, but the great toe was placed much lower than that of a man, and in its ordinary position, instead of being parallel to the other toes, it formed with them nearly a right angle. All the toes were similar in structure to the fingers, and were very free in their motions, and the whole of them without exception had nails. It had almost no calves to the legs, or buttocks. The head resembled that of a man, much more than that of any animal; the forehead was high and salient, and the capacity of the cranium was great; but the neck was very short. The tongue was soft, and similar to that of any other apes; and although the lips were extremely thin, and scarcely apparent, they possessed the power of extension in a considerable degree. The nose, which was completely flat, and on a level with the face at its base, was slightly salient at its extremity, and the nostrils opened downwards. The eyes were like those of other apes, and the ears completely resembled those of men.

The vulva was very small, its labia scarcely perceptible, and the clitoris entirely hid; but on each slide of the vulva there was a flesh coloured streak where the skin seemed to be softer than that of

the other parts. Is this an indication of labia? Two mammæ were placed on the breast like those of females. The belly was naturally very large. This animal had neither tail nor callosities.

It was almost entirely covered with a reddish hair, more or less dark in colour, and of various thicknesses on the different parts of the body. The colour of the skin was generally that of slate; but the ears, the eye lids, the muzzle, the inside of the hands and feet, the mammæ, and a longitudinal band on the right side of the belly, were of copper-coloured skin. The hair of the head, of the fore-arms and of the legs, was of a deeper red than that of the other parts; and on the head, the back, and the upper part of the arms it was thicker than any where else: the belly was but scantily supplied with it, and the face still less: the upper lip, the nose, the palms of the hands, and the soles of the feet, alone were bare. The nails were black, and the eyes brown. All the hair was woolly, that of the fore-arm grew upwards as did that of the arm downwards to the elbow. The hair of the head, which was harder in general than that of the other parts, grew forward. The skin, but chiefly that of the face, was coarse and rough, and that under the neck was so flabby that the animal seemed to have a goitre when lying on its side.

The ourang outang in question was entirely formed for living among trees. When it wanted to ascend a tree, it laid hold of the trunk or branches with its hands and feet, making use of its arms only, and not of its thighs, as a man would do in similar circumstances. It could pass easily from one tree to another when the branches met, so that in a thick forest it would never be necessary for it to descend to the ground, on which it moves with considerable difficulty. In general, all its motions are slow, but they seem to be painful when it is made to walk from one place to another: at first it rests its two hands on the ground, and brings its hinder parts slowly forward until its feet are between its hands or fore paws; afterwards, supporting itself on its hind legs, it advances the upper part of its body, rests again on its hands as at first, and thus moves forward. It is only when we take it by one hand that it walks on its feet, and in this case it uses its other hand to support it. I have scarcely ever seen it stand firmly on the sole of the foot; most frequently it only rested on the outer edge, apparently desirous of preserving its toes from all friction on the ground; nevertheless it sometimes rested on the whole of the foot, but in this case it kept the two last phalanges bent inwards, except the great toe, which was stretched out. When resting, it sate on its buttocks with its legs folded under it, in the manner of the inhabitants of the east. It lay indiscriminately on its back or on its side, drawing up its legs and crossing its hands over its breast: and it was fond of being covered, for it drew over it all the clothes it could reach.

This animal used its hands in all the essential motions in which men employ theirs; and it is evident that it only requires experience to enable it to use them on

almost every occasion. It generally carried its food to its mouth with its fingers; but sometimes also it seized it with its long lips; and it was by suction that it drank like all other animals which have lips capable of being lengthened. It made use of its sense of smelling in order to decide upon the nature of the aliments which were presented to it and which it was not acquainted with, and it seemed to consult this sense with great assiduity. It ate almost indiscriminately, fruits, pulse, eggs, milk, and animal food: bread, coffee, and oranges were its most favourite aliments; and it once emptied an ink-bottle which came in its way without being incommoded. It had no particular times for going to meals, and ate at all seasons like an infant. Its sight and hearing were good. Music made no impression upon it. The mammiferæ are not formed by nature to be sensible to its charms, none of their wants seem to require it, and even with mankind it is an artificial want; on savages it has no other effect than a noise would have.

When defending itself, our ourang outang bit and struck with its hands; but it was only against children that it shewed any roguery, and it was always caused by impatience rather than by anger. In general it was gentle and affectionate, and seemed to delight in society. It was fond of being caressed, gave real kisses, and seemed to experience a great deal of pleasure in sucking the fingers of those who approached it; but it did not suck its own fingers. Its cry was guttural and sharp, but it was only heard when it eagerly wanted any thing. All its signs were then very expressive: it darted its head forward in order to show its disapprobation, pouted when it was not obeyed, and when angry it cried very loudly, rolling itself on the ground. On these occasions its neck was prodigiously swelled.

By the above description it will be seen that the ourang outang in question had attained a size sufficiently great for its age, which was not more than 15 or 16 months: its teeth, limbs, and powers were almost perfect; whence it may be inferred that it had nearly acquired its full growth, and that its life does not extend beyond 25 years.

This ourang outang arrived at Paris in the beginning of March, 1808. M. Decaen, an officer of the French navy, and brother to the governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon, brought it from the former place, and presented it to the Empress Josephine, whose taste for natural history is conspicuous. When it arrived in the Isle of France from Borneo, where it was born, it was only three months old: it remained three months in the Isle of France, was three months on its voyage to Spain where it was landed, and having been two months in its journey to Paris, it must have been 10 or 11 months old when it arrived in the winter of 1808. The fatigues of a long sea voyage, but above all, the cold which the animal experienced in crossing the Pyrenees amid the snows, reduced it to the last extremity; and when it arrived at Paris several of its toes were frozen, and it laboured under a hectic fever brought on

by obstructions in the spleen accompanied by a cough: it refused all sustenance, and was almost motionless. In this state it came into the possession of M. Godard, a friend of M. Decaen, who succeeded in partially restoring it to health.

I visited it almost every day while it lived; and Messrs. Godard and Decaen enabled me to add to the observations I made.

The means which succeeded in restoring this animal to some degree of health, were good victuals, a proper temperature, and above all, cleanliness. At first the disease was combated with tonics: bark being inadmissible in the usual way was administered in baths and frictions; but these remedies fatigued the animal more than they relieved it, and they were given up. The constipation of the bowels was nevertheless obstinate, and it was necessary to have frequent recourse to bathing, and this treatment was pursued till the animal's death. The desire for sucking which it evinced, suggested the idea of suckling it again, but it refused the breast of a woman who volunteered on this singular service. It also refused to suckle the teats of a goat. At first it seemed fond of milk, but it soon got tired of it, and of every other aliment, which was given it in succession, with the exception of oranges, which it seemed fond of to the last. In about five months the animal died; and on opening its body, most of the viscera were found to be disorganized and full of obstructions.

Such was the animal who formed the subject of my observations; and, far different from those which have hitherto been described, if had never been subjected to any particular education, and was only influenced by the circumstances in which it happened to be placed: it owed nothing to habit, nothing mechanical entered into its actions, all of them were the simple effects of volition, or at least of nature. Now that I have described the organs of this animal and their uses, I ought to make known the phænomena which its intelligence presented: but before entering upon these details I ought to say a word on the influence which the intellect is liable to from the modifications of our senses.

It appears to me, that some authors have made intelligence depend much more than was just on the greater or less perfection of the hands or fingers. Now although the hand of an ape and of an ourang outang differs very little from ours, and these animals could undoubtedly make the same use of them as we do, if they were actuated by the same ideas, yet an ourang outang would no more be a man with more perfect hands or fingers, than a man would be an ape because he was born without arms. The influence of the senses on the mind has been particularly exaggerated: some authors have thought that upon the degree of perfection of these organs the degree of the perfection of the understanding in a great measure depended. Nevertheless it must be admitted that several animals have senses completely similar to ours; and the description which we have given of the ourang outang shows that this animal, which certainly is not a man, has received senses

equally numerous, and at least equally delicate with ours. Besides, if we consider the real influence exercised on the operations of the understanding by more or less delicate organs, we see that it is limited to the multiplying of ideas in a greater or less ratio, without making any change in the manner of setting these elements at work. The most humble artisan, who has exercised his sight least, and who cannot distinguish the most striking shades of colour, will not be less of the same species with the painter who has studied all the accidents of light, and who can recognise them in the slightest undulations of a drapery. Lastly, the understanding may have ideas without the aid of the senses: two thirds of the brute creation are moved by ideas which they do not owe to their sensations, but which flow immediately from their brain. Instinct constitutes this order of phænomena: it is composed of ideas truly innate, in which the senses have never had the smallest share. Every thing unites, therefore, in my opinion, to convince us that it is neither in the conformation of the limbs, nor in the greater or less perfection of the senses, that we must seek the principal cause of the intellectual qualities which distinguish us from the lower animals, and even the cause of those which perhaps distinguish the animals of certain classes. The operations, the phænomena of our intelligence which characterize us, must proceed from higher and more potent causes; faculties, even of the understanding, or of the organ in which these faculties reside, *i. e.* the brain. Consequently we apply ourselves much more to appreciate the use which our ourang outang made of its sensations, the results which he knew how to draw from its ideas, than to analyse these sensations themselves, or to seek for the elements and the nature of these ideas.

All the faculties of animals concur to the same end,—the preservation of the species and of individuals. The individual is preserved by defending himself against dangers, and by procuring what is necessary for its existence. The preservation of the species is effected by generation. It is, therefore, to preserve his existence, and to propagate, that an animal employs all his faculties and refers all his actions; and it is with respect to defending itself against danger, and procuring necessaries for its existence, that the following observations more particularly apply. Our ourang outang was not old enough to have experienced the calls of nature in respect to generation, and to exhibit their effects. This plan simplifies the study of the intellectual faculties of brutes. Hitherto the science which has had these faculties for its object, has consisted of isolated facts, the number of which might still increase indefinitely without increasing our knowledge, if we did not endeavour to subject them to fixed and proper rules, to regard them in their true point of view, and to appreciate their real value. We know that the faculties of the understanding are not developed until the organs are formed: we are at liberty to suppose, therefore, that if our ourang outang had arrived at an adult age, she would have exhibited

phænomena still more curious than those which we have to detail: but if we reflect that this animal was scarcely 16 months old when it died, we shall find plenty of subjects of astonishment in the observations which it afforded, and of which we are about to give an account.

Of the intellectual Phænomena which have for their Object to defend the Animal against Danger.

Nature has given the ourang outang but few means of defence. Next to man, it is an animal perhaps which finds in its own resources the feeblest defence against dangers: but in recompense it has a great facility in ascending trees, and thus escaping the enemies which it cannot combat. These sole considerations would be sufficient for encouraging the presumption that nature has endowed the ourang outang with great circumspection. In fact, the prudence of this animal is conspicuous in all its actions, and chiefly in those which have for their object to save it from some dangers. Nevertheless its tranquil life, while under my inspection, and the impossibility of subjecting it to severe experiments in the weak state in which it was, prevented me from making many observations: but assisted by those which had been made by M. Decaen during the voyage from the Isle of France to Europe, my readers will obtain some idea of its intellectual faculties.

During the first week after its embarkation this ourang outang evinced great fears for its safety, and seemed greatly to exaggerate the dangers of the rolling of the vessel. It never ventured to walk without firmly grasping in its hands the ropes or other parts of the vessel: it constantly refused to ascend the masts, however solicitous the crew were to induce it, and it was only prevailed on to do so from a sentiment, or a want, which nature seems to have carried to a high degree of perfection in animals of this kind: this sentiment was that of affection, which our animal constantly evinced, and I have no doubt that it would lead the ourang outangs to live in society, and to defend themselves mutually, when certain dangers menaced them, like other animals which nature forms for herding together. However this may be, our ourang outang never had the courage to ascend the masts until M. Decaen did so himself: it followed him up for the first time; and having thus acquired some confidence in its own powers, it used frequently to repeat the experiment.

The means employed by the ourang outangs in defending themselves are in general those which are common to all timid animals,—artifice and prudence: but the former have a strength of judgment far superior to the latter, and which they employ occasionally to remove enemies from them who are stronger. This was proved to us in a very remarkable manner by the animal in question. Living in a state of liberty, she was accustomed in fine weather to visit a garden, where she could take exercise in the open air by ascending and sitting among the trees. One day that it was perched on a tree,

a person approached it as if with an intention to catch it; but the animal instantly laid hold of the adjoining branches and shook them with all its force, as if it was her intention to frighten the person who attempted to ascend, by suggesting the risk of his falling. The experiment was repeatedly made with the same results.

In whatever way we regard the above action, it must be impossible for us to overlook the result of a combination of acute intelligence, or to deny to the animal the faculty of *generalizing*. Our ourang outang, by an experiment which the wantonness of the sailors had frequently made on it, perceived that the violent agitation of bodies, which support men or animals, makes them lose their equilibrium, and fall; and it reflected that, when placed in analogous circumstances, others would experience what it had experienced itself, and that the fear of falling would hinder them from ascending. It extended, therefore, to beings who were strangers to it, an idea which was personal to itself: and from a particular circumstance it formed a general rule.

It was frequently fatigued with the numerous visits which it received, and would hide itself under its coverlid; but it never did this except when strangers were present.

My observations on the intellectual means resorted to by ourang outangs for their defence, are confined to these facts alone; but they are sufficient, in my opinion, to prove that these animals are able to make up by the resources of intellect for their feeble corporeal organization.

On the intellectual Phænomena which have for their Object to procure for the Animal such Things as are necessary for its Subsistence.

The natural wants of the ourang outangs are so easily satisfied, that these animals must find in their organization enough of resources, not to compel them to a great exertion of their intellectual faculties in this respect. Fruits are their principal food, and, as we have already seen, their limbs are peculiarly adapted for ascending trees. It is probable, therefore, that, in their state of nature, these animals employ their intelligence much oftener to preserve themselves from harm than to procure food. But all their habits must change, the instant they are in the society or under the protection of men: their dangers must be diminished, and their wants increased. This is evinced by all the domestic animals, and *à fortiori* by our ourang outang. In short, its intelligence was much more frequently called into action to satisfy its wants than to avert danger. I ought to place in this first division a custom of this animal, which appeared to be a phænomenon of instinct, the only one of the kind which it exhibited. While the season did not admit of its leaving the house, it practised a custom which appeared singular, and which was at first difficult to account for: this consisted in mounting upon an old desk to perform the functions of nature; but as soon as the warmth of spring ad-

mitted of its going into the garden, this extraordinary custom was accounted for: it never failed to ascend a tree when it wanted to perform these functions, and this method has even been resorted to, with success, as a remedy for its habitual constipation; when it did not ascend the tree of itself, it was placed upon it; and if its efforts produced no evacuation, it was a proof that bathing was necessary.

We have already seen that one of the principal wants of our ourang outang was to live in a society, and to attach itself to persons who treated it with kindness. For Mr. Decaen it had a particular affection, of which it gave daily proofs. One morning it entered his apartment while he was still in bed, and threw itself upon him embracing him strongly, and applying its lips to his breast, which it sucked as it used to do his fingers. On another occasion it gave him a still stronger proof of its attachment. It was accustomed to come to him at meal times, which it knew very well, in expectation of victuals. With this view it leapt up behind his chair, and perched upon the back of it; when he gave it what he thought proper. On his arrival in Spain, M. Decaen went ashore, and another officer of the ship supplied his place at table: the ourang outang placed itself on the back of the chair as usual; but as soon as it perceived a stranger in its master's place, it refused all food, threw itself on the floor, and rolled about in great distress, frequently striking its head and moaning bitterly. I have frequently seen it testify its impatience in this way: when any thing was refused it which it wanted, not being able, or not daring, to attack those who opposed its wishes, it would throw itself on the floor, strike its head, and thereby endeavour to excite interest or pity in a more lively manner. This method of expressing sorrow or anger is not observable in any animal, man excepted. Was this ourang outang led to act in this manner from the same motives, which actuate us in similar circumstances? I am inclined to answer this question in the affirmative: for in its passion it would occasionally raise its head from the ground and suspend its cries, in order to see if it had produced any effect on the people around, and if they were disposed to yield to its entreaties: when it thought there was nothing favourable in their looks or gestures, it began crying again.

This desire for marks of kindness generally led our ourang outang to search for persons whom it knew, and to shun solitude, which seemed to displease it so much that one day it employed its intelligence in a singular way to break loose from it. It was shut into a closet adjoining the room where the people of the house usually met: several times it ascended a chair in order to open the door, which it effected, as the chair usually stood near the door, which was fastened with a latch. In order to prevent it from repeating this operation, the chair was removed some distance from the door; but scarcely was it shut when it again opened, and the ourang outang was seen descending from the chair, which it had pushed towards the door in order

to enable it to reach the latch. Can we refuse to ascribe this action to the faculty of generalizing? It is certain that the animal had never been taught to make use of a chair for opening doors, and it had never even seen any person do so. All that it could learn from its own experience was, that by mounting upon a chair it could raise itself to a level with things that were higher than it; and it may have seen from the actions of others that chairs might be moved from one place to another, and that the door in question was moved by lifting the latch: but these very ideas are generalizations, and it is only by combining them with each other that the animal could have been led to the action which we have related. I do not think that any other animal ever carried the force of reasoning further. To conclude;—men were not the only beings of a different species to which the ourang outang attached itself: it conceived an affection for two cats which was sometimes attended with inconvenience: it generally kept one or other under its arm, and at other times it placed them on its head; but as in these various movements the cats were afraid of falling, they seized with their claws the skin of the ourang outang, which patiently endured the pain which it experienced. Twice or thrice indeed it attentively examined their feet, and after discovering their nails, it attempted to remove them, but with its fingers only: not being able to accomplish this object, it seemed resigned to the pain they gave it, rather than renounce the pleasure of toying with the animals. This desire of placing the cats on its head was displayed on a great many other occasions, and I never was able to divine the cause of it. If some small pieces of paper fell into its hands, it raised them to its head, and it did the same with ashes, earth, bones, &c.

It has already been mentioned that it took its food with its hands or mouth: it was not very expert in handling our knives and forks, and in this respect it resembled some savages whom we have heard of, but it made up for its awkwardness by its ingenuity: when the meat which was on its plate did not lie conveniently for its spoon, it gave the spoon to the person next it, in order that he might fill it. It drank very well out of a glass, which it could hold in its two hands. One day, after having put down the glass, it saw that it was likely to fall, and it instantly placed its hand at the side to which the glass inclined, and thereby saved it. Several persons were witnesses to these circumstances.

Almost all animals have occasion to protect themselves against the effects of cold, and it is probable that the ourang outangs are in this predicament in the rainy season. I am ignorant of the means resorted to by them in their state of nature, but our ourang outang almost continually kept itself covered. When on ship-board it laid hold of every thing that came in its way; and when a sailor had lost any of his clothes, he was sure to find them in the ourang outang's bed. The care which it took to keep itself covered furnished us with an excellent proof

of its intelligence, and proved not only that it could generalize its ideas, but that it had the presentiment of future wants. Its coverlid was spread every day on a piece of grass in the garden in front of the dining room, and every day after dinner it went straight to the garden, took its coverlid upon its shoulders, and leaped upon the shoulders of a domestic that he might carry it to bed. One day that the coverlid was not in its usual place it searched until it found it, and then threw it over its shoulders as usual.

I have already remarked that this animal was by far too young to exhibit any of the phænomena connected with generation, &c. I shall here terminate my observations, although I could add a great many more facts, but they would throw no additional light on the subject of our inquiries.

What has been just stated, ought to show that it is not necessary to multiply our experiments in order to obtain general and precise ideas as to the intellectual faculties of the mammiferæ. If we pick out one or two species in each genus, and examine them under the point of view which I have adopted, I am convinced that we might succeed in establishing the laws to which this faculty is subject in the whole class, and in appreciating the successive degradations which it undergoes, its connection with the senses, and the supplementary means which nature furnishes: in a word, we might lay the foundation of this interesting branch of natural history, which has been hitherto obscured by imaginary systems or obscure facts. For my part, I am happy in having had an opportunity of studying the animal which approaches most closely to man. I regard this as a point of comparison to which I shall in future refer all the other species of the mammiferæ, if circumstances admit of my continuing the inquiries, which I long ago commenced, into the intellectual characters which distinguish these species from each other.

On a Property of reflected Light: By Mr. Malus. From a Journal of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and the Arts. Vol. XXX. By William Nicholson.*

When a solar ray is reflected, or refracted, it retains in general its physical properties; and if it be subjected to new trials, it comports itself in the same manner, as if it issued directly from the luminous body. The prism, while it disperses the coloured rays, only changes their respective directions, without altering their nature. There are circumstances however, in which the influence of certain bodies impresses on the rays they reflect, or refract, characters and properties which they carry with them, and by which they are essentially distinguished from direct light.

The property of light I am about to describe is a modification of this kind. It had already been perceived in a particular circumstance of the doubling of images exhibited by calcareous spar: but, the phenomenon resulting from it

* Mém. de la Soc. d'Arcueil, vol. ii. p. 143.

having been ascribed to the properties of this crystal, no one suspected, that it might be produced, not only by all bodies that afford a double refraction, but by all other diaphanous substances, whether solid or liquid, and even by opake bodies.

If a ray of light be received perpendicularly on the face of a rhomboid of calcareous spar, this ray is divided into two pencils, one continued in the direction of the incidental rays, the other making with it an angle of a few degrees. The plane that passes through these two rays has several peculiar properties, and is called the plane of the principal section. It is always parallel to the axis of the integrant particles of the crystal, and perpendicular to the natural and artificial refractive surface. When the incident ray is inclined to the refractive surface, it is equally divided into two pencils; one refracted according to the ordinary law, and the other according to an extraordinary law, which depend on the angles that the incident ray forms with the refractive surface and the principal section. When the face of emergence is parallel to that of incidence, the two emergent rays are parallel to the incident ray, because each ray undergoes the same kind of refraction at the two opposite faces.

If now we receive on a second rhomboid, the principal section of which is parallel to that of the first, the two rays that have already passed through this, they will no longer be divided into two pencils, as rays of direct light would. The pencil from the ordinary refraction of the first crystal will be refracted by the second according to the law of the ordinary refraction, as if this crystal had lost the faculty of doubling images. In like manner the pencil from the extraordinary refraction of the first crystal will be refracted by the second according to the law of the extraordinary refraction.

If, the first crystal remaining fixed, we turn the second so, that the face of incidence shall remain parallel with itself, each of the two rays arising from the refraction of the first crystal begins to divide itself into two pencils; so that one portion of the ray from the ordinary refraction, for example, begins to be refracted extraordinarily, which produces four images. Finally, after a quarter of a revolution, the pencil from the ordinary refraction of the first crystal is entirely refracted extraordinarily by the second; and *vice versa*, the pencil, from the extraordinary refraction of the first crystal is wholly refracted according to the ordinary law by the second; which again reduces the number of images to two. This phenomenon is independent of the angles of incidence, since during the movement of the second crystal the refractive faces of the two rhomboids preserve the same inclination toward each other.

Thus the character that distinguishes direct light from light that has been subjected to the action of a crystal is, that the one constantly possesses the faculty of being divided into two pencils, while in the other this faculty de-

pends on the angle comprised between the plane of incidence and that of the principal section.

This faculty of altering the character of light, and of impressing on it a new property, which it carries with it, is not peculiar to the Iceland spar: I have found it in all known substances that double images; and, what is remarkable in this phenomenon, it is not necessary for its production, to employ two crystals of the same kind. Thus the second crystal, for example, may be carbonate of lead, or sulphate of barytes; the first may be a crystal of a sulphur, and the second of rock crystal. All these substances comport themselves with one another in the same manner as two rhomboids of calcareous spar. In general this propensity of light to be refracted in two pencils, or in one only, depends solely on the respective positions of the axis of the integrant particles of the crystals employed, be their chemical principles what they may, and of the natural or artificial faces, on which the refraction is produced. This result proves, that the modification light receives from these different substances is perfectly identical.

To render the phenomena I have described more sensible, the flame of a taper may be viewed through two prisms of different substances, possessing the property of double refraction, placed on each other. In general we shall perceive four images of the flame; but, if we turn one of the prisms slowly round the visual ray as an axis, the four images will be reduced to two, as often as the principal sections of the contiguous faces become parallel, or cut each other at right angles. The two images that disappear do not lose themselves in the other two; we perceive them gradually become extinct, while the other acquire increased intensity. When the two principal sections are parallel, one of the images is formed by rays refracted in the ordinary way by the two prisms, and the other by rays refracted extraordinarily. When the two principal sections are perpendicular, one of the images is formed by rays refracted ordinarily by the first crystal, and extraordinarily by the second; and the other by rays refracted extraordinarily by the first crystal, and ordinarily by the second.

Not only all crystals, that double images, are capable of giving light this faculty of being refracted in two pencils, or in one only, according to the position of the refractive crystal; but all transparent bodies, whether solid or liquid, and even opake bodies themselves, can impress on the luminous particles this singular disposition, which seemed to be one of the effects of double refraction.

When a pencil of light traverses a transparent substance, a portion of the rays is reflected by the refractive surface, and another portion by the surface of emergence. The cause of this partial reflection, which has hitherto escaped the researches of natural philosophers, seems, in several circumstances, to have some analogy with the forces that produce the double refraction.

For example, light reflected by the surface of water under an

angle of 52° 45′ with the perpendicular has all the characters of one of the pencils produced by the double refraction of crystal of calcareous spar, the principal section of which is parallel or perpendicular to the plane, that passes through the incident ray and the reflected ray, which we shall call the plane of reflection.

If this reflected ray be received on any crystal, that has the property of doubling images, and the principal section of which is parallel to the plane of reflection, it will not be divided into two pencils, as a ray of direct light would have been; but it will be refracted entire according to the ordinary law, as if the crystal had lost the faculty of doubling images. If, on the contrary, the principal section of the crystal be perpendicular to the plane of reflection, the reflected ray will be refracted entire according to the extraordinary law. In the intermediate positions it will be divided into two pencils according to the same law, and in the same proportion, as if it had acquired its new character by the influence of the double refraction. The ray reflected by the surface of the liquid therefore, under this circumstance, has all the characters of an ordinary ray formed by a crystal, the principal section of which is perpendicular to the plane of reflection.

To analyse this phenomenon completely, I placed a crystal so that its principal section was vertical; and after having divided a luminous ray by means of the double refraction, I received the two pencils proceeding from it on the surface of water, at an angle of 52° 45′. The ordinary ray, in being refracted, gave up to the partial reflection a portion of its particles, as a pencil of direct light would have done; but the extraordinary ray penetrated the liquid entire, and none of its particles escaped refraction. On the contrary, when the principal section of the crystal was perpendicular to the plane of incidence, the extraordinary ray produced alone a partial reflection, and the ordinary ray was refracted entire.

The angle under which light experiences this modification in being reflected at the surface of different transparent bodies is not the same in all. In general it is greatest in those that refract light most. Above and below this angle a part of the ray is more or less modified, and in a manner analogous to what takes place between two crystals, the principal sections of which cease to be parallel or perpendicular.

If we would simply observe this phenomenon, without measuring it accurately, we have only to place before a taper the transparent body, or the vessel containing the liquid to be subjected to experiment. We must then observe through a prism of flint glass the image of the flame reflected at the surface of the solid or the liquid, and in general two images will be seen: but on turning the crystal round the visual ray as an axis, one of the images will be seen to grow faint in proportion as the other increases in intensity. Beyond a certain limit, the image that had grown weak begins to renew its intensity at the expense of the second. At the point where the intensity of the

light is nearly a minimum, we must move the reflecting body nearer to the taper, or farther from it, till the angle of incidence is such, that one of the two images wholly disappears. This distance being found, if we continue to turn the prism slowly, we shall perceive, that one of the two images becomes extinct alternately at every quarter of a revolution.

The phenomenon I have mentioned in the rays that are reflected under a certain angle at the surface of a transparent body takes place likewise, but under a different angle, with the pencils reflected interiorly by the surface of emergence; and the sine of the first angle is to the sine of the second as the sine of incidence to the sine of refraction. Thus, if we suppose the face of incidence and the face of emergence parallel to each other: and the angle of incidence such, that the ray reflected at the first surface presents the phenomenon I have described; the ray reflected at the second surface will be modified in the same manner. If the incident ray be such, that all its particles escape the partial reflection and pass through the face of entrance, they will equally escape by traversing the face of exit. This new property of light affords the means of measuring with precision the quantity of rays absorbed at the surface of diaphanous bodies, a problem, which the partial reflection rendered almost impossible to be solved.

When a body, that produces a double refraction, reflects the light at its first surface, it comports itself like a common transparent substance. The light reflected under a certain angle of incidence acquires the property I have described; and this angle is independant of the position of the principal section, which influences only the double refraction, or the reflections that take place in the interior of the crystal.

In fact, the rays that are reflected interiorly at the second surface exhibit peculiar phenomena, which depend both on the refractive power, and the properties of reflected light that I have already described.

When a pencil of light has been divided into two rays at the first surface of a rhomboid of calcareous spar, these two rays issue out by the second face in two pencils parallel to the incident ray, because each of them experiences at that face the same kind of refraction as at the first face. It is not the same with reflected light. Though the ray refracted ordinarily at the first surface is refracted ordinarily at the second, it is nevertheless reflected at this surface in two pencils, one ordinary, the other extraordinary. In like manner the ray refracted extraordinarily is reflected in two others; so that there are four reflected rays, while there are but two emergent. These four rays, in returning to the first face of the crystal, issue out in four parallel pencils, which make with this face the same angle as the incident ray, but in a contrary direction, and are parallel to the plane of incidence. To connect this kind of reflection with that of double refraction, we must conceive at the two points of emergence of the second face two

incident rays, making with this face the same angle as the emergent rays, but in the opposite direction. These two rays, by their refraction through the crystal, will produce four pencils, which will follow precisely the course of the reflected rays. Thus the law of the double refraction being known, that of the double reflection may easily be deduced from it.

I shall now proceed to that kind of phenomenon, which is the subject of this paper; and which relates, not to the law according to which the rays are directed, but to the quantity and properties of the light they contain.

Let us suppose the angle of incidence to be constant, and the crystal placed horizontally. If we turn the rhomboid round the perpendicular, so as to approximate its principal section to the incident rays, we shall perceive a gradual diminution of intensity in the ordinary ray reflected extraordinarily, and of the extraordinary ray reflected ordinarily. In fine, when the plane of the principal section coincides with the incident ray, these two reflected rays disappear entirely, and nothing remains but the ordinary ray reflected ordinarily, and the extraordinary ray reflected extraordinarily. The latter however has much less intensity than the former.

If now, the incident ray continuing to be included in the principal section, we increase or diminish the angle of incidence, till it becomes 56° 30′, the latter reflected ray will disappear altogether; and only that, which has been refracted ordinarily, and reflected ordinarily, will remain. Beyond or within this angle, the extraordinary ray reflected extraordinarily will re-appear with an intensity proportional to the remoteness from this angle. The angle of incidence I have mentioned is that, under which a ray reflected at the first surface would have acquired the property of being divided into two pencils, or remaining in one, as takes place at the surface of any other transparent body. The preceding phenomenon may easily be connected with the experiment, in which water was taken for an example: for if we let fall on the surface of the rhomboid, under an angle of 56° 30′; or thereabout, a ray disposed to be refracted only in one extraordinary pencil, this ray will produce no partial reflection at the first surface; which seems to explain, why it produces none at the second.

However, it is not the same, when the plane of incidence makes a sensible angle with the principal section. If the ray just mentioned be made to fall in this plane, under an angle of 56° 30′, or near it, it will comport itself at the first surface as in the preceding case, it will traverse it without any reflection: but at the second surface it will be reflected in two pencils, which will attain their maximum of intensity, when the plane of incidence is perpendicular to the principal section.

It is obvious, that the light reflected at the second face does not comport itself here as in the preceding case, because in the first experiment the incident ray refracted and reflected is still in the same plane, while in the last

the repulsive force, that produces the extraordinary refraction, turns the light away from the plane of incidence, so that it ceases to be similarly circumstanced with respect to the forces that act on it.

If we examine the light that proceeds from the partial reflection of opake bodies, as black marble, ebony, &c., we shall equally find an angle, at which this light enjoys the properties of that which has traversed a crystal of Iceland spar. Polished metals appear to be the only reflecting substances, that do not seem capable of producing this phenomenon: but, if they do not impress this peculiar disposition on luminous rays, they do not alter it, when they have already acquired it by the influence of another substance.

This property is preserved also by pencils, that traverse substances which refract light singly.

In the second part of this paper I shall describe the circumstances, under which, by means of reflection from metallic mirrors, the mutual disposition of the particles of a ray, either ordinary or extraordinary, may be so changed, that some shall always be refracted ordinarily, while the others are refracted extraordinarily. The examination of these different circumstances will lead us to the law of these phenomena, which depends on a general property of the repulsive forces that act on light.

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*On a Property of the repulsive Forces, that act on Light. By Mr. Malus *. From Nicholson's Journal of Natural Philosophy, &c. &c.*

In my last paper † I announced, that light reflected from the surface of transparent bodies acquires new properties, which distinguish it essentially from that which emanates directly from luminous bodies.

I have since continued my researches on the same subject; and subjecting the results of my experiments to calculation, I have arrived at some remarkable consequences, which tend to elucidate the mode of action of substances on light.

I had observed, that, when the light is reflected under a certain angle by the surface of a diaphanous body, it acquires the properties of the rays, that have been subjected to double refraction: and, setting out with this remark, I contrived to modify the rays of light by simple transparent substances, so that they entirely escaped the partial reflection, which is commonly observed at the surface of these substances. I cause any number of these substances to be traversed by a solar ray, without any of its particles being reflected; which furnishes means of measuring with accuracy the quantity of light, that these substances absorb; a problem, which the partial reflection had rendered impossible to be solved.

The light that has undergone this modification comports itself in a similar manner with opake polished bodies. Under determinate angles it ceases to be reflect-

* Mém. de la Soc. d'Arcueil, vol. ii. p. 254. † Journal, p. 95.

ed, and is totally absorbed, while within and beyond these angles it is in part reflected from the surface of these bodies.

When a solar ray is made to fall on a polished glass, that is not silvered, this ray is in part reflected at the first and second surface, and its intensity increases with the angle of incidence, reckoning from the perpendicular: in other words, it is so much the greater, in proportion as the ray is more inclined to the reflecting surface.

But if the direct light be subject to this law of intensity, that which has been already reflected follows a very different law, when it is reflected anew by a second glass. In certain directions, instead of increasing in intensity with the angle of incidence, on the contrary it diminishes; and, after having attained a certain minimum, begins to increase according to the same law as the direct light. These minima are relative either to the inclination of the ray to the reflecting surfaces, or to the angles which these surfaces form with each other, so that the light reflected by the second glass is a function of these three angles. This function has an absolute minimum; that is to say, a point at which the intensity of the light reflected by the second glass is altogether null. Calculation has led me directly to the circumstances that produce this minimum; and I have verified it by a very simple experiment, which I shall proceed to describe.

If we take two glasses inclined to each other at an angle of 70° 22′: if we then conceive between these two glasses a line making with each an angle of 35° 25′, every ray reflected by one of the glasses parallel to this line will not be reflected anew by the second; it will penetrate it, without any of its particles experiencing the action of the repulsive forces, that produce the partial reflection. Within or beyond the angles I have mentioned, the phenomenon will cease to take place; and the farther we go from these limits, on either side, the greater will be the quantity of light reflected.

This faculty of entirely penetrating transparent bodies, which the light has acquired by its first reflection, it will lose or retain in various circumstances, which I have studied; and thus I have been led to the following law, according to which this singular phenomenon is effected.

If a second glass be made to turn round the first reflected ray, *a*, constantly making with it an angle of 35° 25′; and if in a plane perpendicular to this ray we conceive two lines, one, *b*, parallel to the first glass, and the other *c*, parallel to the second; the quantity of light reflected by the second glass will be proportional to the square of the cosine of the angle included between the lines *b c*: it is at its maximum when these lines are parallel, and null when they are perpendicular. So that the limits of the phenomenon are relative to three rectangular axes, *a*, *b*, *c*, one of which is parallel to the direction of the ray, another to the first reflecting surface, and the third is perpendicular to the two former.

For the second glass let us substitute a metallic mirror, and call the rectangular axes of the second

ray, analagous to the axes a, b, c of the first, a', b', c'. If this ray be received on a polished but unsilvered glass, which makes with it an angle of 35° 25′, we shall perceive the following phenomena, which are independant of the angle of incidence on the metallic mirror. If b' be parallel to b, that is, if the metallic mirror be parallel to the axis b, the ray it reflects will retain its properties with respect to a glass situate parallel to the axis c'; it will penetrate it entirely. If b' be parallel to c, the reflected ray will retain its properties for a glass parallel to the axis b'.

In the intermediate positions, the quantity of light, that will have retained its property for a glass parallel to the axis b', is proportional to the square of the sine of the angle comprised between the axes b' b; and that which has retained its property with respect to a glass parallel to the axis c' is proportional to the square of the cosine of the same angle.

When the metallic mirror makes equal angles with the axes b and c, b' makes an angle of 45° with each; and then the light comports itself in the same manner on a glass parallel to the axis b', or to the axis c'; it seems, in this case, to have resumed all the characters of direct light.

If the ray reflected by the metallic mirror be dissected by means of a crystal of calcareous spar, in disposing its principal section parallel to the plane of reflection, the proportion of the intensities of the ray refracted extraordinarily and the ordinary ray is equal to the square of the tangent of the angle included between the two axes, b, b'.

If the light be made to undergo several reflections from metallic mirrors, before subjecting it to the action of a second transparent body, the phenomena are analogous to those I have mentioned. If the axis b' of the second ray be parallel to the axis b or c of the first; if the axis b'' of the third be parallel to the axis b' or c' of the second; and so for the rest; the property of the light already laid down will be in no respect altered: but if these axes be inclined to one another, it will be divided with respect to the two consecutive mirrors, according to the law I have mentioned.

If the surface of a polished opake substance, as black marble, be made to turn round the axis c of the first reflected ray, the reflected light will be seen to diminish to a certain point, at which it is null, and beyond which it begins to increase.

All the ordinary phenomena of optics may be explained either on the hypothesis of Huyghens, who supposed them to be produced by the vibrations of an ethereal fluid; or agreeably to the opinion of Newton, who supposed them to be produced by the action of bodies on luminous particles, considered as themselves belonging to a substance obeying the attractive and repulsive powers, that serve to explain other physical phenomena. The laws respecting the course of rays in double refraction too may be explained on either hypothesis. But the observations I have related prove, that the phenomena of reflection

are different at the same angle of incidence, which cannot take place on the hypothesis of Huyghens: for we must necessarily conclude from them, not only that light is a substance obedient to the forces that set other substances in action, but also that the form and arrangement of its particles have great influence on the phenomena.

If we transfer to the luminous particles the three rectangular axes, *a*, *b*, *c*, to which the phenomena I have described are referrible; and if we suppose, that, the axis *a* being still in the direction of the ray, the axis *b* or *c*, from the influence of the *repulsive powers*, becomes perpendicular to the direction of these powers; then all the phenomena of total reflection, and of partial reflection, and the most extraordinary circumstances of double refraction become consequences of one another, and are deducible from this single law, namely, that;

If we consider, in the transference of the luminous particles, their motion round their three principal axes, *a*, *b*, *c*; the quantity of particles, the axis *b* or *c* of which becomes perpendicular to the direction of the repulsive forces, will always be proportional to the square of the cosine of the angle, which these lines will have to describe round the axis *a*, to take this direction; and reciprocally, the quantity of the particles, the axis *b* or *c* of which will approach the nearest possible to the direction of the repulsive forces, will be proportional to the square of the sine of the angle, which these lines will have to describe in their rotation round the axis *a*, to arrive at the plane, that passes through this axis and the direction of the forces.

In the case of double refraction and when we consider the phenomena, that are exhibited by two contiguous crystals, we may express this law in the following manner.

If we conceive a plane passing through the ordinary ray and the axis of the first crystal, and a second plane passing through the extraordinary ray and the axis of the second crystal, the quantity of light proceeding from the ordinary refraction of the first, and refracted ordinarily by the second, is proportional to the square of the cosine of the angle comprised between the two planes abovementioned; and the quantity of light refracted extraordinarily is proportional to the square of the sine of the same angle. If it be the extraordinary ray of the first crystal on which we operate, we obtain a similar result, changing the word ordinary for extraordinary, and reciprocally.

With regard to reflection, if we consider, for example, a ray reflected by one glass, with which it makes an angle of 35° 25′, and falling on a second glass at the same angle, the angle comprised between the two surfaces being in other respects arbitrary: we must conceive a plane perpendicular to the first glass, and another perpendicular to the second, passing through this reflected ray; and the quantity of light reflected by the second glass will be proportional to the square of the cosine of the angle comprised between these two planes.

I shall confine myself to a few examples of the application of this law.

When a ray is reflected by the surface of a glass at an angle of 54° 35′, we find, that all its particles are disposed in the same manner; since, if we present perpendicularly to this ray a prism of crystallized calcareous spar, the axis of which is in the plane of reflection, all its particles will be refracted in a single ordinary ray, none being refracted extraordinarily. In this case the analogous axes of these particles are all parallel, since they all comport themselves in the same manner. Let us call the axis of these particles, which are perpendicular to the plane of reflection, *b*. All the particles, of which the axis *c* was perpendicular to that plane, have penetrated the transparent body. If therefore we present to the particles reflected, and under the same angle, a second glass parallel to their axis *c*, they will be found similarly circumstanced with those, which could not be reflected by the first; the ray therefore will penetrate this second glass entirely. In fact, experiment shows, that, under these circumstances, all the particles escape the forces of reflection.

When we place two rhomboids of calcareous spar on one another, so that their principal sections are parallel, a solar ray parallel to these principal sections produces but two emergent rays; those which arise from the ordinary and extraordinary refraction of the first crystal being refracted each in a single ordinary or extraordinary ray by the second. In fact in this case it may be conceived, that, whether the axes of the crystals be parallel, or placed in opposite directions, every ray issuing from the first crystal parallel to its principal section is not divided by the second, for its movement takes place round the axis *b* or the axis *c*; and we have seen by the phenomena of reflection, that whenever the movement takes place round these axes, the ray is not altered; all the particles preserving the parrallelism of their similar axes. The rotation round the axis *a* being the only one, that changes the respective positions of the axes of the particles of a given ray.

When the incident ray makes any angle whatever with the principal sections, the rays that proceed from the double refraction of the first crystal are divided into two by the second, so that we then obtain four emergent rays. In this circumstance however there are two different cases, in which the phenomena are very distinct: that in which the axes of the crystals are parallel, and that in which they are in opposite directions. When the axes are parallel, a very vivid light must be employed, and the plane of incidence must be removed to a sensible distance from that of the principal sections, to be able to perceive the rays refracted ordinarily by one crystal and extraordinarily by the other. In fact, agreeably to the theory, the maximum of intensity of these two rays is not the thirtieth part of that of the ray, which proceeds from the ordinary refraction of the two crystals; which has led those who have written on this subject to imagine, that, when the principal sections and the axes are

parallel, the light comports itself in the same manner as in the principal section, whatever be the direction of the incident ray: but if we employ a vivid light, under suitable circumstances, observation accords perfectly with the theory. The phenomenon is much more evident, when the axes are in opposite directions.

The extraordinary refraction is produced by a repulsive force, the action of which is proportional to the square of the sine of the angle included between the axis of the crystal, and the principal axis, *a*, of the luminous particle. All the particles, of which the axis *b* is perpendicular to this force, are refracted ordinarily; and all those, of which the axis *c* is perpendicular to it, are refracted ordinarily. The particles refracted ordinarily, that escape the repulsive force, are in the same case with those, that escape reflection in the first class of facts I have described.

The phenomena of double reflection at the second surface of transparent crystals are analogous to those of the refraction in two crystals, the principal sections of which are parallel, and their axes in opposite directions; with the addition of this property common to all diaphanous bodies, that, when the reflecting face is parallel to the axis *c* of the luminous particles, the reflection at a determinate angle is null.

Thus, without the knowledge of this singular property of transparent substances, the most extraordinary part of the phenomena of double refraction would have remained inexplicable.

I shall not enter more largely into the particulars of the application of the theory I have brought forward, but shall content myself with saying, that it refers to one source a number of facts, which seemed to have no analogy to each other, and the want of connexion in which rendered it almost impracticable to measure them.

I do not pretend to point out the cause of this general property of the repulsive powers that act on light; I merely exhibit the means of connecting the phenomena with each other, of ascertaining them before hand by calculation, and of measuring them with accuracy: at the same time in referring the figures of the luminous particles to three rectangular angles, as those of an octaedron would be, I anticipate nothing respecting the real figure of these particles; but I present the result as a consequence of the calculation, to which I have been led by the analysis of the phenomena that I have observed.

Experiments on the Transmission of Sound through solid Bodies, and through Air in very long Tubes. By Mr. Biot. From the same.*

It has long been known, that air is not the only medium, in which the phenomenon of sound may be produced and transmitted. All bodies enjoy this property, when they enter into a vibratory motion: and as, even in the most solid substances, the elasticity of

* Mém. de la Soc. d'Arcueil, vol. ii. p. 405. Read to the Institute, November, 1808.

the ultimate particles appears to be extremely great, it follows, that sound may be produced and transmitted in all bodies, when they are suitably agitated. This result is confirmed by a great number of daily observations. The miner, when excavating his gallery, hears the strokes of the miner opposed to him: and thus judges of his direction. Stone, wood, metals, and even water, transmit sound: and Franklin assures us, that he has heard under water, at the distance of half a mile, the sound of two stones struck against each other. Several too have observed, that the velocity of sound is much greater in solid bodies, than in the air. Experiments of this kind were made in Denmark on a wire extended horizontally 600 feet. A piece of sonorous metal, suspended from one extremity of this wire, was struck gently; and a person at the other extremity holding it between his teeth, or applying it to some solid part of the organ of hearing, heard two distinct and successive sounds. The first and most rapid was transmitted by the wire: the second through the air: and from their interval, compared with the known velocity of sound in air, it was found, that the sound transmitted by the metal arrived almost instantaneously. These experiments were repeated in England by the Royal Society, and similar results were obtained, but I do not know the precise quantities found. Mr. Hassenfratz too made experiments on the same subject in the quarries at Paris, with Mr. Gay-Lussac. A stroke of a hammer against the side of the gallery produced two sounds, which separated at a certain distance, and that transmitted by the stone arrived first. This separation too was observed, when the sound was transmitted through iron bars, or wooden rails of different lengths, and no perceptible interval could be distinguished between giving the stroke and hearing the sound.

All these experiments are well adapted to show the great velocity with which sound is conveyed through solid bodies, but they were made on lengths not sufficient to afford a measure of this velocity, or even to give a precise idea of it. An ingenious philosopher, whom we have now the pleasure of having at Paris, Mr. Chladni, author of some very fine experiments on the vibrations of solids, has proposed a method of estimating the transmission of sound through their substance. It consists in causing a rod of any substance, of a given length, to vibrate by friction: when the tone produced by the rod, compared with that of a column of air of the same length, will give the ratio of the velocities of the transmission of sound through air, and through the substance of which the rod is formed. In fact, we readily perceive from the theory, that the velocity of the longitudinal oscillations of a body and that of the sound transmitted through it are proportional to one another: but it is necessary to be certain, that the whole rod vibrates so as to give its fundamental note, without dividing itself into its aliquot parts: for such a separation heightening proportionally the tone, would give a velocity of sound proportionally above the truth. In this way Mr. Chladni found, that the velocity of sound

in certain solid bodies is 16 or 17 times as great as in air. The most elastic substances are iron, and fir with very straight fibres, when it is rubbed longitudinally,

The construction of the aqueducts and conduits, which is at present carrying on for the embellishment of the capital, has furnished me with means of making experiments of this kind on a much greater length, than any of those who have gone before me have had at their disposal. It was besides a subject of curiosity, to learn the effects and reach of the human voice in very long cylindrical tubes. Such were the objects of the following experiments. Some of them were made by Mr. Bouvard and me, others by one of us alone. Mr. Malus, colonel of engineers, was likewise present at many of them. In all of them we were assisted by Mr. Martin, maker of nautical watches, a very ingenious and attentive artist, who was particularly appointed to give instantaneously, at determinate seconds, the stroke that was to produce the sound.

The sonorous body on which we operated, was formed by a series of cylindrical tubes of cast iron, of as equal dimensions as possible, and the mean length of which I found to be 2·515 met *. (8 feet 3 in. nearly.) This I found by measuring the whole length of twelve cylinders placed end to end. The tubes are separated by leaden rings covered with tarred fustian: but they are pressed together by strong screws, so that the rings are forcibly compressed, and so close a contact produced, that no water can escape. The mean thickness of each ring is 0·014286 met. (0·562 of an inch,) as I found by measuring twelve. The whole series of cylinders forms a curved line, which has two inflexions about the middle of its length: but they were not all joined together at once, and we made our experiments on different successive lengths, as will be seen in my report of them.

The first were made by Mr. Bouvard and myself on 78 cylinders, forming a length of 196·17 met., to which must be added 1·1 for the 77 rings, giving a total length of 197·27 met. (215·587 yards). The following were the phenomena we observed.

In the last cylinder was placed a ring of iron, of the same diameter as the cylinder, and having in its centre a bell without a clapper, and a hammer that could be let fall at will. The hammer, as it struck the bell, struck also the cylinder, with which it formed a communication by means of the iron ring. Two sounds must therefore be heard, one transmitted by the cylinder, the other by the air.

In fact they were heard very distinctly by applying the ear to the cylinder, and even without this. They appeared sensibly in unison. The first and more rapid was transmitted by the substance of the cylinder, the second by the air. Strokes of a hammer on the last cylinder likewise produced this transmission. We observed attentively with half-second chro-

* All the measures employed in this paper are expressed in metres; and the time in seconds of the sexagesimal division.

nometers the intervals between the two sounds transmitted. We even employed successively sexagesimal and decimal watches, to vary the numbers observed. Thus we found

In 11 observations	0·527″	Bell.
22	0·555″	Hammer.
20	0·544″	Bell.
53 observations.	Mean 0·542″	

The interval given by the hammer, and by the bell, appeared to us absolutely the same, without any sensible difference. For this reason we have united them in the same mean. Their tones however were very different. Thus in solid bodies, as in the air, the tone makes no difference in velocity of the sound.

The temperature of the air during the experiment was 11° (51·8° F.). The barometer was about 0·76 (29·9 in.). In similar circumstances the velocity of sound in the air is 340·84 met. (372·487 yards) according to the experiments of the academy, which give 334·02 met. (365·034 yards) for the velocity under the same pressure, and at the temperature of melting ice. For the distance of 197·27 (215·587 yards) therefore, that at which the experiment was made, the time of transmission of the sound by the air was - - - 0·579″

The interval observed between the two sounds was - - - 0·542″

Difference, or time of its transmis. through the metal - - - 0·037″

We do not pretend to give this small difference as exact, since the slightest errour would have a considerable influence on it, but it proves, that the transmission was not absolutely instantaneous.

The second set of experiments was made by Messrs Bouvard and Malus on twice the former number of cylinders, or a length of 394·55 met. (431·184 yards.) At this distance the time of transmission through the air would be 1·158″ by calculation, supposing the temperature still 11° (51·8° F.) The interval between the two sounds, deduced from 64 experiments, was found to be 0·81″. The difference therefore, or 0.348″, was the time of transmission through the solid. This appears much too great, if we compare it with the preceding experiments, and on those that follow, which were made on nearly triple the length. The latter would not permit us to suppose a longer time than 0·125″ for the transmission through the solid, which would give an errour of 0·223″ in the observation. But, beside that it is extremely difficult to answer for such quantities, when the instant of observation does not coincide exactly with a beat of the watch, it must be remarked, that the whole length of the pipe might be far from being of the same temperature, which might occa-

sion currents of air, that would influence the velocity of the sound, For instance, in the present case. if we were to admit the transmission of sound through air as it results from the observations of the chronometer made by Messrs. Martin and Bouvard at the points of departure and arrival, it would be found equal only to 1·07″, or 0·088″ less than the truth, which gives 0·26″ for the time of the transmission of the sound through the solid; and the excess of this result over those that follow, being no more than 0·135″, is more easily reconcileable with errours of observation.

Finally, the experiments now to be related were made by Mr. Martin and myself, on a series of 376 cylinders, which, with their joints, formed a length of 951·25 m. (1039·575 yards) of which the joints alone occupy 5·61 m. (6·131 yards). I satisfied myself at different times, and by more than 200 experiments, either with the hammer or the bell, that the interval between the two sounds transmitted by the metal and by the air, was exactly 2·5″; and I found no sensible variation in this quantity. I made Mr. Martin observe the interval also, without letting him know my results, and he found the same. Now, at the distance 951·25 met. (1039·575 yards), the temperature being 11° (51·8° F.), the time of transmission of the sound through the air would be from calculation 2·79″: and if we substract from this 35″, the interval observed between the two sounds there will remain 0·29″ for the time of transmission through the metal to this distance. From the care with which I repeated these observations, and from the exact coincidence of the five beats of the half-second chronometer with the interval between the two sounds, I believe, that this result may be considered as a very near approximation.

Still, however, it may be objected, that the velocity of the sound in air deduced from calculation, might differ a little from what really took place in the pipe, owing to variation of temperature. This would leave some uncertainty with respect to the result, and particularly as to the precise quantity. I sought therefore to verify it directly in another way, and accomplished it as I shall relate.

I stationed Mr. Martin at one extremity of the pipe with a half-second watch, while I remained at the other with a similar watch, which was carefully compared with the former at the beginning and end of the experiments: though this comparison could have no influence on the results, as will soon appear. When Mr. Martin's watch was at 0″ or 30″, he struck with a hammer on the last cylinder, near which he was stationed: and when my watch was at 15″ or 45″ I answered him by a similar stroke. We each watched the arrival of the sound transmitted to us, and noted down the time. We were very attentive to strike precisely at the appointed second; and this, with a little practice, we could readily do, as the series of our observations will show. Now, whatever the difference of the watches might be; and even if it were variable, provided there was no sensible change in 30″; it would be reduced to nothing by

taking the mean of two consecutive observations, and the result would be independent of it. For let us suppose the first watch to be the quantity r before the second, and put p for the time in which the sound is transmitted by the solid body. When the first observer strikes on his watch at 0″, the other reads on his 0″—r; and consequently p—r indicates, before or after 0″, the time at which he hears the sound. On the other hand, when the second observer strikes at 30″, the first observer reads 30″ + r: and consequently $p + r$ indicates, beyond 30″, the time in which the sound is transmitted to him. The quantities p—r and $p+r$ therefore are given by these isochronous observations; and half their sum immediately shows the time of transmission p, independent of the differences between the watches, and more exactly than by direct observation.

In the experiments I made, the series of the quantities p—r and $p + r$ were as in the following table.

	p—r	$p+r$	Sum, or value of $2p$.
1st series, from 0h 52′ to 0h 59′	—2″	+2·5″	0·5″
	2	2·5	0·5
	2	2·5	0·5
	2	2·5	0·5
	2	2·5	0·5
	2	2·5	0·5
	2	2·5	0·5
	2	2·5	0·5
2d series, from 1h 27′ to 1h 32′	2·8	3·5	0·7
	2·9	3·5	0·6
	3	3·5	0·6
	2·9	3·5	0·6
	3	3·5	0·5
	3	3·5	0·5
	3	3·5	0·5
	2·9	3·5	0·6
	3	3·5	0·5
	3	3·5	0·5
	3·1	3·4	0·4
Mean value of 2 p			0·52
Value of p			0·26

This differs only 0·03″ from what we found above from the difference of the transmissions: but the last method, as it gives double the quantity to be deduced, deserves the preference.

If we add 0·26″. the time of transmission through the solid to the difference 2·5″ constantly observed between the arrival of the two sounds, we shall have the whole time of the transmission through the air equal to 2·76″. This time, calculated from the

length of the pipe, would have been 2·79″, as has just been seen; and the agreement between these numbers, which differ only 0·03″, appears calculated to inspire some confidence in the results.

The time of transmission through the metal being 0·26″: while that through air is 2·79″, it follows, that the transmission of sound through cast iron is 10·5 times as quick as through air. If this estimation be not sufficiently exact to determine with precision the ratio of the velocities, it is at least enough to show of what kind this ratio is, and what idea we ought to form of it.

In making these experiments we had an opportunity of observing several phenomena worthy of remark with respect to the power with which sounds, even the faintest, are preserved and transmitted in tubes, to distances at which we could scarcely suppose they would be perceptible.

In our first experiments at the distance of 197 met. (215 yards), we heard each other so well through the length of the pipe, that it was an inconvenience in the commencement, as the slightest noise was transmitted from one extremity to the other. It was not necessary to speak into the pipe to be heard, as common conversation two yards from the end was transmitted through it clearly; and in writing down my observations I asked Mr. Martin what it was o'clock by his watch, as I would have done a person only two paces from me. This mode of conversing with an invisible neighbour is so singular, that we cannot avoid being surprised, even though acquainted with the cause.

In the experiments made by Messrs. Malus and Bouvard at the distance of 395 m. (431 yards) they still heard each other, but with much more difficulty. It was necessary to speak very loud, and frequently to desire a repetition of what had been said. Finally, in the last experiment, which we tried at first together on a total length of 951 m. (1040 yards), the voice was scarcely to be heard when shouting as loud as possible. The sounds of the bell and of the stroke of the hammer were no longer audible through the air. The sound through the metal alone was perceptibly transmitted. Lastly, though we could still hear the sound of the voice, it was not sufficiently clear for us to distinguish words, or to transmit the necessary information after our observations. From the great difficulty, which Messrs. Malus and Bouvard had already experienced at a much shorter distance, we were all inclined to suppose, that we had attained a distance, at which the human voice, even the loudest, ceases to be distinguishable in pipes.

However, the extreme facility with which we heard each other at 200 metres seemed to me to render so great a diminution altogether inexplicable. Besides, in the mathematical theory of the motion of air we find nothing to indicate, that sound should be diminished in cylindrical pipes. It appears on the contrary, that it ought to be transmitted to an indefinite distance with the same intensity, deducting merely the diminution, that the friction of the air against the pipe might perhaps produce. To decide the question,

and know positively whether sound were weakened in such an extraordinary degree, I resolved to remove or diminish all the causes of foreign and neighbouring noises, that might drown the sound I sought to hear. I went to the place of experiment only with Mr. Martin and two intelligent workmen, and chose for these experiments the stillest hours of the night, those from one to four in the morning.

I then discovered, that my conjectures were well founded. We not only heard the two sounds of the hammer and bell so distinctly as to observe the intervals such as I have reported them; but even the lowest voice was heard so as perfectly to distinguish the words, and to keep up a conversation on all the objects of the experiments. I wished to determine the point at which the voice ceases to be audible, but could not accomplish it: words spoken as low as when we whisper a secret in another's ear were heard and understood; so that not to be heard there was but one resource, that of not speaking at all.

From this experiment there can be no doubt, that words may be transmitted so as to be distinctly heard at a more considerable distance. Between a question and answer the interval was not greater, than was necessary for the transmission of sound. For Mr. Martin and me, at the distance of 951 m. (1040 yards), this time was about 5·58″.

We also ascertained anew, that grave and acute sounds are transmitted with equal velocity, which is agreeable to theory, and has been several times observed. Tunes on the flute, played at one extremity of the pipe, were transmitted to the other without any alteration in the intervals of the different intonations. It appeared to me only, that the very high notes were not heard so well as the low notes; and sometimes, when they were extremely high, I lost them entirely; though I heard others that were lower, which, from the nature of the tune, I knew to be weaker than the former *.

I also observed, that, in speaking through the pipe, I heard my own voice repeated by several echoes, which succeeded each other at exactly equal intervals. In our last experiment I counted no less than six, about 0·5″ distant from each other. The last returned after a little less than 3″; that is, in the time requisite for the transmission of the sound to the other end of the pipe. These phenomena occurred equally at each extremity of the pipe, when we spoke into it. Of this I satisfied myself by requesting Mr. Martin, through the pipe, to observe them, without communicating to him my results: and his, which he reported to me immedi-

* Since this paper was read, I have found, that the person who played the flute, having very weak lungs, could with difficulty bring out the high notes, and was frequently obliged to skip them entirely. It was very natural, therefore, that I should not hear them: but I have thought proper to let my first account remain, that the reader may see I reported faithfully the smallest particulars; and that my veracity in this circumstance may confirm the other results I observed.

ately in the same way, were perfectly similar. The number of echoes and their intervals were the same, and the total of the time was the same also; but the person who is spoken to never hears but one sound.

Lastly, detonations capable of producing a considerable agitation in the air were transmitted to the other end of the pipe with an intensity proportional to their strength. Reports of a pistol fired at one end occasioned a considerable explosion at the other. The air was driven out of the pipe with sufficient force to give the hand a smart blow, to drive light substances out of it to the distance of half a yard, and to extinguish a candle, though it was 950 m. (1039 yards) distant from the place where the pistol was fired.

Experiments on the Production of Sound in Vapour. By Mr. Biot. From the same.*

An infinite number of experiments have been made on the manner in which sound is produced and transmitted in different mediums. It has been shown, that it is neither formed nor transmitted in a vacuum; and its transmission through solids and liquids has been examined: but no one, I believe, has yet thought of making these experiments in vapour. Such an inquiry, however, is well calculated to excite our curiosity; for, setting out with the results that experience has made known with respect to the constitution of the vapour that fills a given space, and applying to them the mathematical principles on which the laws of the minute vibrations of elastic fluids are usually founded, it is evident, that no sound should be produced in vapour.

In fact it is shown, by the experiments of De Luc, Saussure, and Dalton, that the quantity of vapour of water, or of any other liquid, that is formed in a vacuum, depends only on the dimensions of that vacuum and the temperature: so that, if this vapour have an elasticity capable of sustaining the manometer at a certain height, and you compress it slowly, so as to oblige it to occupy a smaller space, the elasticity will not be increased by this compression, as that of a permanent gas would be; but a portion of the vapour will return to the liquid state, without any variation of the manometer; and only so much will remain, as is adapted to the new limits, to which the vacuum is reduced. The reverse will happen, if the space be enlarged instead of diminished; a new quantity of vapour will be formed to fill it, but without any change in the elasticity, or in the manometer. These results have been completely established by the learned gentlemen I have mentioned, and we may easily convince ourselves of their accuracy. It is sufficient to introduce into a barometer a small quantity of any liquid; and to measure the height at which the mercury stands, after it is depressed by the elasticity of the vapour formed. If we then raise or

* Mém. de la Soc. d'Arcueil, vol. ii. p. 94. Read to the Institute, October the 12th, 1807.

lower the external level of the mercury, the interior column will rise or fall exactly as much in the tube; and thus, according as the space remaining at the top of the tube is diminished or increased, a part of the vapour will be precipitated, or fresh vapour will be formed: but, the temperature remaining the same, the elasticity will not alter.

Now let us suppose, that a sonorous body begins to vibrate in such a medium; each of its vibrations will diminish the space in one direction, and increase it in the opposite. Thus on one side there will be a small quantity of vapour reduced to the liquid state, and on the other a small quantity of liquid will assume the state of vapour. These condensations and dilations will take place close to the sonorous body, in the small extent of its vibrations, but will not be produced beyond this. Thus the motion will not be propagated through the rest of the fluid mass, and consequently the sound will not be transmitted.

Let us next suppose, that the sonorous body, in compressing the vapour by its rapid vibrations, disengages from it mechanically a certain quantity of heat. This supposition is by no means improbable, for we know, that vapour gives out a great deal of heat in its condensation. The vapour of water, for example, according to the experiments of Watt, in returning to the liquid state gives out a quantity of heat, that is capable of raising the temperature of the water thus produced to 525° (977° F.). If we take this circumstance into consideration, the effects of the sonorous body on vapour will no longer be the same: the portions it compresses will preserve their elastic state, notwithstanding the diminution of the space, in consequence of the heat evolved, which instantly increases their elasticity. On the contrary, in the portion dilated the diminution of temperature, preventing a new evaporation, diminishes the elasticity. The phenomena produced near the sonorous body therefore are of the same nature, as if the vapour became a permanent gas. There will be successive and momentary augmentations and diminutions of elasticity, the effect of which will be transmitted step by step throughout the whole of the fluid mass, so as to permit sound to be produced and transmitted in it.

Experiments on the production of sound in vapour therefore are calculated to decide the question, whether heat be really evolved in an aeriform medium by the effect of the vibrations of sonorous bodies, as we see it in general extricated by any rapid compression. Thus we may subject to decisive proof the ingenious idea of Mr. Laplace, by which he has found means of reconciling the mathematical theory of the transmission of sound in air with the results of experience, taking into account the heat evolved: for, if the effect he supposes do not take place, the vibrations of sonorous bodies in vapour should not produce any sound; and, if they do produce sound, it can be only in consequence of the evolution of heat.

Induced by these motives, I made some experiments on the subject, which completely succeeded. I then repeated them in

a more perfect manner, in the philosophical apartments at Arcueil, with my friend Amadeus Berthollet. Mr. Berthollet, and Mr. Laplace were present at these experiments, and themselves verified the facts I am going to relate.

We took a glass globe that held 36 litres (near 38 wine quarts.) Its orifice was closed by a well made cock, so that a vacuum might be made in it, which it preserved with great accuracy. To this cock another could be screwed; so that, by pouring a liquid into the space between them, and closing both, this portion of liquid could be afterward introduced into the globe, without admitting any air from without. The sonorous body was a small bell, suspended within the globe by a slender string fastened to the lower cock.

A vacuum was first made within the apparatus to the greatest nicety, and even so as to exhaust a great part of the hygrometrical water, that might have existed in the globe, which, however, was very dry. Then, holding the globe by the cock, we set the bell in motion, so as to satisfy ourselves, that the clapper struck very forcibly against the sides; yet, with all the attention we could bestow, even close to the globe itself no sound could be perceived; so that there was no perceptible sound in a vacuum, agreeably to the experiments of Hawksbee, and all other philosophers.

We then introduced into the globe, in the way I have described, a small quantity of water, part of which was converted into vapour. The sound immediately began to be perceptible, though the density of this vapour was extremely small, the temperature being only 19° (66·2° F.). To increase it, an excess of water was admitted into the globe, and it was placed in a stove at the temperature of 46° (114·8° F.). The sound then became very perceptible: it could be heard without stooping down to the globe, and even out of the stove through the door. Some water still remained in the globe, so there can be no doubt, that the sound was produced and transmitted in the aqueous vapour.

When the globe was taken out of the stove, the temperature quickly fell: a great part of the vapour therefore, which had been raised in consequence of the temperature, was necessarily precipitated; and accordingly the sound appeared very evidently diminished.

Without any alteration in the apparatus, we introduced the same quantity of alcohol, as we had before of water. The specific gravity of this alchohol was 0·823. The vapour from this mixture possessed of course greater density and elasticity than that of water at the same temperature; and accordingly the sound was much more perceptible: it was heard from one extremity to the other of the rooms that form the philosophical apartments at Arcueil. Sound therefore is produced and transmitted in the vapour of alcohol.

As a last experiment we tried the vapour of ether. This particularly excited our curiosity, on account of its great elastic force and density, which are known to be very considerable; two cir-

cumstances, that must contribute to increase the intensity of the sound. We began with drying the globe, because the moisture would have diminished the tension of the ether; and then allowed the atmospheric air to enter freely till it was in equilibrio with the external pressure, which was 0·7613 (29·951 inch.); and carrying it into a long walk in the garden, we found that the sound of the bell was sensible to the distance of 145 met. (158·5 yards): beyond this it was so faint, that the perception of it was not sufficiently certain. The temperature was 17·75° (63·95° F.). Having measured by this experiment the intensity of the sound produced in atmospheric air, we again made a vacuum in the globe, and introduced into it a sufficient quantity of sulphuric ether, to leave a surplus above what the temperature could convert into vapour. The specific gravity of this ether was 0·759. The elastic force of its vapour, measured by introducing it under a barometer freed from air, was 0·3549 met. (13·963 inches), at the temperature of 17·75° (63·95° F.). The globe being filled with this vapour, it was carried to the same place as in the preceding experiment; when we found, that the sound was perceptible to the distance of 131·5 met. (143·7 yards). This conclusively proves, in the most convincing manner, that sound is produced and transmitted in vapour, as well as in a permanent gas. But we have proved, that this can take place only from the effect of instantaneous variations of temperature, occasioned by the vibrations. It evidently follows, therefore. that this cause really exists; and that, according to the judicious remark of Mr. Laplace, it becomes indispensable for us to pay attention to it in the mathematical theory of the propagation of sound; though we cannot directly verify it by the application of the thermometer, because this instrument can no more be affected by these successive and momentary variations of heat, than the barometer is by the momentary variations of elasticity, that take place in the production of sound, and of which every one notwithstanding acknowledges the existence,

USEFUL PROJECTS.

List of Patents for New Inventions, &c. granted in the Year 1811.

Mr. William Clerk, Edinburgh, for a newly constructed grate for preventing smoke, and regulating heat.

Mr. David Meade Randolph, Golden-square, for a method of manufacturing all kinds of boots, shoes, &c. by means of a substitute for thread made of hemp, flax, or other yarns.

Mr. John Kent, Southampton, for a new method of moving all kinds of goods or materials to high buildings, or from deep places.

Mr. Winsor, Pall Mall, for improvement upon his former oven stove for carbonizing all kinds of raw fuel, and for extracting the oil, acid, tar, gas, &c.

Mr. Thomas Mead, Yorkshire, for methods of making circular or rotative steam-engines upon an entire new principle.

Mr. Edward Shorter, Wapping, for an apparatus for working pumps.

Mr. Bryan Donkin, Bermondsey, for a pen of new construction.

Mr. David Matthew, Rotherhithe, for an improved method of building locks, and for opening and shutting the same.

Mr. John White, Westminster, for the discovery of a certain substance which is capable of being converted into statues, artificial-stone, melting-pots, bricks, tiles, and every description of pottery.

Mr. Richard Wilson, Lambeth, for sundry apparatus or machinery for the manufacture of felt or stuff hats.

Mr. Bundy, Camden-Town, for a new method of heading pins.

Mr. James Frost and Son, Sutton-street, Clerkenwell, for an improvement on cocks, or an improved lock-cock.

Mr. Richard Woodman, Hammersmith, for a method of manufacturing all kinds of boots, shoes, and other articles.

Mr. Henry Stubbs, Piccadilly, for a new invented grand imperial Aulæum, from three to twenty feet wide, without seam, and to any length or colour, for decorating rooms, &c.

Mr. John Isaac Hawkins, Great Titchfield-street, for a certain instrument applicable in mechanics as a balance or equipoise.

Mr. Thomas Pott, Hackney,

for a new process of freeing tarred rope from tar, and of rendering it of use to the manufacturer.

Mr. Johann George Deyerlein, Long-acre, for a machine, new principle, or method, of making bricks and tiles, and other kinds of pottery.

Mr. Peter Stuart, Fleet-street, for a new method of engraving and printing maps, &c.

Mr. John Lindsay, Grove-house, Middlesex, for a boat and various apparatus, whereby heavy burdens can be conveyed in shallow water.

Mr. Winsor, Pall Mall, for a fixed telegraphic light-house, &c. for signals and intelligence, to serve by night and by day.

Mr. John Deakin, St. John's-street, Middlesex, for improvements in the kitchen range.

Mr. John Bradley, Old Swinford, Staffordshire, for a new method of making gun skelps.

Sir Isaac Coffin, for a new invention of a perpetual oven for baking bread.

Mr. Ralph Wedgewood, Oxford-street, for a new character for language, numbers, and music, and the method of applying the same.

Mr. William Doughty, Birmingham, for a method of combining wheels for gaining mechanical powers.

Mr. George Lowe, Cheapside, for British shirting cloth.

Mr. Egerton Smith, Liverpool, for a binnacle and compass.

Mr. James Bell, Whitechapel, for improvements in refining sugar, and in forming sugar-houses of a certain description.

Mr. John Gregory, Islington, for a method of tunning and cleansing ales and beers into casks.

Mr. Arthur Woolf, Lambeth, for improvements in the construction and working of steam-engines, calculated to lessen the consumption of fuel.

Mr. Peter Durand, Hoxton-square, for a method for preserving animal and vegetable food, &c. a long time from perishing.

Mr. John Cragg, Liverpool, for improvements in the casting iron roofs for houses, &c.

Mr. William Muller, London, for improvements in the construction of pumps.

Mrs. Sarah Guppy, Bristol, for a mode of erecting and constructing bridges and rail-roads, without arches or starlings, by which the danger of being washed away by floods is avoided.

Mr. John Stancliffe, Tooke's-court, for certain improvements in apparatus for the combination and condensation of gasses and vapours applicable to processes of distillation.

Mr. Richard Jackson, Southwark, for an improved method of making the shanks of anchors and other large bodies of wrought iron.

Mr. Samuel Hill, Serle-street, for a more effectual method of joining stone pipes.

Mr. David Loeschman, Newman-street, for improvements in the musical scales of keyed instruments with fixed tones.

Mr. Joseph Dyer, Gray's Inn, for improvements in the construction and method of using plates and presses for copper-plate printing.

Mr. Hall, Walthamstow, for a method of manufacturing from

twigs or branches of broom, mallows, rushes, and other plants of like species, to serve instead of flax or hemp.

Mr. Thomas Wade, Nelson-place, Surrey, for a method of imitating lapis lazuli, porphyry, jasper, &c.

Mr. John Statter, Birmingham, and Holborn, for a steam-kitchen and roaster.

Mr. Walter Rochfort, Bishopsgate-street, for an improved method of preparing coffee by compression.

Mr. John Turmeau and Charles Seward, Cheapside, for a new lamp, called the Liverpool Lamp.

Mr. Joseph Dyer, London, for a machine for cutting and removing all the kinds of furs used in hat-making from skins, and for cutting the skins into strips or small pieces.

Mr. John Frazer, Sloane-street, for a discovery of certain vegetables, and a way of preparing them to be manufactured into hats, bonnets, chair-bottoms, baskets, &c.

Mr. William Bundy, Camden Town, for an improvement on stringed instruments.

Proposed Drainage of the Bogs in Ireland.

Commissioners having been appointed in Ireland for the purpose of enquiring into the practicability of this scheme, the first report on the subject was delivered to the House of Commons in the summer of 1810, from which the following particulars concerning the nature and extent of those morasses are extracted.

"An object on the due attainment of which depended in a great degree the success of our undertaking, was the proper division of the bogs of Ireland into the districts referred to in the first article of the instructions; and further, to determine in what part we should first apply those means entrusted to us, and which we at once perceived were utterly inadequate to the execution of any plan that should embrace the entire extent of Ireland.

"From inspection of the map executed by General Vallency, we were enabled to consider these bogs as forming one connected whole, and to come to the general conclusion, that a portion of Ireland, of little more than one-fourth of its entire superficial extent, and included between a line drawn from Wicklow-head to Galway, and another drawn from Howth-head to Sligo, comprises within it about six-sevenths of the bogs in the island, exclusive of mere mountain bogs and bogs of less extent than 500 acres; in its form resembling a broad belt drawn across the centre of Ireland, with its narrowest end nearest to the capital, and gradually extending in breadth as it approaches to the western ocean. This great division of the island extending from east to west, is traversed by the Shannon from north to south, and is thus divided into two parts; of these, the division to the westward of the river contains more than double the extent of the bogs which are to be found in the division to the eastward; so that if we suppose the whole of the bogs of Ireland (exclusive of mere mountain bog, and of bogs under

500 acres) to be divided into twenty parts, we shall find about seventeen of them comprized within the great division we have now described, twelve to the westward, and five to the eastward of the Shannon; and of the remaining three parts, about two are to the south, and one to the north of this division. Of the positive amount of their contents we have as yet no data that can enable us to speak with any precision! but we are led to believe, from various communications with our engineers, that the bogs in the eastern division of the great district above described amount to about 260,000 English acres, which, on the proportion already mentioned, would give rather more than one million of English acres as the total contents of the bogs of Ireland; excluding, however, from consideration mere mountain bogs, and also all bogs of less extent than 500 acres, of each of which description the amount is very considerable; of the extent of the latter some idea may be formed from a fact which we have learned from Mr. Larkin; that in the single county of Cavan, which he has surveyed, there are above 90 bogs, no one of which exceeds 500 Irish acres, but which taken collectively contain about 11,000 Irish, which is equivalent to above 17,600 English acres, besides many smaller bogs varying in size from five to twenty acres.

"Most of the bogs which lie to the eastward of the Shannon, and which occupy a considerable portion of the King's county and county of Kildare, are generally known by the name of the Bog of Allen: it must not, however, be supposed that this name is applied to any one great morass: on the contrary, the bogs to which it is applied are perfectly distinct from each other, often separated by high ridges of dry country, and inclining towards different rivers, as their natural directions for drainage, so intersected by dry and cultivated land, that it may be affirmed generally, there is no spot of these bogs, to the eastward of the Shannon, so much as two Irish miles distant from the upland and cultivated districts.

"With this first and general view of the subject, we had no hesitation in selecting at once the whole of the eastern portion of the great district above referred to, as the object of our first enquiries, forming in itself one whole, whose parts had more or less connection with each other, lying in the centre of Ireland, in the immediate vicinity of some of the richest and best cultivated counties; intersected also by the two great lines of navigation, the Grand and the Royal canals, and presenting in common apprehension very considerable obstacles to improvement, the overcoming of which would in itself demonstrate the practicability of the improvement of the bogs of Ireland in most other cases."

The commissioners then proceed to state the particulars of their parcelling out the bogs to be surveyed, to different engineers, with the pay allotted to them and the persons employed under them; and they then give some observations derived from the first report delivered in, that of Mr. Griffith, to whom was consigned a district forming the eastern end of the bog

of Allen, and containing 36,430 English acres of bog. Of these we shall transcribe some of the most instructive.

"There are many, we believe, who consider the bogs of Ireland to be low and marshy tracts of country, not very dissimilar in their composition from the fens of Lincolnshire; others, aware that the substance of which they are formed greatly differs from that of the fen districts, attribute nevertheless the origin of both to pretty nearly the same causes; while an opinion, more prevalent, and perhaps not less erroneous, than either of the foregoing, attributes their formation to fallen forests, which are supposed at some former period to have covered these districts, and to have been destroyed either by the effects of time, or by hostile armies in the early wars of Ireland.

"The facts stated in Mr. Griffith's report are obviously inconsistent with any of these suppositions; the bogs which he has surveyed being every where in elevated situations; and the trees which have hitherto been so constantly found buried in the edges of these bogs, where alone it is probable they have generally been sought for, are very rarely to be found in the interior parts, at least of this district.

"Without entering in this report into any enquiry as to the origin of these peat bogs, we are however anxious to give such persons as have not had an opportunity of examining them, some idea of the general appearances which they actually present.

"It appears from Mr. Griffith, that each of the four bogs included in the subject of his report, is a mass of the peculiar substance called peat, of the average thickness of 25 feet, no where less than 12, nor found to exceed 42; this substance varying materially in its appearance and properties, in proportion to the depth at which it lies; on the upper surface, covered with moss of various species, and to the depth of about ten feet composed of a mass of the fibres of different vegetables in different stages of decomposition proportioned to their depth from the surface, generally, however, too open in their texture to be applied to purposes of fuel: below this, generally lies a light blackish-brown turf, containing the fibres of moss still visible, though not perfect, and extending to a further depth of perhaps ten feet under this. In the instance exhibited in the section at the close of Mr. Griffith's report, are found small branches and twigs of alder and birch; but we do not understand him as being of opinion that such is by any means generally the case. At a greater depth the fibres of vegetable matter cease to be visible, the colour of the turf becomes blacker, and the substance much more compact, its properties as fuel more valuable, and gradually increasing in the degree of blackness and compactness proportionate to its depth. Near the bottom of the bog it forms a black mass, which, when dry, has a strong resemblance to pitch, or bituminous coal, and having a conchoidal fracture in every direction, with a black shining lustre, and susceptible of receiving a considerable polish. Immediately below this

lower stratum there is generally found a thin stratum of yellow or blue clay, varying in thickness from one to six feet; in some places the peat rests on a thinner stratum of yellowish white marl, containing upon an average about 60 per cent. of calcareous matter. This stratum of clay in this district universally rests on a solid mass of clay and limestone gravel mixed together, and extending to an unknown depth.

"We should further consider the peat moss as partaking in its general nature of the property of sponge, completely saturated with water, and giving rise to different streams and rivers for the discharge of the surplus waters which it receives from rain or snow. These streams in this district almost universally have worn their channels through the substance of the bog down to the clay or limestone gravel underneath, dividing the bog into distinct masses, and presenting in themselves the most proper situations for the main drains, and which, with the assistance of art, may be rendered effectual for that purpose.

"Such is the internal structure of the bogs in this district.

"Viewing them externally they present surfaces by no means level, but with planes of inclinations amply sufficient for their drainage. The highest summit of any part of the bogs in this district is 298 feet above the level of the sea, taken at an ordinary spring tide in the bay of Dublin; while the lowest point any where on their surface is 84 feet lower than the highest, and therefere 214 feet above the level of the sea. It requires a mere inspection of the map and sections to be convinced that there is no part of these bogs from which the water may not be discharged into rivers in their immediate vicinity, and with falls adequate to their drainage; and we observe, in the instance of the bog of Timahoe, that a part of its water is discharged into the sea at Drogheda, and another part below Waterford."

Report made to the Institute, &c. on Writing Ink. From Annales de Chimie.

The object proposed by Mr. Tarry in his memoir is to explain,

1. The processes employed for discharging writing from paper.

2. The processes for reviving writings which have been apparently obliterated.

3. The best way to improve common ink.

4. Finally, the discovery of an ink which should resist all chemical agents.

We shall now give an abridgement of these four articles.

ARTICLE I.

Processes for discharging Writing.

The art of discharging writing is very ancient, and the means employed are very simple. In fact, we know that it is sufficient to moisten a written paper with any acid, when the writing will gradually disappear. But all the acids cannot be employed with equal success. Some leave a stain on the paper, which is not easily removed; others corrode and render the paper unserviceable.

The way to avoid these inconveniences is to make choice of an acid which shall act on the writing only, without injuring the paper, or giving it a colour different from that which it had before it was written upon.

In order to discover such of the acids as are best suited for the operation in question, the author determined to submit common writing ink to the action of different acids, and to observe carefully the phænomena which these bodies present at the time of their mixture. According to him, the sulphuric acid easily takes out writing, but at the same time it gives an oily tint to the paper.

The acid oxalate of potas produces more certain and more prompt effects. The oxygenized muriatic acid, if it be newly made, seems to be preferable to the above two acids because at the same time that it takes out the writing, it bleaches the paper without altering it.

It is not the same case with the nitric acid, which always takes out the ink, but soon penetrates the paper, and forms above it undulated lines of a yellow colour.

We may succeed, however, in softening both these effects, by taking the precaution to dilute the nitric acid with a sufficient quantity of water, or to wash the paper immediately after the writing has been taken out.

A mixture of the muriatic and nitric acids has but a slow action upon writing. It bleaches the paper, and does not oppose its desiccation, as when we employ the nitric acid alone.

In general, whatever be the kind of acid employed to discharge writing, it is always proper, when the operation is performed, to dip the paper in water, in order to dissolve the new combinations which the acids have formed with the particles of ink which have been dicharged.

Mr. Tarry, at the conclusion of this article, does not fail to observe, that China ink does not act like common ink with the acids, as its composition is quite different from that which we use for writing of all kinds. So far from the acids attacking China ink, they make it, on the contrary, of a deep black: it cannot be discharged therefore without erasing it.

ARTICLE II.

Processes for ascertaining what Writing has been substituted for something taken out, and Methods of reviving the Writing which has disappeared.

All the methods which have been given for discharging writing consist, as abovementioned, in decomposing the ink, and in forcing its constituent parts to form other combinations. These combinations, being decomposed in their turn by different agents, may regain a tint, which, if it be not that of ink, at least exhibits a shade which becomes perceptible enough for ascertaining the letters and words which had been traced on the paper before it was touched by the acids.

The gallic acid is, according to the author, one of those agents, which in this case succeeds very well.

The liquid prussiate of lime also produces a good effect.

It is the same case with the al-

kaline hydrogenated sulphurets. But it is very certain that we never obtain any success from the employment of these agents, when we have left any acid long in contact with the writing, and particularly if we have washed the paper afterwards.

In short we may easily conceive, that in this case the constituent parts of the ink which were combined with the acid, and had formed with it compounds soluble in water, having been taken up by this fluid, ought not to leave any trace of their existence longer; and consequently it is impossible that the agents employed for discovering them can render them visible.

It is also for this reason that the gallic acid, the liquid prussiate of lime, the alkaline hydrogenated sulphurets, and so many other re-agents which have been so much praised, can no longer be regarded as infallible methods for reviving writing.

ARTICLE III.

Improvement of Common Ink.

Most of the inks now in use are of a bad quality. Some are spontaneously destroyed; others imperceptibly lose their black colour, and assume a yellow one; several after a length of time, enter into the paper and spoil it; lastly, there are some which are first pale, and then become very black.

All these differences arise from the nature of the substances which have been employed in the making of the ink.

Convinced of the advantage of having a good article of this kind, the author commenced a series of experiments, but is forced to admit that he has not discovered any recipe superior to that which has been published by Lewis. This ink, according to our author, combines every advantage: but we must observe, that it is no more exempt than the rest from being dissolved in the acids, and in this respect it has an inconvenience which those who wish to discharge writing from paper know very well how to profit by. This circumstance, no doubt, induced M. Tarry to make some new experiments, in order to obtain an ink which should be unalterable by chemical agents; and he appears to us to have succeeded in his object.

ARTICLE IV.

Discovery of an Ink which resists the Action of Chemical Agents.

The author describes his invention in the following words:

"My ink is founded upon principles different from those of all others. It contains neither gall-nuts, Brazil wood, Campeachy gum, nor any preparation of iron: it is purely vegetable, resists the action of the most powerful vegetables, the most highly concentrated alkaline solutions, and finally all the solvents.

"The nitric acid acts very feebly upon the writing performed with this ink. The oxymuriatic acid makes it assume the colour of pigeon's dung. After the action of this last acid, the caustic alkaline solutions reduce it to the colour of carburet of iron: the characters of the writing nevertheless remain

without alteration, and it cannot pass through these different states, except after long macerations. The principles of which it is composed render it incorruptible, and it can retain its properties many years."

The results which we obtained coincided entirely with those of the author, and we have no hesitation in saying, that his is the best we have ever seen of the kind which is called indelible ink. It is liable, however, to deposit a sediment, a disadvantage which we think might be removed by M. Tarry after a few experiments. We have tried to discharge it with all the known chemical agents, but without effect; and we think the inventor deserves the thanks of the Institute, and of the community at large.

On the Cultivation and Manufacture of Woad, and its beneficial Use combined with Indigo. By Mr. John Parrish. From the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society's Papers.

Woad is a plant which, combined with indigo, gives the best and most permanent blue dye hitherto discovered. It is of great importance to our commerce, as well as to agriculture, being in nature one of the best preparers of land for a corn crop that has hitherto been discovered; and, if the land is properly chosen for it, and well managed, will be found very profitable, more particularly at this time when its price is advanced to almost an unprecedented degree: therefore I conceive, that in rendering its cultivation and preparation better known and understood, it may be greatly beneficial to the nation.

I have the honour to be a member of the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society, where many noble and exalted characters unite their talents to promote the public benefit. And to one of its earliest and most respectable members I presume to address this information.

I have been many years a considerable consumer of woad, and have also cultivated it with much success: and though I am well experienced in the usual method of its preparation, I was induced to depart from it in consequence of the great waste of its juices in the old method of grinding and balling. But I shall endeavour to give instructions for carrying on each process, and leave those who shall undertake it to proceed as they think best.

This plant is cultivated in different parts of England for the use of the dyers, as well as in France, Germany, &c. It is best to sow the seeds in the month of March, or early in April, if the season invite, and the soil be in condition to receive it; but it requires a deep loamy soil, and is better still with a clay bottom, such as is not subject to become dry too quickly.

It must never be flooded, but situated so as to drain its surface, that it may not be poisoned by any water stagnant upon it.

If (at any reasonable price) meadow land to break the turf can be obtained, it will be doubly productive. This land is generally freest from weeds and putrid matter, though sometimes it

abounds with botts, grubs, and snails. However, it saves much expence in weeding; and judicious management will get rid of these otherwise destructive vermin. A season of warm showers not too dry or too wet, gives the most regular crop, and produces the best woad.

If woad is sown on corn-land, much expence generally attends hoeing and weeding: and here it will require strong manure, though on leys it is seldom much necessary, yet land cannot be too rich for woad. On rich land dung should be avoided, particularly on leys, to avoid weeds. Some people sow it as grain, and harrow it in, and afterwards hoe it as turnips, leaving the plants at a distance in proportion to the strength of the land: others sow it in ranks by a drill-plough; and some dibble it in, (in quincunx form, by a stick with a peg crossways, about two or two and a half inches from the point, according to the land,) putting three or four seeds in a hole, and these holes to be from twenty inches to two feet apart, according to the richness of the land: for good land if room be given, will produce very luxuriant plants in good seasons; but if too nearly planted, so that air cannot circulate, they do not thrive so well: attention to this is necessary in every way of sowing it. I have been most successful in this last process. Woad very often fails in its crop, from the land not being in condition, or for want of knowing how to destroy the botts, snails, wire-worms, &c. that so often prey upon and destroy it, as well as from inattention to weeding, &c. Crops fail also from being sown on land that is naturally too dry, and in a dry season; but as the roots take a perpendicular direction, and run deep, such land as I have described (with proper attention to my observations) will seldom fail of a crop: and if the season will admit sowing early enough to have the plants strong before the dry and hot weather comes on, there will be almost a certainty of a great produce.

These plants are frequently destroyed in the germination by flies, or animaculæ, and by grubs, snails, &c. as before observed; and in order to preserve them, I have steeped the seeds with good success in lime and soot, until they began to vegetate; first throwing half a load or more of flour lime * on the acre, and harrowing it in. Then plant the seeds as soon as they break the pod, taking care not to have more than one day's seed ready; for it is better to be too early, than to have their vegetation too strong before it is planted, lest they should receive injury; yet I have never observed any injury in mine from this, though I have often seen the shoot strong. Either harrows or rollers will close the holes. If the ground be moist it will appear in a few days; but it will be safe, and a benefit to the land, to throw more lime on the surface, when, if showers invite snails and grubs to eat it, they will be destroyed, which I have several times found; particularly once, when the leaves were two inches long, and in drills

* If the seeds are not sown within a day after the time, it will lose much effect.

very thick and strong, but the ground was dry. When a warm rain fell, in less than two hours I found the ranks on one side attacked by these vermin, and eaten entirely off by a large black grub, thousands of which were on the leaves, and they cleared as they went, not going on until they had destroyed every leaf where they fixed. They had eaten six or seven ranks before I was called by one of my people to observe it. Having plenty of lime, I immediately ordered it in flour to be strewed along those ranks which were not begun. This destroyed them in vast numbers, and secured the remainder. Another time, having had two succeeding crops on four acres of land, I considered it imprudent to venture another. However, as the land after this appeared so clean and rich, I again ventured, but soon found my error. On examining the roots (for after it had begun to vegetate strong, it was observed to decay and wither) I found thousands of the wire-worm at them, entwined in every root. I immediately strewed lime, (four loads of six quarters each, on the four acres,) and harrowed it; when rain coming on soon after, washed it in, and destroyed them all, and gave me an extraordinary crop; but the first sown side of the field, where they had begun, never quite recovered like the rest. And I am fully satisfied, that when the grub is seen in wheat, &c. the same treatment (if the weather suited) would destroy them all, as well as change the nature of the land. I need not enter on the wide and extensive field of observations on the causes of weeds, grubs, &c. (which so often counteract the labours of the husbandman,) that occur so differently in different seasons, and after different treatment and improper crops,—further than to observe that when your land has *not a proper change*, then it is that these are experienced in a more destructive degree.

Further it is in vain to expect a good crop of woad, of a good quality, from poor and shallow land. The difference of produce and its value is so great, that no one of any experience will waste his labour and attention on such lands upon so uncertain a produce. Warm and moist seasons increase the quantity every where, but they can never give the principle which only good land affords.

In very wet seasons, woad from poor land is of very little value. I once had occasion to purchase at such a time, and found that there was no possibility of regulating my vats in their fermentation; and I was under the necessity of making every possible effort to obtain some that was the produce of a more genial season. I succeeded at last; but I kept the other three and four years, when I found it more steady in its fermentation; but still it required a double quantity, and even then its effect was not like that from good woad.

At this time several dyers experienced much difficulty, and one of eminence in the blue-trade suffered so much by woad of his own growth, that he declared his resolution to decline the trade altogether. When I pointed out to him that it was the woad that oc-

casioned his bad blues, and that I had from the same defect purchased such other woad as would do, and informed him where he could get it, he succeeded as usual. His own he disposed of to a dry-salter, who sold it again somewhere in the country; and it occasioned such a cause of complaint, as I believe rendered the claim of payment to be given up, or partly so: of this I am not certain, having it only from report. I mention this in order to give those who wish to become growers of woad, such information as may properly direct them.

The leaves of woad on good land in a good season grow very large and long, and when they are ripe show near their end a brownish spot inclining to a purple towards its centre, while other parts of the leaves appear green, but just beginning to turn of a more yellowish shade; and then they must be gathered, or they will be injured.

Woad is to be gathered from twice to four and even five times in the season, as I once experienced (it was an early and a late season), and for the next spring I saved an acre for seed, of which I had a fair crop. I picked the young seedling sprouts off the rest, and mixed with my first gathering of what was newly sown; this was very good. During one season I let these shoots grow too long; the consequence was, that the fibrous parts became like so many sticks, and afforded no sponaceous juices. When you design to plant woad on the same land the second season, it should be as soon as your last gathering (before winter is finished) be ploughed; that is, as soon as the weather will permit, and in deep furrows or ridges, to expose and ameliorate it by the vegetative salts that exist in the atmosphere, and by frost and snow. This, in some seasons, has partly the effect of a change of produce; but if intended for wheat, the last gathering should not be later than September.

The land, after woad, is always clean, and the nature of the soil appears to be greatly changed in favour of the wheat crop; for I have always experienced abundant increase of produce after woad, and observed that it held on for some time, if proper changes were attended to, and good husbandry. Keeping land clean from weeds, certainly produces an increase of corn; but in the hoeing and gathering woad (for hoeing and earthing up the plants often renders them abundantly more prolific, even if there are no weeds), many nests of animaculæ are destroyed, as well as grubs and insects, which are destructive to vegetation. All this is favourable to corn; but I am disposed to believe that woad in itself furnishes such a principle of change in favour of corn (and wheat in particular), as in a high degree to merit the attention of that society who are so honourably united to promote and encourage the first interests of the British empire.

Having said all I conceive necessary on the cultivation of woad, I now proceed to say something on its preparation for the use of the dyer.

Woad, when gathered, is carried to the mill, and ground. I need not describe this mill, be-

cause they are to be seen in open sheds in several parts of England, only that I conceive some improvement might be made in their construction, so as not so much to press out and waste the sap, which contains the very essence of the dyeing principle. These mills grind or cut the leaves small, and then they are cast into heaps, where they ferment, and gain an adhesive consistence *; they are then formed into balls, as compact as possible, and placed on hurdles lying horizontally in a shed one over the other, with room for air between, to receive from the atmospheric air a principle which is said to improve them as a dye, as well as to dry them to a degree proper for being fermented; but in summer these balls are apt to crack in drying, and become flyblown, when thousands of a peculiar maggot generate, and eat or destroy all that is useful to the dyer. Therefore they require attention as soon as they are observed to crack, to look them all over well, close them again, so as to render them as compact and solid as possible; and if the maggot or worm has already generated, some fine flour-lime strewed over it will destroy them, and be of much service in the fermentation. These balls, if properly preserved, will be very heavy; but if worm-eaten, they will be very light, and of little value. They are then to be replaced on the hurdles, and turned, not being suffered to touch each other, until a month or more after the whole that is intended for one fermenting couch is gathered in, ground, and balled, and often until the hot weather of summer is past, to render the offensive operation of turning it less disagreeable, and not so apt to overheat; and though temperature herein is necessary, yet a certain degree of heat must be attained, before it is in proper condition for the dyer's use. This is easily distinguised by a change of smell—from that which is most putrid and offensive, to one which is more agreeable and sweet, (if I may be allowed the term,) for few people at first either can approve of the smell of woad, or of a woad vat; though, when in condition, they become quite agreeable to those whose business it is to attend them. Woad is in this state of fermentation more or less time, according to the season and the degree of heat it is suffered to attain, whether at an early period, or according to the opinion of those who attend the process; but the best woad is produced from a heat temperately brought forward in the couch until at maturity, and turned (on every occasion necessary,) which a proper degree of attention will soon discover.

These balls, when dry, are very hard and compact, and require to be broken to pieces with a mallet, and put into a heap, and watered to a due degree, only sufficient to promote fermentation, but not by too much moisture, which would retard it; and here is a crisis necessary to be attended to. When the couch has attained its due

* In a dry place, if these leaves remain a fortnight, being occasionally turned, they will become more adhesive, and have less juices to squeeze out in balling. The balls must be compact.

point, it is opened, spread, and turned, until regularly cooled, and then it is considered in condition for sale: but the immediate use of woad new from the couch is not advised by dyers who are experienced; for new woad is not so regular in its fermentation in the blue vat. This is the common process. Woad oftentimes is spoiled herein, by people who know nothing of the principles of its dye, following only their accustomed process of preparing it; and hence the difference in its quality is as often seen, as it is in the real richness or poverty of the leaves, from the quality of the land. The process for preparing woad which I have followed, and which I consider beyond all comparison best, is as follows:

Gather the leaves, put them to dry, and turn them, so as not to let them heat, and so be reduced to a paste; which, in fine weather, children can do. In wet weather, my method was to carry them to my stove, and when I had got a quantity sufficiently dry, I proceeded to the couch, and there put them in a large heap; where, if not too dry, they would soon begin to ferment and heat. If too wet, they would rot, but not properly ferment, nor readily become in condition for the dyer. These leaves not having been ground, nor placed in balls on the hurdles, their fermenting quality was more active, and required more attention; and also the application of lime occasionally to regulate the process with the same kind of judgment as used in the blue dying woad vat. When the heat increases too rapidly, turning is indispensably necessary, and the application of very fine flour-lime regularly strewed over every laying of them; or, if the couch is getting too dry, lime-water instead of common water, applied by a gardener's watering-pot, may have an equal effect*, without loading the woad with the gross matter of the lime; though I conceive that the gross dry flour-lime, and the oxygen in the air, will furnish more carbonic acid gas to the woad, and retain such principles as are essential, to a better effect. For I have experienced, that woad which requires the most lime to preserve a temperate degree of fermentation, and takes most time, is best, so that at length it comes to that heat which is indispensable to the production of good woad.

In this couch it is always particularly necessary to secure the surface as soon as the leaves begin to be reduced to a paste, by rendering it as smooth as possible, and free from cracks: this prevents the escape of much carbonic acid gas, (which is furnished by the lime and the fermentation,) and also preserves it from the fly, maggots, and worms, which often are seen in those parts where the heat is not so great, or the lime in sufficient quantity to destroy them; it is surprising to observe what a degree of heat they will bear. This attention to rendering the surface of the couch even and compact is equally necessary in either process, and to turning the

* There is in lime-water so little of its salt, that its effect is proportionably small and water will take up but a certain quantity.

woad exactly as a dung-heap, digging perpendicularly to the bottom. The couching-house should have an even floor of stone or brick, and the walls the same; and every part of the couch of woad should be beaten with the shovel, and trodden, to render it as compact as possible.

The grower of woad should erect a long shed in the centre of his land, facing the south, the ground lying on a descent, so as to admit the sun to the back part; and here the woad should be put down as gathered, and spread thin at one end, keeping children to turn it towards the other end. In the course of a week, every day's gathering will dry for the couch, which should be at the other end; therefore it will be necessary to calculate how long the shed should be; but this can be erected as you gather, and then it will soon be known.

I never used the thermometer to discover or determine the heat which is necessary to produce that change of smell which finishes a couch of woad properly for the dyer *, but I am convinced it cannot be regularly obtained but by temperance and time.

Good woad, such as the richest land produces, if properly prepared, will be of a blackish green, and mouldy; and when small lumps are pulled asunder, the fracture and fibres are brown; and these fibres will draw apart like small threads, and the more stringy they are, and the darker the external appearance and on the green hue, the better the woad; but poor land produces it of a light-brownish green. The fibres only serve to show that it has not suffered by putrefaction.

Considerable fortunes have been acquired by the culture of woad in the north of England, and those who have not in possession land sufficient of proper staple, will give an extra rent for leave to break pasturage; and such as is old, and its sod worn out and full of ant-hills from long feeding, is equally good, when lime is applied to destroy these and other insects, which here exist more than in such as is in full proof to bear grass; for here they generate and become destructive, so as often to render it very necessary to plough such land, corn it, and form a new turf; and though this is so often prohibited, yet it is often consistent with the best principles of husbandry. Here woad is every thing, and corn after it to a certain degree, which experience will determine, according to the kind of land. Those who grow woad in large quantities, have moveable huts for their work-people; and also all their apparatus so easily put together, as to be of little expence except in carriage.

A friend of mine in London took a large quantity of land whereon had been wood just grubbed up. He planted woad on it, and engaged a person from the north to manage it; and the produce was so abundant as to afford immense profit. I believe he only woaded two years, and then let it. His tenant's produce did not by any means equal his,

* I suppose from 100 to 120 degrees.

because the land began to want change.

On Mortars and Cements. From Memoirs of the National Institute, presented by M. B. G. Sage.

"Having found, that an alkaline lixivial gas was evolved from a mixture of three parts of sand and two of lime slacked by immersion: and desirous of ascertaining, whether the products of the three kingdoms, mingled in the same proportions would afford a similar gas; Mr. Sage made a number of experiments, which taught him, that the force of cohesion contracted by slacked lime was greater with metallic oxides in general, than with any other substance. These trials led him to new facts, which enabled him to discover mortars or cements, at least as solid and impermeable as those made with the best puzzolana, which is of the greatest use, particularly in hydraulic structures.

"The work we announce points out also a prompt and easy method of ascertaining the solidity and impermeability of mortars or cements, which cannot but be highly interesting to builders.

"We must not always judge of the goodness of a cement from its having acquired a great deal of solidity in the open air, for it frequently loses this in water, in which it diffuses itself. Buildings made with such mortar soon tumble to pieces.

"The necessity of a minute division of the substances, that enter into a cement, cannot be insisted on too strongly. They should first be mixed together uniformly while dry; and they must not be drowned in water, which must be added gradually, till the mixture is reduced to a soft paste.

"It is of the greatest importance to determine with precision the quantity of lime employed to obtain the most solid mortars or cements; and in general to use no lime but what has been made from pure lime stone, and which has been kept well secured from the air after it is slacked.

"In the experiments of Mr. Sage he always employed two parts of lime to three of puzzolana, of sand, &c.; which afforded him very hard and impermeable mortar: and he thinks this proportion of lime may even be lessened, when the architect is fully convinced of the impropriety of leaving the preparation of mortar to bricklayer's labourers, since the strength and solidity of hydraulic structures depend so much on it.

"The author has divided his experiments into five classes. 1. Mortars or cements made with substances that have undergone the action of fire. The ashes of vegetables, whether lixiviated or not, being mixed with two thirds of lime slacked by immersion, forms one of the most solid and impermeable cements: a property which they appear to derive from the minutely divided quartz, which these ashes contain in the proportion of one fourth.

"2. Mortars or cements made with metallic substances. Iron adds to the hardness of all mortars; and of itself, in rusting, concurs in the agglutination of gravel

and pebbles, as we see on the sea shore. According to the state in which the iron is, that is combined with two parts of slacked lime, its force of cohesion is more or less considerable.

"3. Mortars or cements made with stones of different natures. Gæstein, chalcedony, sandstone, and gravel, form very hard and impermeable mortar with lime. Feldspar, better known by the name of petuntze, being mixed with two thirds of slacked lime, produces an impermeable and solid mortar.

"4. Mortars or cements that alter in water. Vegetable earth, or mould, is essentially composed of minutely divided quartz, clay, and iron. Mixed with two parts of slacked lime, and water enough to form a soft paste, the brick produced from it, when dried, has some solidity, which it loses under water, where it cracks.

"5. Mortars or cements made with combustible substances.—Mortar, or cement, made with sulphur and two parts of slacked lime, forms a hard and very sonorous brick, which is not altered under water; while mortars made with pulverized vegetable charcoal, or pitcoal, though they produce hard and sonorous bricks, soon fall to pieces in water; as do bricks made with sawdust, or raspings of ivory."

Improved Method of cultivating the Alpine Strawberry. By Thomas Andrew Knight, Esq. F.R.S. &c, From Transactions of the Horticultural Society.

"The Strawberry is a fruit which is agreeable to the palates of so many persons, and which disagrees with the constitutions of so few, that any means of improving the culture of it, and of prolonging the season of its maturity and perfection, will probably be acceptable to the Horticultural Society: I am therefore induced to send an account of an improved method of cultivating the Alpine Strawberry, that is, I believe, little, if at all, known, and that I have practised with the best possible success.

"Though the flavour of the Alpine varieties is generally approved, they are not much thought of, whilst the larger varieties continue in perfection, and are valued only as an autumnal crop. I was therefore led to try several different methods of culture, with a view to obtain plants that would just begin to blossom at the period when the other varieties cease; conceiving that such plants not having expended either themselves or the virtue of the soil, in a previous crop of fruit, would afford the best and most abundant autumnal produce. Under this impression, I sowed the seeds of the best Alpine variety, that I had ever been able to obtain, in pots of mould, in the beginning of August, the seeds of the preceding year having been preserved to that period; and the plants these afforded were placed in the end of March, in beds to produce fruit. This experiment succeeded tolerably well; but I was not quite satisfied with it; for though my plants produced an abundant autumnal crop of fruit, they began to blossom somewhat earlier than I wished, and before they were

perfectly well rooted in the soil. I therefore tried the experiment of sowing some seeds of the same variety, early in the spring, in pots which I placed in a hot-bed of moderate strength, in the beginning of April, and the plants thus raised were removed to the beds in which they were to remain in the open ground, as soon as they had acquired a sufficient size. They began to blossom soon after midsummer, and to ripen their fruit towards the end of July, affording a most abundant autumnal crop of very fine fruit; and even so late as the second week in December I have rarely seen a more abundant profusion of blossoms and immature fruit than the beds presented. The powers of life in plants thus raised, being young and energetic, operate much more powerfully than in the humours of older plants, or even in plants raised from seeds in the preceding year; and therefore I think the Alpine Strawberry ought always to be treated as an annual plant."

ANTIQUITIES.

Memorandum on the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece.

In the year 1799, when lord Elgin was appointed his Majesty's ambassador extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte, he happened to be in habits of frequent intercourse with Mr. Harrison, an architect of great eminence in the west of England, who had there given various very splendid proofs of his professional talents, especially in a public building of Grecian architecture at Chester. Mr. Harrison had besides studied many years, and to great purpose at Rome. Lord Elgin consulted him, therefore, on the benefits that might possibly be derived to the arts in this country, in case an opportunity could be found for studying minutely the architecture and sculpture of ancient Greece; and his opinion very decidedly was, that although we might possess exact measurements of the buildings at Athens, yet a young artist could never form to himself an adequate conception of their minute details, combinations, and general effect, without having before him some such sensible representation of them as might be conveyed by *casts*. This advice, which laid the groundwork of lord Elgin's pursuits in Greece, led to the further consideration, that, since any knowledge which was possessed of these buildings had been obtained under the peculiar disadvantages which the prejudices and jealousies of the Turks had ever thrown in the way of such attempts, any favourable circumstances which lord Elgin's embassy might offer should be improved fundamentally; and not only modellers, but architects and draftsmen, might be employed, to rescue from oblivion, with the most accurate detail, whatever specimens of architecture and sculpture in Greece had still escaped the ravages of time, and the barbarism of conquerors.

On this suggestion, lord Elgin proposed to his majesty's government, that they should send out English artists of known eminence, capable of collecting this information in the most perfect manner; but the prospect appeared of too doubtful an issue for ministers to engage in the expense attending it. Lord Elgin then endeavoured to engage some of these artists at his own charge; but the value of their time was far beyond his means. When,

however, he reached Sicily, on the recommendation of Sir William Hamilton, he was so fortunate as to prevail on don Tita Lusieri, one of the best general painters in Europe, of great knowledge in the arts, infinite taste, and most scrupulously exact in copying any subject he is to represent, to undertake the execution of this plan; and Mr. Hamilton, who was then accompanying lord Elgin to Constantinople, immediately went with M. Lusieri to Rome, where, in consequence of the late revolutions in Italy, they were enabled to engage two of the most eminent *formatori* to make the *madre-formi* for the casts: Signior Balestra, the first architect there, along with Ittar, a young man of great talent, to undertake the architectural part of the plan; and one Theodore, a Calmouk, who had distinguished himself during several years at Rome, in the capacity of figure-painter.

After much difficulty, lord Elgin obtained permission from the Turkish government to establish these six artists at Athens, where they prosecuted the business of their several departments during three years, acting on one general system, with the advantage of mutual controul, and under the general superintendance of M. Lusieri.—They at length completed lord Elgin's plan in all its parts.

Accordingly, every monument, of which there are any remains in Athens, has been thus most carefully and minutely measured; and, from the rough draughts of the architects (all of which are preserved), finished drawings have been made of the plans, elevations, and details of the most remarkable objects; in which the Calmouk has restored and inserted all the sculpture, with exquisite taste and ability. He has besides drawn, with astonishing accuracy, all the bas-reliefs on the several temples, in the precise state of decay and mutilation in which they at present exist.

Most of the bas-reliefs, and nearly all the characteristic features of architecture, in the various monuments at Athens, have been moulded, and the moulds of them brought to London.

Besides the architecture and sculpture at Athens, all remains of them which could be traced through several other parts of Greece, have been measured and delineated, with the most scrupulous exactness, by the second architect, Ittar.

And picturesque views of Athens, of Constantinople, of various parts of Greece, and of the Islands of the Archipelago, have been executed by don Tita Lusieri.

In the prosecution of this undertaking, the artists had the mortification of witnessing the very wilful devastation, to which all the sculpture, and even the architecture, were daily exposed, on the part of the Turks and travellers. The Ionic Temple, on the Illysus, which, in Stuart's time, (about the year 1759) was in tolerable preservation, had so completely disappeared, that its foundation can no longer be ascertained. Another temple, near Olympia, had shared a similar fate, within the recollection of man. The Temple of Minerva had been converted into a powder magazine, and been completely

destroyed, from a shell falling upon it, during the bombardment of Athens by the Venetians, towards the end of the seventeenth century; and even this accident had not deterred the Turks from applying the beautiful Temple of Neptune and Erechtheus to the same use, whereby it is constantly exposed to a similar fate. Many of the statues on the *posticum* of the Temple of Minerva (Parthenon), which had been thrown down by the explosion, had been absolutely pounded for mortar, because they furnished the whitest marble within reach: and the parts of the modern fortification, and the miserable houses where this mortar was so applied, were discovered. Besides, it is well known that the Turks will frequently climb up the ruined walls, and amuse themselves in defacing any sculpture they can reach; or in breaking columns, statues, or other remains of antiquity, in the fond expectation of finding within them some hidden treasures.

Under these circumstances, lord Elgin felt himself impelled, by a stronger motive than personal gratification, to endeavour to preserve any specimens of sculpture he could, without injury, rescue from such impending ruin. He had, besides, another inducement, and an example before him, in the conduct of the last French embassy sent to Turkey before the revolution. French artists did then remove several of the sculptured ornaments from several edifices in the Acropolis, and particularly from the Parthenon. In lowering one of the metopes, the tackle failed, and it was dashed to pieces; but other objects from the same temple were conveyed to France, where they are held in the very highest estimation, and some of them occupy conspicuous places in the gallery of the Louvre *. And the same agents were remaining at Athens during lord Elgin's embassy, waiting only the return of French influence at the Porte to renew their operations. Actuated by these inducements, lord Elgin made use of all his means, and ultimately with such success, that he has brought to England from the ruined temples at Athens, from the modern walls and fortifications, in which many fragments had been used as so many blocks of stone, and from excavations made on purpose, a greater quantity of original Athenian sculpture, in statues, alti and bassi relievi, capitals, cornices, frizes, and columns, than exists in any other part of Europe.

Lord Elgin is in possession of several of the original metopes from the Temple of Minerva. These represent the battles between the Centaurs and Lapithæ, at the nuptials of Pirithous. Each metope contains two figures, grouped in various attitudes; sometimes the Lapithæ victorious, sometimes the Centaurs. The figure of one of the Lapithæ, who is lying dead and trampled on by a Centaur, is one of the finest pro-

* Vide Dictionnaire des Beaux Arts, par A. L. Millin, 1806, article PARTHENON; and the Memoir, on the subject of a fragment of the frize of that temple, brought by M. de Choiseul Gouffier from Athens, and constituted national property during the French revolution. The Memoir is published in M. Millin's Monumens Antiques inédits.

ductions of the art: as well as the group adjoining to it, of Hippodamia, the bride, carried off by the Centaur Eurytion; the furious style of whose galloping, in order to secure his prize, and his shrinking from the spear that has been hurled after him, are expressed with prodigious animation. They are all in such high relief, as to seem groups of statues; and they are in general finished with as much attention behind as before. They were originally continued round the entablature of the Parthenon, and formed ninety-two groups. The zeal of the early Christians, the barbarism of the Turks, and the explosions which took place when the temple was used as a gunpowder magazine, have demolished a very large portion of them; so that with the exception of those preserved by lord Elgin, it is in general difficult to trace even the outline of the original subject.

The frize, which was carried along the top of the walls of the cell, offered a continuation of sculptures in low relief, and of the most interesting kind. This frize, being unbroken by triglyphs, had presented much more unity of subject than the detached and insulated groups on the metopes of the peristyle. It represented the whole of the solemn procession to the Temple of Minerva during the Panathenaic festival: many of the figures are on horseback; others are about to mount: some are in chariots; others on foot: oxen, and other victims, are leading to sacrifice: the nymphs called Canephoræ, Skiophoræ, &c. are carrying the sacred offerings in baskets and vases; priests, magistrates, warriors, &c. forming altogether a series of most interesting figures, in great variety of costume, armour and attitude. Some antiquaries, who have examined this frize with minute attention, seem to think it contained portraits of many of the leading characters at Athens, during the Peloponnesian war, particularly of Pericles, Phidias, Socrates, Alcibiades, &c. The whole frize, which originally was six hundred feet in length, is, like the temple itself, of Pentelic marble, from the quarries in the neighbourhood of Athens.

The tympanum over each of the porticoes of the Parthenon was adorned with statues. That over the grand entrance of the temple from the west contained the mythological history of Minerva's birth from the brain of Jove. In the centre of the group was seated Jupiter, in all the majesty of the sovereign of the gods. On his left were the principal divinities of Olympus; among whom Vulcan came prominently forward, with the axe in his hand which had cleft a passage for the goddess. On the right was Victory, in loose floating robes, holding the horses of the chariot which introduced the new divinity to Olympus. One of the bombs fired by Morosini, the Venetian, from the opposite hill of the Museum, injured many of the figures in this tympanum; and the attempt of general Kœnigsmark, in 1687, to take down the figure of Minerva, ruined the whole. By purchasing the house of one of the Turkish janizaries, built immediately under and against the columns of the portico, and by demolishing it in order to

excavate, lord Elgin has had the satisfaction of recovering the greatest part of the statue of Victory; in a drapery which discovers the fine form of the figure with exquisite delicacy and taste. Lord Elgin also found there the torsi of Jupiter and Vulcan, the breast of the Minerva, together with other fragments.

On the opposite tympanum had been represented the contest between Minerva and Neptune for the honour of giving a name to the city. One or two of the fifiures remained on this tympanum, and others were on the top of the wall, thrown back by the explosion which destroyed the temple, but the far greater part had fallen; and a house being built immediately below the space they had occupied, lord Elgin, encouraged by the success of his former excavations, obtained leave, after much difficulty, to pull down this house also, and continue his researches. But no fragments were here discovered: and the Turk, who had been induced, though most reluctantly, to give up his house to be demolished, then exultingly pointed out the places in the modern fortification, and in his own buildings, where the cement employed had been formed from the very statues which lord Elgin had been in hopes of finding. And it was afterwards ascertained, on incontrovertible evidence, that these statues had been reduced to powder, and so used. Then, and then only, did lord Elgin employ means to rescue what still remained from a similar fate. Among these objects is a horse's head, which far surpasses any thing of the kind, both in the truth and spirit of the execution. The nostrils are distended, the ears erect; the veins swollen, one might almost say throbbing: his mouth is open, and he seems to neigh with the conscious pride of belonging to the ruler of the waves. Besides this inimitable head, lord Elgin has procured from the same pediment, two colossal groups, each consisting of two female figures. They are formed of single massive blocks of Pentelic marble: their attitudes are most graceful; and the lightness and elegance of the drapery exquisite. From the same pediment has also been procured a male statue, in a reclining posture, supposed to represent Neptune: and, above all, the figure denominated the Theseus, which is universally admitted to be superior to any piece of statuary ever brought into England. Each of these statues is worked with such care, and the finishing even carried so far, that every part, and the very plinth itself in which they rest, are equally polished on every side.

From the opisthodomos of the Parthenon, lord Elgin also procured some valuable inscriptions, written in the manner called Kionedon, or columnar, next in antiquity to the Boustrophedon. The greatest care is taken to preserve an equal number of letters in each line; even monosyllables are separated occasionally into two parts, if the line has had its complement, and the next line then begins with the end of the broken word. The letters range perpendicularly, as well as horizontally, so as to render it almost impossible to make any interpolation or erasure of the original text. The

subjects of these monuments are public decrees of the people; accounts of the riches contained in the treasury, and delivered by the administrators to their successors in office; enumerations of the statues; the silver, gold, and precious stones, deposited in the temples; estimates for the public works, &c.

The Parthenon itself, independently of its decorative sculpture, is so chaste and perfect a model of Doric architecture, that lord Elgin conceived it to be of the highest importance to the arts to secure original specimens of each member of that edifice. These consist of a capital; assizes of the columns themselves, to shew the exact form of the curve used in channelling; a tryglyph, and motules from the cornice, and even some of the marble tiles with which the ambulatory was roofed: so that, not only the sculptor may be gratified by studying every specimen of his art, from the colossal statue to the basso-relievo, executed in the golden age of Pericles, by Phidias himself, or under his immediate direction; but the practical architect may examine into every detail of the building, even to the mode of uniting the tambours of the columns, without the aid of mortar, so as to give to the shafts the appearance of single blocks.

Equal attention has been paid to the Temple of Theseus; but as the walls and columns, and sculpture of this monument, are in their original position, no part of the sculpture has been displaced, nor the minutest fragment of any kind separated from the building. The metopes in mezzo-relievo, containing a mixture of the Labours of Hercules and Theseus, have been modelled and drawn, as well as the frize representing the battle between the Centaurs and Lapithæ, some incidents of the battle of Marathon, and some mythological subjects. The temple itself is very inferior in size and decorative sculpture to the Parthenon: having been built by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, before Pericles had given to his countrymen a taste for such magnificence and expense, as he displayed on the edifices of the Acropolis.

The original approach to the Acropolis, from the plain of Athens, was by a long flight of steps, commencing near the foot of the Areopagus, and terminating at the Propylæa. The Propylæa was a hexastyle colonnade, with two wings, and surmounted by a pediment. Whether the metopes and tympanum were adorned with sculpture, cannot now be ascertained; as the pediment and entablature have been destroyed, and the intercolumniations built up with rubbish, in order to raise a battery of cannon on the top. Although the plan of this edifice contains some deviations from the pure taste that reigns in the other structures of the Acropolis, yet each member is so perfect in the details of its execution, that lord Elgin was at great pains to obtain a Doric and an Ionic capital from its ruins. On the right hand of the Propylæa, was a temple dedicated to Victory without wings; an epithet to which many explanations have been given. This temple was built from the sale of the spoils won in the glorious struggles for freedom at Marathon, Sal-

amis, and Platæa. On its frize were sculptured many incidents of these memorable battles, in a style that has been thought by no means inferior to the metopes of the Parthenon. The only fragments of it that had escaped the ravages of barbarians, were built into the wall of a gunpowder magazine near it, and the finest block was inserted upside downwards. It required the whole of lord Elgin's influence at the Porte, very great sacrifices, and much perseverance, to remove them; but he at length succeeded. They represent the Athenians in close combat with the Persians, and the sculptor has marked the different dresses and armour of the various forces serving under the great king. The long garments and zones of the Persians had induced former travellers, from the hasty and imperfect view they had of them, to suppose the subject was the battle between Theseus and the Amazons, who invaded Attica, under the command of Antiope; but the Persian tiaras, the Phrygian bonnets, and many other particulars, prove them to be mistaken. The spirit with which the groups of combatants are pourtrayed, is wonderful;—one remarks, in particular, the contest of four warriors to rescue the dead body of one of their comrades, which is expressed with uncommon animation. These bas-reliefs, and some of the most valuable sculpture, especially the representation of a marriage, taken from the parapet of the modern fortification, were embarked in the Mentor, a vessel belonging to lord Elgin, which was unfortunately wrecked off the island of Cerigo: but Mr. Hamilton, who was at the time on board, and most providentially saved, immediately directed his whole energies to discover some means of rescuing so valuable a cargo; and, in the course of several months devoted to that endeavour, he succeeded in procuring some very expert divers from the islands of Syme and Calymno, near Rhodes; who were able, with immense labour and perseverance, to extricate a few of the cases from the hold of the ship, while she lay in twelve fathoms water. It was impossible to recover the remainder, before the storms of two winters had effectually destroyed the timbers of the vessel.

Near the Parthenon are three small temples of the Ionic order, so connected that they might be almost considered as a triple temple. One of them was dedicated to Neptune and Erechtheus, another to Minerva Polias, and a third to the nymph Pandrosos.

The second of these is of the most delicate and elegant proportions: the capitals and bases of the columns are ornamented with consummate taste; and the sculpture of the frize and cornice is exquisitely rich. The vestibule of the temple of Neptune (now used as a powder magazine) is of more masculine proportions; but its Ionic capitals have great merit.

"Both these temples have been measured; and their plans, elevations, and views, made with the utmost accuracy. All the ornaments have been moulded; some original blocks of the frize and cornice have been obtained from the ruins, as well as a capital and a base.

"The little adjoining chapel of Pandrosos is a most singular specimen of Athenian architecture: instead of Ionic columns to support the architrave, it had seven statues of Caryan women, or Caryatides. The Athenians endeavoured, by this device, to perpetuate the infamy of the inhabitants of Carya, who were the only Peloponnesians who sided with Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. The men had been reduced to the deplorable state of Helotes; and the women not only condemned to the most servile employments; but those of rank and family forced, in this abject condition, to wear their ancient dresses and ornaments. In this state they are here exhibited. The drapery is fine, the hair of each figure is braided in a different manner, and a kind of diadem they wear on their head forms the capital. Besides drawings and mouldings of all these particulars, Lord Elgin has brought to England one of the original statues. The Lacedæmonians had used a species of vengeance similar to that above mentioned in constructing the Persian portico, which they had erected at Sparta, in honour of their victory over the forces of Mardonius at Platæa; placing statues of Persians in their rich oriental dresses, instead of columns, to support the entablature."

A ground plan has been made of the Acropolis, in which are inserted not only all the existing monuments, but those the position of which could be ascertained from traces of their foundations.

"The antient walls of the city of Athens, as they existed in the Peloponnesian war, have been traced by Lord Elgin's artists in their whole extent, as well as the long walls that led to the Munychia and the Piræus. The gates, mentioned in ancient authors, have been ascertained: and every public monument that could be recognised, has been inserted in a general map; as well as detailed plans given of each. Extensive excavations were necessary for this purpose, particularly at the great theatre of Bacchus; at the Pnyx, where the assemblies of the people were held, where Pericles, Alcibiades, Demosthenes, and Æschines, delivered their orations, and at the theatre built by Herodes Atticus to the memory of his wife Regilla. The supposed tumuli of Antiope, Euripides, and others, have also been opened; and from these excavations, and various others in the environs of Athens, has been procured a complete and valuable collection of Greek vases. The colonies sent from Athens, Corinth, &c. into Magna Græcia, Sicily, and Etruria, carried with them this art of making vases, from their mother country; and, as the earliest modern collections of vases were made in those colonies, they have improperly acquired the name of Etruscan. Those found by Lord Elgin at Athens, Æginæ, Argos, and Corinth, will prove the indubitable claim of the Greeks to the invention and perfection of this art: few of those in the collections of the King of Naples at Portici, or in that of Sir William Hamilton, excel some which Lord Elgin has procured, with respect to the elegance of the form, the fineness of the materials, the delicacy of the

execution, or the beauty of the subjects delineated on them; and they are, for the most part, in very high preservation. A tumulus, into which an excavation was commenced under lord Elgin's eye during his residence at Athens, has furnished a most valuable treasure of this kind. It consists of a large marble vase, five feet in circumference, enclosing one of bronze thirteen inches in diameter, of beautiful sculpture, in which was a deposit of burnt bones, and a lachrymatory of alabaster of exquisite form; and on the bones lay a wreath of myrtle in gold, having, besides leaves, both buds and flowers. This tumulus is situated on the road which leads from Port Piræus to the Salamminian Ferry and Eleusis. May it not be the tomb of Aspasia?

"From the theatre of Bacchus, Lord Elgin has obtained the very ancient sun-dial, which existed there during the time of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and a large statue of the Indian or bearded Bacchus *, dedicated by Thrasyllus in gratitude for his having obtained the prize of tragedy at the Panathenaic festival. A beautiful little Corinthian temple near it, raised for a similar prize gained by Lysirates, and commonly called the Lantern of Demosthenes, has also beeu drawn and modelled with minute attention. It is one of the most exquisite productions of Greek architecture. The elevation, ground-plan, and other details of the octagonal temple, raised by Andronicus Cyrrhestes to the Winds, have also been executed with care; but the sculpture on its frize is in so heavy a style, that it was not judged worthy of being modelled in plaister."

A search made through the churches and convents in Athens and its neighbourhood, by permission of the archbishop, furnished many bas-reliefs, inscriptions, ancient dials, and other antiquities. From the English consul Logotheti Lord Elgin obtained a bas-relief of Bacchantes, as well as a *quadriga* in bas-relief, with a Victory hovering over the charioteer; and many curious antique votive tables with sculpture and inscriptions were purchased from the peasants.

"A complete series has also been formed of capitals, of the only three orders known in Greece, the Doric the Ionic, and the Corinthian: from the earliest dawn of art in Athens, to its zenith under Pericles; and from thence, through all its degradations, to the dark ages of the Lower Empire.

"At a convent called Daphne, about half way between Athens and Eleusis, were the remains of an Ionic temple of Venus, equally remarkable for the brilliancy of the marble, the bold style of the ornaments, the delicacy with which they are finished, and their high preservation. Lord Elgin procured from thence two of the capitals, a whole fluted column, and a base.

"Lord Elgin was indebted chiefly to the friendship of the captain pacha for the good for-

* This statue is represented by Stuart with a female head, and was called by him the Personification of the Demos of Athens.

tune of procuring, while at the Dardanelles, in his way to Constantinople, the celebrated Boustrophedon inscription from the promontory of Sigæum, a monument which several ambassadors from Christian powers to the Porte, and even Louis XIV. in the height of his power, had ineffectually endeavoured to obtain."

By the aid of this valuable acquisition, "Lord Elgin's collection of inscriptions comprehends specimens of every remarkable peculiarity in the variations of the Greek alphabet, throughout the most interesting period of Grecian history.

"A few bronzes, cameos, and intaglios, were also procured: in particular, a cameo of very exquisite beauty, in perfect preservation, and of a peculiarly fine stone: it represents a female centaur suckling a young one. Lord Elgin was equally fortunate in forming a collection of Greek medals, among which are several that are very rare; others of much historical merit; and many most admirable specimens of art. From different sources, particularly from various religious establishments in Greece, a great many MSS. have been brought home, and a particular catalogue and description of such as were left behind.

"In proportion as lord Elgin's plan advanced, and the means accumulated in his hands towards affording an accurate knowledge of the works of architecture and sculpture in Athens and in Greece, it became a subject of anxious inquiry with him, in what way the greatest degree of benefit could be derived to the arts from what he had been so fortunate as to procure."

The architectural works of course must be engraved—and arrangements are suggested for bringing them, in point of expense, within the means of professional men.

"More difficulty occurred in forming a plan for deriving the utmost advantage from the marbles and casts. Lord Elgin's first attempt was to have the statues and bas-reliefs restored; and in that view he went to Rome, to consult and to employ Canova. The decision of that most eminent artist was conclusive. On examining the specimens produced to him, and making himself acquainted with the whole collection, and particularly with what came from the Parthenon, by means of the person who had been carrying on lord Elgin's operations at Athens, and who had returned with him to Rome, Canova declared, That, however greatly it was to be lamented that these statues should have suffered so much from time and barbarism, yet it was undeniable, that they had never been retouched; that they were the work of the ablest artists the world had ever seen; executed under the most enlightened patron of the arts, and at a period when genius enjoyed the most liberal encouragement, and had attained the highest degree of perfection: and that they had been found worthy of forming the decoration of the most admired edifice ever erected in Greece: that he should have had the greatest delight, and derived the greatest benefit, from the opportunity

Lord Elgin offered him of having in his possession, and contemplating these inestimable marbles: but, (his expression was,) it would be sacrilege in him, or any man, to presume to touch them with a chisel. Since their arrival in this country, they have been thrown open to the inspection of the public; and the opinions and impressions, not only of artists, but of men of taste in general, have thus been formed and collected. From these, the judgment pronounced by Canova has been universally sanctioned; and all idea of restoring the marbles has been deprecated. Meanwhile, the most distinguished painters and sculptors have assiduously attended this museum, and evinced the most enthusiastic admiration of the perfection to which these marbles now prove to them that Phidias had brought the art of sculpture, and which had hitherto only been known through the medium of ancient authors. They have attentively examined them, and they have ascertained that they were executed with the most scrupulous anatomical truth, not only in the human figure, but in the various animals to be found in this collection. They have been struck with the wonderful accuracy, and at the same time the great effect of the minutest detail; and with the life, and expression, so distinctly produced in every variety of attitude and action. Those more advanced in years have testified the liveliest concern at not having had the advantage of studying these models. And many who have had the opportunity of forming the comparison (among these are the most eminent sculptors and painters in this metropolis) have publicly and unequivocally declared, that, in the view of professional men, this collection must be far more valuable than any other collection in existence."

Two suggestions have met with much approbation, in a view to the improvement to be obtained to sculpture from these marbles and casts—"The first, that casts of all such as were ornaments on the temples should be placed in an elevation, and in a situation, similar to that which they actually had occupied; that the originals should be disposed in a view to the more easy inspection and study of them; and that particular subjects should occasionally be selected, and premiums given for the restoration of them. This restoration to be executed on casts, but by no means on the originals; and in the museum itself, where the character of the sculpture might be the more readily studied.

"Secondly: From trials which Lord Elgin was induced to make at the request of professional gentlemen, a strong impression has been created, that the science of sculpture, and the taste and judgment by which it is to be carried forward and appreciated, cannot so effectually be promoted as by athletic exercises practised in the presence of similar works; the distinguishing merit of which is an able, scientific, ingenious, but exact imitation of nature. By no other way could the variety of attitude, the articulation of the muscles, the description of the passions; in short, every thing a sculptor has to represent, be so

accurately or so beneficially understood and represented.

"Under similar advantages, and with an enlightened and encouraging protection bestowed on genius and the arts, it may not be too sanguine to indulge a hope, that, prodigal as nature is in the perfections of the human figure in this country, animating as are the instances of patriotism, heroic actions, and private virtues, deserving commemoration, sculpture may soon be raised in England to rival the ablest productions of the best times of Greeee."

MISCELLANIES.

Letter from Charles Lee, to the Earl of Charlemont.

"*Warsaw, June* 1*st*, 1765.

"My Dear Lord,

"A LETTER which I some time time ago wrote to lord Thanet*, I hope you considered as in part intended for you, otherwise I must appear a prodigy of ingratitude; I desired him to communicate it to you, and as it contained the whole history of my peregrination and success, I thought it would be rather troublesome, than an instance of my duty and affection, to scrawl out another to you at the same time; I therefore waited, in hopes that something might turn up here, which might probably amuse you, but as I might wait until doomsday and this never happen, (for Warsaw, if the wine and climate were better, is absolutely the court of Alcinous, nothing to do with the affairs of this bustling world, nor do I think whatever passes, good or bad, gives her the least concern) I say, my lord, therefore, as I despair of any thing stirring worth your hearing, I can no longer defer paying my tribute, so long due, of duty and affection; but I should begin with asking a thousand pardons, for having so long kept in my hands the inclosed, from Prince Czartoryski, to your lordship; but, as I knew it included no business, I put it off from day to day for the aforesaid reasons. The longer I am acquainted with this man, the more I like him, the more I admire his talents; a retentive memory, solid judgment, and quickness, are seldom united in the same person, yet they are so superlatively in him. To be master of several languages, and possess likewise an extensive knowledge of things, is miraculous, yet he is possessed of one and the other. It is a pity that he has not a better theatre to act on; but really this country is a wretched one; nor do I think there is the least chance of bettering her situation, for, any attempt, either on the part of the king, of the leading men, or the common gentry, to mend the constitution, are protested against by her kind neighbours, through a tenderness for her interests;—

* The late Earl of Thanet.

though, it must be confessed that, were her neighbours not to interfere, there would be no great probability of a reform, for the general run of their gentry, who have such an insurmountable negative power, (as a single veto dissolves the diet) are, if possible, more ignorant, obstinate, and bigotted, than the Hidalgos of Portugal; and those few who are better informed than the herd, whether it is from despair, or their natural disposition, pass their hours in such consummate idleness and dissipation, that our Macaroni club, or Betty's loungers, are, comparatively speaking, men of business and application.—Were I to call the common people brutes, I should injure the quadruped creation, they are such mere moving clods of stinking earth. This certainly must be the effect of slavery; there cannot be so monstrous a physical difference betwixt man and man. I would to God that our Tory writers, with David Hume at their head, and the favorers of our damnable administration, were to join this noble community, that they might reap the fruits which their blessed labours entitle them to, and that the effects might not fall on harmless posterity. I have, if possible, since my passage through Germany, and my residence here, a greater horror of slavery than ever. For God's sake, you patriot few at home, *principiis obstate;* for absolute power is a serpent of that wriggling penetrating kind, that, if it can but introduce its head, it is in vain to pull at the tail. It is curious to hear me converse on these subjects with the king; to hear me advance my doctrines, not the most favourable to monarchy, to defend even the beheading the martyr Charles; but it is still more curious to hear his opinions, which are singular for a crowned head; in short, he is as warm an advocate for the natural rights of mankind, as was Algernon Sydney himself. It is not to give you a specimen of my proficiency in the trade of a courtier, when I assure you, that this king is really an accomplished person, he is competently conversant with books, his notions are just, his intentions honest, and his temper not to be ruffled. What he is most faulty in is, that he passes too much time with the women; but that is the vice of the place. Italy is nothing to this country in cicisbeism; the men and women are ever together, taking snuff, yawning, groaning with ennui, without a syllable to utter, but cannot separate. You may be assured, therefore, my dear Lord, that I, who think that dangling should be punished with the pillory, pass, if possible, for a more odd fellow than I have done in other countries; but I am not satisfied with appearing absurd myself, I have broke into their parties by prevailing upon Wroughton, our resident here, who was as determined a yawner as the rest, sometimes to mount a horse, and look into a book. In a few weeks I set out for Breslaw, to be present at an *anti-yawning* party, a review of the King of Prussia's, where I may possibly collect materials for a letter to you, somewhat less dull than the present. In the mean time, my dear Lord, if you have a spare half hour,

dispose of it charitably in preparing me the smallest dish of politics; but chiefly inform me of your health and welfare, which cannot be more devoutly wished for by any man, than by your most obliged, and humble servant,

" CHARLES LEE.

" P. S. Prince Czartoryski is much, and I believe warmly your's; it is to his house you must have the kindness to direct to me, that is, *Chez Le Prince General de Podolia, Narsovie.*' "

Letter from Joseph Baretti, to the Earl of Charlemont. From the same.

" *London, Feb.* 15, 1772.

" My Lord,

" I thank you for your kind condescension for apologizing, when there was not a shadow of necessity for any apology; and I forbear making a necessary one for my delay, in telling your lordship that I have executed your commission, lest I should be thought so confident as to presume to pay you in kind, and give you tit for tat, as the saying is. However, it is an indisputable fact, that I have a deal of work to dispatch every day; that is, a couple of devils, (Printer's devils) to deliver myself from very regularly twice a day, Sundays excepted; and twelve pages of Don Quixote, if not fourteen, to translate every day; and almost every day, many letters to write in many languages. So that your lordship would certainly commiserate the poor drudge, could you form a just idea of my incessant fatigues. See here, my lord, what callosities I have upon this thumb of mine, and got by my continual squeezing of a pen. But, quoth lord Charlemont, why do you, my old friend, work so very hard? A pretty question indeed, my good lord; why I work! faith for no other reason, but because I hate work, and want to be idle; what other motive could I have, since idleness is the very blank at which diligence and industry, are for ever aiming.

" I have shown Dr. Johnson your lordship's letter, and he charges me to give you a thousand thanks for your kind words; yet wonders how you seem to think him of any party but yours, knowing, as he does, that yours is that of philosophy and virtue. Sir Joshua, and Cipriani, have likewise seen the contents of your letter: Cipriani told me, that he would answer for himself; and Sir Joshua says, that Bartolozzi would fain engrave the picture before it is sent to you, so that, if your lordship has no objection, Bartolozzi shall have it first, otherwise it will be sent forthwith.

" Coming now back to speak of my dear self, I must, for once, and very gravely, expostulate with your lordship as to that oblique, but degrading accusation, of my being little less than apathically indifferent about politics. Jesus! Jesus! How wrong and unjust those lords are apt to be, when they take it in their heads so to be. Is such an accusation to be brought against a man, who has for these four months past been impairing his sight, wearing out his thumbs, and exhausting

his patience in diligently collating half a dozen editions of Machiavel's works, in order to strike out a new one in three enormous quartos. Come forth of thy back shop, thou Tom Davies, Bookseller, *de mis Pecados!* Come forth to bear witness against this lord, as how I have been, and am still, sunk into the very deepest abyss of politics Machiavelian! Was not Machiavel the identical bell-wether of all, and every one of, the political flock? The first, the best, the damnedest of them all? and how am I to be taxed with indifference about politics, who am now invested by bookseller's authority, with the power of supervising and ushering the chief code of that science into a new edition, and am actually doing it. However, though a thorough politician, I will be so far honest as to own, there was a time when I was tainted with doctrines unsound; for instance, there was a time, when my notion of liberty, (and liberty is the axis round which all manner of politics turns) when my notion of liberty was, that any native of any land was a freeman, provided he had wherewithal to fill his guts after his own taste, together with a tolerable share of prudence; there was a time when I thought the French to be no slaves, but when actually tugging at the oar in the gallies; when I was persuaded it was matter of indifference, whether rogues were hanged by a dozen of shopkeepers, or a dozen of senators; when I thought it beastly, that some hundreds of hot-headed rascals should presume to turn a thief into a legislator, and to bring him among some honest custard-eaters, that he might grow fat as a pig, when he deserved to be kept as lean as a lizard. There was a time, my lord, when I thought that a bastard kind of liberty, that did permit a multitude of Catos, Brutuses, Senecas, and Socrates' to call Johnson a hireling, Warburton an atheist, Burke a jesuit, Mansfield an ass, Wilkes a saint, and Junius the saviour of his country. A multitude of such foolish notions, I own, I once fostered in my idle pate. But my long meditations on Machiavel, together with a careful perusal of Algernon Sidney's works, and Molesworth's account of Denmark, have turned me into a genuine lover of liberty. So Huzza, my boys, Wilkes and liberty for ever, and a plague upon my former apathy about politics. But my paper is at an end, and I have just room to subscribe myself,

"My Lord, your most faithful,
"And most obedient servant,
"JOSEPH BARETTI."

Letter from Mr. Fox to the Earl of Charlemont. From the same.

"My Dear Lord,

"If I had occasion to write to you a month ago, I should have written with great confidence that you would believe me perfectly sincere, and would receive any thing that came from me with the partiality of an old acquaintance, and one who acted upon the same political principles.—I hope you will now consider me in the same light, but I own I write with much more diffidence, as I am much more sure of your kindness

to me personally, than of your inclination to listen with favour to any thing that comes from a secretary of state.—The principal business of this letter is to inform you, that the duke of Portland is appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and col. Fitzpatrick, his secretary; and when I have said this, I need not add, that I feel myself on every private, as well as public account, most peculiarly interested in the success of their administration. That their persons and characters are not disagreeable to your lordship, I may venture to assure myself, without being too sanguine, and I think myself equally certain, that there are not in the world two men whose general way of thinking upon political subjects is more exactly consonant to your own. It is not therefore too much to desire and hope, that you will at least look upon the administration of such men with rather a more favourable eye, and incline to trust them rather more, than you could do most of those who have been their predecessors. Why should not the complete change of system that has happened in this country have the same effect there that it has here? and why should not those who used to compose the opposition in Ireland, become the principal supporters of the new administration there, on the very grounds on which they opposed the old one? In short, why should not the whigs, (I mean in principle, not in name,) unite in every part of the empire, to establish their principles so firmly, that no future faction shall be able to destroy them? With regard to the particular points between the two countries, I am really not yet master of them sufficiently to discuss them, but I can say in general, that the new ministry have no other wish than to settle them in the way that may be most for the real advantage of both countries, whose interests cannot be distinct. This is very general indeed, and if this language came from persons whose principles were less known to you, I should not expect you to consider it as any thing but mere words; as it comes from those, of whom I know your good opinion, I trust it will pass for something more. All we desire is favourable construction, and assistance as far is compatible with your principles; for to endeavour to persuade men to disgrace themselves, (even were it practicable, as in this instance I know it is not) is very far from being part of the system of the ministry. The particular time of year at which this change happens, is productive of many great inconveniences, especially as it will be very difficult for the duke of Portland to be at Dublin before your Parliament meets; but I cannot help hoping that all reasonable men will concur in removing some of these difficulties, and that a short adjournment will not be denied, if asked. I do not throw out this as knowing from any authority that it will be proposed, but as an idea that suggests itself to me, and in order to shew that I wish to talk with you and consult with you in the same frank manner in which I should have done before I was in this situation, so very new to me. I have been so used to think ill of all the ministers whom I did know,

and to suspect those whom I did not, that when I am obliged to call myself a minister, I feel as if I put myself into a very suspicious character; but I do assure you I am the very same man, in all respects, that I was when you knew me, and honoured me with some share in your esteem; that I maintain the same opinions, and act with the same people. I beg your pardon for troubling you with so long a letter; but the great desire I feel in common with my friends, that we should retain your good opinion, must make my apology.

"Pray make my best compliments to Mr. Grattan, and tell him, that the duke of Portland and Fitzpatrick, are thoroughly impressed with the consequence of his approbation, and will do all they can to deserve it. I do most sincerely hope, that he may hit upon some line that may be drawn honourably and advantageously for both countries, and that, when that is done, he will shew the world that there may be a government in Ireland, of which he is not ashamed to make a part. That country can never prosper, where what should be the ambition of men of honour, is considered as a disgrace. I must beg pardon again for the unconscionable length of this letter. I do assure you, my dear lord, that there is no one who more values your esteem, or is more solicitous for the continuance of it, than

"Your very obedient,
"Humble servant,
"C. J. Fox."

Grafton-Street, April 4, 1782.

Lord Charlemont's Answer.

"Dear Sir,

"Give me leave in the first place to return you my most sincere thanks for the honour and favour of your letter; your finding leisure at this very busy period, when every moment of your time is precious to yourself, and to the empire, for the recollection of an old friend, is a kindness which I had no reason to expect, and for which I shall ever be grateful. You do me also honour and justice in supposing that I should at all times receive any thing that comes from you with a great degree of partiality, and though your idea of the difference between the man, and the minister, be in some respects a just one, I *can* conceive, that a man in high ministerial office may be a perfectly honest man; indeed the arrangement of the present administration would alone be sufficient to persuade me of this possibility. No man can be more rejoiced than I am at the late happy, though tardy, change. I rejoice in it as a friend to individuals, but more especially as a member of the empire at large, which will probably be indebted to it for its salvation. I hope also, and doubt not, that I shall have reason to rejoice in it as an Irishman, for I cannot conceive that they, who are intent upon the great work of restoring the empire, should not be ardently attentive to the real welfare of all its parts, or, that true Whigs, genuine lovers of liberty, should not wish to diffuse this invaluable blessing through every part of

those dominions, whose interests they are called upon to administer. The appointment of the duke of Portland, and his secretary, is a good presage. I know and respect their principles, and should be truly unhappy, if any thing in their conduct respecting this country, should prevent my perfect co-operation with them. For, my dear Sir, with every degree of affection for our sister kingdom, with every regard for the interests of the empire at large, I am still an *Irishman*. I pride myself in the appellation, and will in every particular act as such, at the same time declaring, that I most sincerely and heartily concur with you in thinking, that the interests of England and Ireland, cannot be distinct, and that therefore in acting as an Irishman, I may always hope to perform the part of a true Englishman also. With regard to what you hint respecting an adjournment, I sincerely hope it will not be desired, as the matter seems to me to involve some great, not to say insurmountable difficulties. The eyes of all the nation are eagerly fixed on the meeting of the 16th. The House is convened for that day, by this very particular summons; that *every member should attend, as he tenders the rights of Parliament.* The declaration of an independent legisiature is, on that day, to be agitated, and the minds of all men are so fixed upon the event, which they have every reason to imagine will be favourable to their wishes, that I should greatly fear the consequences of any postponement, especially as, from sad experience, the people have been taught to suppose, that a question postponed is, *at least*, weakened. This too is an act of the House, and the House alone.—Such are the difficulties which occur. However, though they appear insuperable, so strong is our wish not to throw any obstacle in the way of the present administration, that we shall wait to be determined by events. I have seen Grattan, and have communicated the kind paragraph in your letter concerning him. He desires his most sincere thanks to you, for your goodness, and friendly opinion of him. We are both of us precisely of the same mind. We respect and honour the present administration. We adore the principle on which it is founded. We look up to its members with the utmost confidence for their assistance in the great work of general freedom, and should be happy to support them in Ireland, in the manner which may be most beneficial to them, and honourable to us; *consulted, but not considered* *.

"The people at large must indeed entertain a strong partiality for the present ministers. True whigs must rejoice in the prevalence of whiggish principles. The nation wishes to support the men who opposed the detested American war. Let our rights be acknowledged, and secured to us. Those rights which no man

* This is rather imperfectly expressed. His lordship, I presume, meant to say, that they wished to be consulted, as statesmen, but not *considered*, in any new ministerial arrangement of offices, then likely to take place.

can controvert, but which, to a *true* Whig, are self-evident; and those lives and fortunes which are now universally pledged for the emancipation of our country, will then be as cheerfully, as universally, pledged for the defence of our sister kingdom.

"You have thought it necessary to apologize for the length of your letter, though such an apology was needless, as I never received any which gave me greater pleasure. What then ought I to say for mine? But excuses will only take up more of your precious time. I will therefore at once conclude, begging you to present my most affectionate compliments to all my friends, and particularly to my dear lord Rockingham, whom I called *dear*, when out of office, and have therefore a right to do so now. Be assured, my dear Sir, that nothing can be more valuable to me, than your friendship and esteem, and that I desire nothing more ardently, than constant opportunities of cultivating them, and of proving to you how sincerely I am,

"Your most faithful, and
"Obedient humble servant,
"CHARLEMONT."

Letter from Mr. Burke to the Earl of Charlemont. From the same.

"My Dear Lord,

"I have little to say of importance, and nothing at all to say that is pleasant. But I do not choose to let my friend Mr. Nevill depart without taking with him some token of my constant love and respect for your lordship. Your friendship and partiality are things too honourable, and too dear to me, to suffer them to escape from my memory, or from yourself, if I can help it. Indeed, I want consolations, and these are consolations to me of a very powerful and cordial operation. We draw to the end of our business in this strange session. I have taken no part whatever in the latter period, though in the former I exerted myself with all the activity in my power, and which I thought the crisis called for. Nature has made a decision, which no art, or skill of parties could have produced. When that was done, I had nothing further to do. My time of life, the length of my service, and the temper of the public, rendered it very unfit for me to exert myself in the common routine of opposition. *Turpe senex miles.* There is a time of life in which, if a man cannot arrive at a certain degree of authority, derived from a confidence from the Prince, or the people, which may aid him in his operations, and make him compass useful objects without a perpetual struggle, it becomes him to remit much of his activity. Perpetual failure, even though nothing in that failure can be fixed on the improper choice of the object, or the injudicious choice of means, will detract every day more and more from a man's credit, until he ends without success, and without reputation. In fact, a constant pursuit even of the best objects, without adequate instruments, detracts something from the opinion of a man's judgment. This, I think, may be, in part, the cause of the inactivity of others of

our friends, who are in the vigour of life, and in possession of a great degree of lead and authority. I do not blame them, though I lament that state of the public mind, in which the people can consider the exclusion of such talents, and such virtues from their service, as a point gained to them. The only point in which I can find any thing to blame in those friends, is not their taking the effectual means, which they certainly had in their power, of making an honourable retreat from the prospect of power into the possession of reputation, by an effectual defence of themselves. There was an opportunity which was not made use of for that purpose, and which could scarcely have failed of turning the tables on their adversaries. But I ought to stop; because I find I am getting into the fault common with all those who lose at any play, that of blaming their partners: and indeed nothing has hastened, at all times, the ruin of declining parties so much, as their mutual quarrels, and their condemnation of each other.

"My particular province has been the East Indies. We have rest, or something like it, for the present; but depend on it, I shall persevere to the end, and shall not add myself to the number of those bad examples, in which delinquents have wearied out the constancy of their prosecutors. We may not go through all the charges; I fear it will be out of our power to do this; but we shall give a specimen of each great head of criminality, and then call for judgment. So far as to a general view of my sole share of business. As to the politics of Ireland, as I see nothing in them very pleasant, I do not wish to revive in your mind, what your best philosophy is required to make tolerable. Enjoy your Marino, and your amiable and excellent family. These are comfortable sanctuaries, when more extensive views of society are gloomy, and unpleasant, or unsafe. May I request, that your lordship and lady Claremont, will think of us, in your retreat, as of those who love and honour you not the least, amidst the general good opinion in which it is your happiness to live. Ever, my dear lord,

"Your lordship's

"most faithful, &c.

"Edmund Burke."

Gerrard-Street, July 10, 1789.

Letter from Mr. Burke to the Earl of Charlemont. From the same.

"My Dearest Lord,

"I think your lordship has acted with your usual zeal and judgment, in establishing a Whig club in Dublin. These meetings prevent the evaporation of principle in individuals, and give the joint force, and enliven their exertions by emulation. You see the matter in its true light, and with your usual discernment. Party is absolutely necessary at this time; I thought it always so in this country, ever since I have had any thing to do in public business; and I rather fear, that there is not virtue enough in this period to support party, than that party should become necessary, on account of the want of virtue to support itself by individual

exertions*. As to us here, our thoughts of every thing at home, suspended by our astonishment at the wonderful spectacle which is exhibited in a neighbouring and rival country. What spectators, and what actors! England gazing with astonishment at a French struggle for liberty, and not knowing whether to blame, or to applaud. The thing, indeed, though I thought I saw something like it in progress for several years, has still somewhat in it paradoxical and mysterious. The spirit, it is impossible not to admire; but the old Parisian ferocity has broken out in a shocking manner. It is true, that this may be no more than a sudden explosion: if so, no indication can be taken from it; but if it should be *character*, rather than accident, then that people are not fit for liberty, and must have a strong hand, like that of their former masters, to coerce them. Men must have a certain fund of natural moderation, to qualify them for freedom, else it becomes noxious to themselves, and a perfect nuisance to every body else. What will be the event, it is hard, I think, still to say. To form a solid constitution, requires wisdom, as well as spirit; and whether the French have wise heads among them, or, if they possess such, whether they have authority equal to their wisdom, is yet to be seen. In the mean time, the progress of this whole affair is one of the most curious matters of speculation that ever was exhibited.

"Our neighbour †, the duke of Portland, is still somewhat stiff in his limbs, though he can walk. He is the same virtuous, calm, steady character, in all sorts of weather, natural and political. He always thinks and speaks of your lordship, as such men as you and he ought to think and speak of each other. I am ever, my most dear lord,

"Your Lordship's faithful
"and affectionate,
EDMUND BURKE."

Beaconsfield, August 9, 1789.

Letter from Mr. Burke to the Earl of Charlemont. From the same.

"My Dear Lord,

"I have seldom been more vexed, than when I found that a visit of mere formality had deprived me of the substantial satisfaction which Mrs. Burke, and my brother, had, in seeing you as well as they had ever remembered you.—Many things, at that time, had contributed to make that loss very great to me. Your lordship is very good, in lamenting the difference which politics had made between Mr. Fox and me. Your condolence was truly kind; for my loss has been truly great, in the cessation of the partiality of a man of his wonderful abilities, and amiable dispositions. Your lordship is a little angry at politics that can dissolve friendships.

* See his very ingenious and eloquent defence of party, in that admirable pamphlet, "Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents." It was written in 1770.

† The Duke was then at Bulstrode.

If it should please God to lend me a little longer life, they will not, I hope, cause me to lose the few friends I have left; for I have left all politics, I think, for ever. Every thing that remains of my relation to the public, will be only in my wishes, which are warm and sincere, that this constitution should be thoroughly understood; for then I am sure it will be sincerely loved; that its benefits may be widely extended, and lastingly continued; and that no man may have an excuse to wish it to have another fortune, than I pray it may long flourish in. I am sure that your country, in whose prosperity I include the most valuable interest of this, will have reason to look back on what you have done for it, with gratitude, and will have reason to think the continuance of your health, for her further service, amongst the greatest advantages she is likely to expect.——Here is my son, who will deliver this to you. He will be indemnified for what I have lost: I think I may speak for this my other, and better self, that he loves you almost as much as I do. Pray tell lady Charlemont, and the ladies, how much Mrs. Burke, my brother, and myself, are their humble servants. Believe me, my dear lord, with the utmost sincere respect and affection,

"Your Lordship's
"most faithful, obliged, and
"obedient humble servant,
"Edmund Burke."

Beaconsfield, Dec. 29, 1731.

Letters from Mr. Fox to Mr. Trotter. From Trotter's Memoirs of Mr. Fox.

LETTER III.

I know of no better, nor, indeed, scarce of any other life of Cicero, than Middleton's. He is certainly very partial to him, but, upon the whole, I think Cicero was a good man. The salutary effect of the burning of his houses, which you mention, is, indeed, too evident; I do not think quite so ill of his poem upon Cæsar as you do; because I presume he only flattered him upon the points where he really deserved praise;—and as to his flatteries of him after he was dictator, in his speeches for Ligarius and Marcellus, I not only excuse, but justify, and even commend them, as they were employed for the best of purposes, in favour of old friends, both to himself and to the republic. Nay, I even think that his manner of recommending to Cæsar (in the pro Marcello) the restoration of the republic, is even bold and spirited.—After all, he certainly was a man liable to be warped from what was right, either by fear or vanity: but his faults seem so clearly to have been infirmities, rather than bad principles, or bad passions, that I cannot but like him, and, in a great measure, esteem him too.—The openness with which, in his private letters, he confesses himself to be ashamed of part of his conduct, has been taken great advantage of by detractors, as an aggravation, whereas I think it a great extenuation of his faults.—I ought to caution against trusting to the translations in Middleton; they are all vile, and many of them unfaithful.

If your sister does not understand Latin, you should translate

them for her yourself. I do assure you, my dear Sir, it always gives Mrs. F. and me great pleasure to hear from you, and especially when it is to inform us that you are well and happy.

Yours ever,
C. J. F.

LETTER IV.

I was much gratified, my dear Sir, with your letter, as your taste seems so exactly to agree with mine; and I am very glad, for your sake, that you have taken to Greek, as it will now be very easy to you, and if I may judge from myself, will be one of the greatest sources of amusement to you.—Homer and Ariosto have always been my favourites: there is something so delightful in their wonderful facility, and the apparent absence of all study, in their expression, which is almost peculiar to them. I think you must be very partial, however, to find but two faults in the twelve books of the Iliad. The passage in the 9th book, about Αατη, appears to me, as it does to you, both poor and forced; but I have no great objection to that about the wall in the 12th, though, to be sure, it is not very necessary. The tenth book has always been a particular favourite with me, not so much on account of Diomede's and Ulysses's exploits, (though that part is excellent too) as on account of the beginning, which describes so forcibly the anxious state of the generals, with an enemy so near, and having had rather the worst of the former day. I do not know any description any where that sets the thing so clearly before one; and then the brotherly feelings of Agamemnon towards Menelaus, and the modesty and amiableness of Menelaus's character (whom Homer, by the way, seems to be particularly fond of) are very affecting. Ariosto has certainly taken his night expedition either from Homer's or from Virgil's Nisus and Euryalus. I scarcely know which I prefer of the three; I rather think Virgil's; but Ariosto has one merit beyond the others, from the important consequences which arise from it to the story. Tasso (for he, too, must have whatever is in the Iliad or Æneid) is a very poor imitation as far as I recollect.

I suppose, as soon as you have done the Iliad, you will read the Odyssey; which, though certainly not so fine a poem, is to my taste, still pleasanter to read. Pray let me know what parts of it strike you most, and believe me you cannot oblige me more than by corresponding on such subjects. Of the other Greek poets, Hesiod, Pindar, Eschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Apollonius Rhodius, and Theocritus, are the most worth reading. Of the tragedians, I like Euripides the best: but Sophocles is, I believe, more generally preferred, and is certainly more finished, and has fewer gross faults. Theocritus, in his way, is perfect;—the two first Idylls, particularly, are excellent. I suppose the ode you like is Αδωνις ὰ Κυθηρη, which is pretty enough, but not such as to give you any adequate idea of Theocritus. There is an elegy upon Adonis, by Bion, which is in parts very beautiful, and, some lines of it

upon the common-place of Death, which have been imitated over and over again, but have never been equalled. In Hesiod, the account of Pandora, of the Golden Age, &c. and some other parts are very good; but there is much that is tiresome. Perhaps the work, which is most generally considered as not his, I mean the Ασπις, is the one that has most poetry in it. It is very good, and to say that it is inferior to Homer's and Virgil's shields, is not saying much against it. Pindar is too often obscure, and sometimes much more spun out and wordy than suits my taste; but there are passages in him quite divine. I have not read above half his works. Apollonius Rhodius is, I think, very well worth reading. The beginning of Medea's love is, I believe, original, and though often copied since, never equalled. There are many other fine parts in his poem, besides some of which Virgil has improved, others scarce equalled. There is, however, in the greater part of the poem an appearance of labour, and a hardness that makes it tiresome. He seems to me to be an author of about the same degree of genius with Tasso; and if there is more in the latter to be liked, there is nothing, I think, to be liked in him so well as the parts of Apollonius to which I have alluded. I have said nothing of Aristophanes, because I never read him. Callimachus and Moschus are worth reading; but there is little of them. By the way, I now recollect that the passage about death, which I said was in Bion's elegy upon Adonis, is in Moschus's upon Bion. Now you have all my knowledge about Greek poetry. I am quite pleased at your liking Ariosto so much; though indeed I foresaw you would, from the great delight you expressed at Spenser, who is certainly inferior to him, though very excellent too.—Tasso, I think, below both of them, but many count him the first among those three; and even Metastasio, who ought to be a better judge of Italian poetry than you or I, gives him upon the whole the preference to Ariosto.

You will of course, have been rejoiced at the peace, as we all are. Mrs. F. desires to be remembered to you kindly. She is very busy just now, but will write to you soon. I think this place has looked more beautiful than ever this year, both in Spring and Summer, and so it does now in Autumn. I have been very idle about my History, but I will make up for it by and bye; though I believe I must go to Paris, to look at some papers there, before I can finish the first volume. I think in the last half of the Iliad you will admire the 16th, 20th, 22d, and 24th, books particularly. I believe the general opinion is that Homer did write near the shore, and he certainly does, as you observe, particularly delight in illustrations taken from the sea, waves, &c. Perhaps a *lion* is rather too frequent a simile with him. I dare say you were delighted with Helen and Priam on the walls in the 3d book; and I suspect you will be proportionably disgusted with Tasso's servile and ill-placed imitation of it. Do not imagine, however, that I am not sensible

to many beauties in Tasso, especially the parts imitated by Spenser, Erminia's flight and adventure, the description of the pestilence, and many others.

I am, dear Sir,
Most truly,
Your's ever,
C. J. FOX.

St. Anne's Hill,
Monday.
(Post Mark, Oct. 20, 1811.)

LETTER V.

My dear Sir,

I am quite scandalized at having so long delayed answering your letters, but I put it off, as I am apt to do every thing, from day to day, till Christmas; and on that day, Mrs. F. was taken very seriously ill with a fever, and sore throat of the inflammatory kind—The violence of the disorder was over this day se'nnight, but though she has been mending ever since, she is still weak. However, she may now be called, comparatively speaking, quite well; and I did not like to write till I could tell you that she was so. I hope you will go on with your Greek, and long to know whether you are as fond of the Odyssey as I am, as also what progress you have made in the other poets. The *Plutarchus*, whom you ask after, is, I believe, the same Plutarch who wrote the lives, and who certainly was of Chæronea. At least, I never heard of any other author of that name, and he wrote many philosophical works. I think when you say you *despise* Tasso, you go further than I can do,—and though there is servility in his *manner* of imitation, which is disgusting, yet it is hardly fair to be angry with him for translating a simile of Homer's, a plunder, if it be one, of which nearly every poet has been guilty. If there be one who has not, I suspect it is he whom you say you are going to read, I mean Dante. I have only read part of Dante, and admire him very much. I think the brilliant passages are thicker set in his works, than in those of almost any other poet; but the want of connection and interest makes him heavy; and, besides the difficulty of his language, which I do not think much of, the obscurity of that part of history to which he refers, is much against him. His *allusions*, in which he deals not a little, are, in consequence, most of them lost.

I agree in liking Armida, but cannot help thinking Rinaldo's detention in his gardens very inferior to Ruggiero's

> Or fino agli occhi ben nuota nel golfo
> Delle delizie e delle cose belle,

may seem to some an expression rather too familiar, and nearly foolish; but it is much better for describing the sort of situation in which the two heroes are supposed to be, than the *Romito Amante* of Tasso; not to mention the garden of Armida being all on the inside of the palace, and walled round by it instead of the beautiful country described by Ariosto. Do you not think too, that Spenser has much improved upon Tasso, by giving the song in praise of pleasure to a nymph rather than to a parrot? Pray, if you want any information about Greek poets or others, that I can

give you, do not spare me, for it is a great delight to me to be employed upon such subjects, with one who has a true relish for them.

I do not wonder at your passionate admiration of the Iliad, and agree with you as to the peculiar beauty of most of the parts you mention. The interview of Priam and Achilles is, I think, the finest of all. I rather think, that in Andromache's first lamentation, she dwells too much upon her child, and too little upon Hector, but may be I am wrong. But your referring to the 4th book only for Agamemnon's brotherly kindness, I should almost suspect that you had not sufficiently noticed the extreme delicacy and kindness with which he speaks of him in the 10th, v. 120, &c.

We have not at all fixed our time for going to Paris yet. Mrs. F. desires to be most kindly remembered to you.

I am very truly,
My dear Sir, your's ever,
C. J. FOX.

P. S. I do not know which is the best translation of Don Quixote; I have only read Jarvis's, which I think very indifferent. I liked Feijoo very much when I read him, but I have not his works.

LETTER XIII.

My dear Sir,

Pray do not think you trouble me, but quite the contrary, by writing to me, and especially on the subject of your poetical studies. What I do not like in your letter is, your account of yourself; and I am afraid a winter in Dublin, which may be so useful to you in other respects, may not be quite so well for your health; which, after all, is the grand article. Mrs. F. has not written lately, because you had not told her how to direct; and as she had not heard of your receiving the last letter she directed to Glasnevin, she feared that might not do. She desires me to say every thing that is kind to you.

I am very glad you prefer Euripides to Sophocles, because it is my taste; though I am not sure that it is not thought a heresy.—He (Eur.) appears to me to have much more of facility and nature in his way of writing than the other. The speech you mention of Electra is indeed beautiful; but when you have read some more of Euripides, perhaps you will not think it quite unrivalled. Of all Sophocles plays, I like Electra clearly the best, and I think your epithet to Oed. Tyrs. a very just one; it is really to me a *disagreeable* play; and yet there are many who not only prefer it to Electra, but reckon it the finest specimen of the Greek theatre. I like his other two plays upon the Theban story both better, i. e. the Oed. Col. and the Antigone. In the latter there is a passage in her answer to Cicero that is, perhaps, the sublimest in the world; and, in many parts of the play there is a spirit almost miraculous, if, as it is said, Sophocles was past eighty when he composed it. Cicero has made great use of the passage I allude to, in his oration for Milo. I suppose you selected Hipp. and Iph. in Aulis,

on account of Racine; and I hope you have observed with what extreme judgment he has imitated them. In the character of Hipp. only, I think he has fallen short of his original. The scene of Phædra's discovery of her love to her nurse, he has imitated pretty closely, and if he has not surpassed it, it is only becsuse that was impossible. His Clytemnestra, too, is excellent, but would have been better if he had ventured to bring on the young Orestes as Eur. does. The change which you mention in the Greek Iphigenia, I like extremely; but it is censured by Aristotle as a change of character,—not, I think, justly. Perhaps the sudden change in Menelaus, which he also censures, is less defensible. Now, though the two plays of Eur. which you have read, are undoubtedly *among* his best, I will venture to assure you, that there are four others you will like full as well; Medea, Phœnissæ, Heraclidæ, and Alcestis; with the last of which, if I know any thing of your taste, you will be enchanted. Many faults are found with it, but those faults lead to the greatest beauties. For instance, if Hercules's levity is a little improper in a tragedy, his shame afterwards, and the immediate consequence of that shame being more than human exertion, afford the finest picture of an heroic mind that exists. The speech beginning *ω πολλα τλασα καρδια*, &c. is divine. Besides the two you have read, and the four I have recommended, Hercules Furens, Iph. in Tauris, Hecuba, Baccæ, and Troades, are all very excellent. Then come Ion, Supplices, Electra, and Helen; Orestes and Andromache are in my judgment the worst. I have not mentioned Rhesus and Cyclops, because the former is not thought to be really Euripides's, and the latter is entirely comic, or rather a very coarse farce; excellent, however, in its way, and the conception of the characters not unlike that of Shakspeare's Caliban. I should never finish, if I were to let myself go upon Euripides. In two very material points, however, he is certainly far excelled by Sophocles: 1st, in the introduction of proper subjects in the songs of the chorus; and 2dly, in the management of his plot. The extreme absurdity of the chorus, in Medea suffering her to kill her children, and of that in Phædra, letting her hang herself without the least attempt to prevent it, has been often and justly ridiculed; but what signify faults, where there are such excessive beauties? Pray write soon, and let me know, if you have read more of these plays, what you think of them.

Your's ever most truly,

C. J. FOX.

St. Anne's Hill, Friday.

P. S. When you have read the two farewell speeches of Medea and Alcestis to their children, I do not think you will say that Electra's is quite unrivalled, though most excellent undoubtedly it is.

Translations of Two Letters of Nadir Shah, with Introductory Observations in a Letter to the President. By Brigadier-General John Malcolm.

To Henry Colebrook, Esq. President of the Asiatic Society.

My Dear Sir,

In the course of researches into the history of Persia, my attention was particularly drawn to a collection of letters, and original state papers, of Nadir Shah, published after his decease by his favourite secretary Mirza Mehedí. This collection is held in the highest estimation in Persia, not only from the light it throws upon the history of that nation, but from the style in which it is written, and which is considered to be the best model for those who desire to attain excellence in this branch of writing.

I have the pleasure to transmit, for the consideration of the Asiatic Society, translations of two of these letters which appear to be strongly illustrative of the character of Nadir Shah, and the history of the period at which they were written, and which may perhaps be deemed on that account not unworthy of a place in the Society's Researches.

The first is addressed to Muhammed Ali Khan, Beglerbeg* of Fars, and must from its tenor have been written early in the year 1731, a few months previous to the dethronement of Shah Tamasp; which took place in the month of August of that year. Nadir Shah published, at the period at which he wrote this letter, a proclamation or manifesto addressed to the inhabitants of Persia, in which, after stating his own successes against the Afghans and the other enemies of his country, and the evils which appeared likely to arise from the shameful peace which had been concluded with the Turks, he announces his intention of marching after the feast of Nau Roz (which occurred that year on the 22d of Ramzan, or 10th March) and of not only obliging the Turks to consent to more just terms, but of depriving of dignity and power, and considering as infidels all those who should oppose his intentions. This manifesto, as well as his letter to the Beglerbeg of Fars, sufficiently prove, that his designs were at that moment more directed against his own sovereign than that of Constantinople.

The second letter is from Delhi, and must have been written immediately after the arrival of Nadir Shah in that city, in the month of February, 1738. It commences with a clear statement of the causes of his invasion of Hindustan; which is followed by a concise relation of his military operations, and a particular account of the celebrated battle of Karnál, in which he defeated the emperor of India. The account of occurrences before the action, the action itself, the subsequent visit which Nadir received from Muhammed Shah, and his resolution to replace that monarch upon the throne of his ancestors, are stated with equal perspicuity and force, and the whole of this letter is written in a less inflated style than any oriental composition of a similar nature which has fallen under my observation. It records events of almost unparalleled magnitude, and the expression

* Governor of Persia Proper.

is (as far as I can judge) never more warm than what the subject justifies, and indeed requires.

LETTER I.

(Written before Nadir Shah ascended the throne) addressed to Muhammed Ali Khan, Begler-beg of Fars; and giving an account of the conquest of Herat.

To the highest of the exalted in station, the chief of the great nobles Muhammed Ali Khan, these happy tidings be conveyed.

Aided by the bounty of an all powerful Creator, and the happy auspices of the house of Haider * and the twelve holy Imams (on whom be eternal mercy) which my crescent formed and all subduing scimitar, which in glory resembles the recent moon, and with my powerful and victorious army, and soldiers of propitious destiny, *who are those sent from heaven* † I have, under the influence of good fortune, surpassed all others in the capture of fortresses and cities.

At this happy and auspicious period, the host of Afghans of the tribe of Abdalli, who fled from the edge of the conquering swords of my dragon-like warriors, retired, *as a spider within its web* ‡, into the fort of Herat. Their hearts were distracted with fear, and the pillars of patience and fortitude, that had supported their resolution, were cast down. Reduced to distress by the complicated evils of famine and of the sword, they implored mercy; and, "as clemency is enjoined to the powerful," I permitted them to evacuate the fort; and have sent (with a view to disperse them) 60,000 of this tribe with their families, who were reduced to great misery, to the city of Khar Shahyar in the province of Khorasan. By the favour and blessing of that omnipotent Being, by whom I have been protected, the fort of Herat is in my possession; and the whole of the tribe of Afghans, as also of the Ghelyahs § of Candahar, who were in the bonds of alliance with them, have submitted; and have placed upon their necks the collar of obedience.

In the midst of these actions, by which the whole country from Herat to Candahar has been completely subdued, and the disturbers of tranquillity on the borders of Khorasan exemplarily punished, I learn by a letter from Muhammed Reza Khan, who was sent ambassador to the court of Rúm ‖, that he has concluded a treaty with the king, by which it is agreed that the Turkish empire shall possess the territory on the other bank of the river Aras; and the Persian, all upon this: but no arrangement appears to have been made for the liberation of the prisoners of the sect of Ali who are

* Ali. Here the tribe of Shiahs are meant, who are supposed to be under Ali's protection, and in fact part of his family.

† Sentences marked in Italics, are passages from the Koran, of which I have concisely rendered the meaning.

‡ From the Koran. The passage literally signifies "like unto the spider that maketh himself a house." But the weakest of houses surely is the spider's.

§ A particular tribute of Afghans.

‖ Constantinople.

confined in the Turkish dominions.

It is an incontestible truth, that the existence of humble persons, like us, who, from the favour of a divine providence, have obtained rank and pre-eminence over others, is for no other purpose than that we should be the friends of the sect of Shíahí, that we should relieve the distress and dispel the grief of the poor and afflicted; ("for to protect the ruled is the duty of the ruler.") That we should combat the enemies of the weak, and eradicate the distemper of sedition from the body of the state: nor deaf to the voice of the helpless and unmindful of those that are prisoners, we should break such sacred engagements, to conciliate the approbation, and yield to the power of a proud enemy.

By the great and powerful God, this day is big with ruin to their enemies, and with joy to the sect of Shiahs, the discomfiture of the evil-minded is the glory and exaltation of the followers of Ali. *When the avenger is at hand the wicked tremble and are appalled. Their eyes roll wildly like one in the agonies of death. Let the danger pass over, and it is forgotten. They revile and mock with their tongues.*

This is a just description of the Turkish tribe. Why should we listen to more prevarications? Or why confine ourselves to the bank of the Aras*; when it is manifest, that the peace, which has been concluded, is contrary to the will of God, and irreconcileable to the wisdom or dignity of imperial greatness.

I have stated to the minister of the exalted prince, that such a peace cannot be permanent, and that I conclude the mission of an ambassador to have been an act of compulsion, as I cannot believe that the prince would, under other circumstances, have consented to such a degradation of his dignity. But at all events, as offerings are continually made in the palaces of the lords of the faithful, and the holy men with broken hearts are praying to their divine creator for the release of the Mussulman prisoners; it was my determination, after receiving leave from the holy prince of regions †, Ali Ibn Mausa Reza, (on whom be eternal blessings) to march on the second day after the feast of Feter ‡ towards the disputed quarter, aided by the divine power, and accompanied by an army raging like the troubled ocean.

VERSES.

I shall overflow my banks, and fly like an impatient lover to his mistress;
Like a torrent, will I rush, with my breast ever on the earth.
Hafiz! if thy footsteps desire to gain, by the true path, the holy house,
Carry along with thee the virtue of the exalted of Nejef.

I have represented also, that I have sent the high in dignity, Mahsum Ali Beg Geraili, ambassador to the court of Rúm, and that he is attended by a respecta-

* Araxes.
† One of the twelve Imams, who died at Meshed in Khorasan, where he is buried.
‡ This feast happens at the conclusion of the month of Ramzan.

ble escort; and that he is fully acquainted with my wishes and sentiments.

You will no doubt be rejoiced to hear that, as it was to be hoped from the goodness of God, this peace with the Turks is not likely to endure; and you may rest in expectation of my approach. For, by the blessing of the Most High, I will advance immediately, with an army elated with success, skilled in sieges, numerous as emmets, valiant as lions; and combining with the vigour of youth the prudence of age. I will attend on the exalted prince, and then proceed towards the Turkish frontier.

VERSE.

Let the cup-bearer tell our enemy, the worshipper of fire,
To cover his head with dust:
For the water, that had departed, is returned into its channel.

Such of the tribe of Shiahs, as are backward on this great occasion, and are reconciled to this shameful peace, should be expelled from the faithful seat; and for ever accounted among its enemies. To slaughter them will be meritorious; to permit their existence, impious.

"I have heard, that, during the reign of Mutasim,
A woman of Ajim was taken by the foe:
Her eyes became channels for torrents of blood.
She thus complained of her wretched state.
Oh Mutasim! why art thou supine? I call for justice!
Thy subject is a prisoner in the hands of thine enemy,
Thou art the flame in the lamp of the country.
On thee depends the shame and glory of the nation.
Thou art the protector of the poor and wretched:
All their children are the children of their sovereign!
Her masters, astonished at these exclamations,
In rage struck her on the face;
And said, 'Now let your monarch Mutasim,
With all the renowned heroes of Persia,
Collect an innumerable army,
And come, if they choose, to thy rescue.'
This speech soon reached the great Mutasim,
Who immediately published throughout Persia,
That all, who pretended to the name of men,
Should instantly assemble in arms.
When the monarch had completed his mighty preparations,
He soon heaped destruction on the heads of his enemies*.
To release one prisoner from the hand of the foe,
If an incomparable army were assembled,
At this moment, when numbers of the Shiahs of Persia
Are prisoners in the hand of cruel men,
And, with their lamentable cries uttered morn and eve,
Have rendered dark and gloomy the azure sky;
It is acknowledged by the tribe of Shiahs,
That the king† of Khorasan, the Imam of the age,
Is not considered by the men of Persia
As less honourable, nor of lesser fame, than Mutasim!
Then, by the mercy and greatness of the creator,
Victory is still declared to these soldiers.
Under the auspices of the most merciful of the world,
I have taken ample vengeance on the Afghans.

* This story is related by historians of Mutasim, the son of Harun al Rashid, and eighth Kalif of the house of Abbas. *D'Herbelot Bibl. Or.* 639.

† Ali Mausa Reza, the seventh Imam, buried at Meshed.

Aided by the fortune of the lord of Khorasan,
I have been revenged on the whole tribe of the Afghans.
There remains not in this quarter, at this period,
Aught of that tribe but their name.
In this war great actions have been fought,
The Kezel-bashes* became each a sharp pointed thorn.
From the slaughter that has been made, and the blood that has been shed,
Our high-polished scimitars have received a purple stain.
I have taken from the worthless foe,
With my sword, the region from Herat to Candahar!
By the sacred temple of the lord † of Nejef,
We will turn with vengeance to that quarter:
We shall perform a pilgrimage to that threshold:
And we will afford protection to our prisoners:
We will take ample vengeacce of the Turks.
We will punish ‡ all our foes.
And in this war, whoever continues inactive,
Or from baseness remains in pretended ignorance,
Both his property and his blood are lawful prize.
He is to be considered out of the pale of the true faith."

Most noble lord, if the state of the province of Fars will permit, lose not a moment in repairing to the court of the most exalted prince at Ispahan; and represent to him, that, as the peace which has been concluded will benefit no person whosoever, and can in no light be viewed as proper or reputable, it neither meets the approbation of the nobles, nor the commonalty of the empire.

But, if you should be prevented from moving to the capital, owing to the dispute with the Arabs not being adjusted, let me be instantly informed. If you are able to quell these troubles, it is well. But, if you require aid, make me acquainted; and a detachment of my victorious army shall march to your support.

LETTER II.

From Nadir Shah to his son Reza Kuli Mírza, giving an account of the conquest of Delhi.

To the exalted and glorious son of our wishes, the valiant Reza Kuli Mírza, who is our vicegerent in Irán, the seat of our empire; our most beloved, the pre-eminent in royal rank, allied to us in dignity:—be these glorious commands known.

Agreeably to our former communications, after the defeat of Afghan prince, Ashref Alí Merdan Khan was appointed our ambassador to the court of Hindustan, for the purpose of representing to that court, that as the turbulent Afghans of Candahar and its neighbouring provinces were to be considered equal enemies to both states, it would be advisable to appoint an army from Hindustan, to occupy the passes, and prevent the retreat of the marauders. The emperor Muhammed Shah gave a ready assent, and concluded a treaty to the proposed effect. After the return of our ambassador, we sent Muham-

* Persians; literally *Redheads*, a name given to them from the circumstance of Shah Ismail having directed all true followers of the sect of Shiah to wear red caps.
† Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet, who is buried at Nejef.
‡ Literally, *furbish the garments.*

med Alí Khan to the court of the Indian emperor to repeat our instances on this subject, and Muhammed Shah confirmed his former engagement.

After our glorious and victorious standards returned to Candahar, we understood from our conquering generals employed with a part of our force in the reduction of the Afghans of Kallat and Ghizni, that Muhammed Shah had in no respect fulfilled his engagements; and that no appearance of an Indian army had been seen in that quarter. This intelligence induced us to send, with the utmost expedition, Muhammed Khan Turkoman to the court of Delhi, to remind the emperor of his promises; but that sovereign and his ministers, in dereliction of their former engagements, treated the subject with neglect, omitted answering our letters, and even put restraint on the person of our ambassador.

In this situation we were impelled to march against the Afghans of Ghizni and Cabul; and after punishing the refractory mountaineers in that quarter, as we considered the neglect and contempt with which Muhammed Shah had behaved, and his conduct to our ambassador irreconcilable with friendship, we marched towards Sháhjehánábád.

Of our success in reducing the provinces of Peshavir, and taking possession of Lahore, the former seat of empire, our beloved son has already been informed. We marched from that city the last day of Shával, and on Friday the 10th of Zelkád reached Ambala, forty farfakhs from Sháhjehánábád. We here learnt, that Muhammed Shah had collected from Hindustan and the Dec'hin, a numerous force, and accompanied by all his nobles, by an army of three hundred thousand men, three hundred pieces of cannon, three or four hundred elephants, and other equipments in proportion, had marched from Delhi and arrived at Pánipet, a village twenty farsakhs from Ambala. We immediately directed the superfluous and heavy baggage of our conquering army to be left at Ambala, and advanced to meet the enemy. Muhammed Shah also left Pánipet, and marched to Carnál, which is twenty-five farsakhs from Delhi.

In the course of our march we detached a force of five or six thousand men in advance, who had orders to observe the appearance, numbers, and order of Muhammed Shah's army. This body, when about two faraskhs from Carnál, fell in with the advance of the Hindustání army, which amounted to twelve thousand men: these they attacked and totally routed; presenting us with their general and many others, whom they made prisoners.

This signal defeat put a stop to Muhammed Shah's further advance. He halted at Carnál, and surrounded his army with a trench: he also constructed ramparts and batteries, on which he placed his cannon.

We had sent a detachment to march to the east of Muhammed Shah's camp, and post themselves on the road that led to Delhi: this party received accounts on the night of Tuesday the 15th, that Saadet Khan, known by his title of Burhán ul Mulk, and one

of the chief nobles of the empire, had reached Malabat, accompanied by an army of 30,000 men, a train of artillery, and a number of elephants, and intended forcing a junction with Muhammed Shah.

With a view of intercepting this force, we marched our army, two hours before day-break, to the east of Carnál, and occupied the road between that village and Pánipet. This movement, we hoped, would force Muhammed Shah from his entrenchments. About an hour and a half after day-light we had passed Carnál, and gained the east side of the Hindustání camp, when the advance-guard made prisoners some stragglers of Saadet Khan's party, from whose information we learnt that that general had succeeded in his design of forming a junction with the emperor; in whose camp he had arrived at ten o'clock the preceding night.

On this intelligence we were pleased to order our royal tents to be pitched on the ground which we then occupied, opposite to the camp of Muhammed Shah, from whom we were distant about one farsakh.

As the junction of Saadet Khan had been the cause of Muhammed Shah's delays, he conceived on that event his appointments to be complete; and, leaving two-thirds of his cannon for the protection of his camp, he advanced with a great part of his army, a third of his artillery, and a number of his elephants, at twelve o'clock the same day, half a farsakh in the direction of our royal army, and drew up his troops in order of battle. Placing himself in the centre of the advanced lines, he stationed the remainder of his troops in the rear as a support. Their numbers were incredible. They occupied, as close as they could be drawn up in depth, from the front line to the entrenched camp a distance of half a farsakh; and their front was of equal extent. The ground was every where dark with their numbers, and to judge from appearance, we should suppose they were ten or twelve times more numerous than the army of the Abdal Gardoghly.

We, whose only wishes were for such a day, after appointing guards for our camp, and invoking the support of a bountiful Creator, mounted, and advanced to give battle.

For two complete hours the battle raged with violence, and a heavy fire from cannon and musquetry was kept up. After that, by the aid of the Almighty, our lion-hunting heroes broke the enemy's line, and chaced them from the field of action, dispersing them in every direction.

Saadet Khan, mounted on his state elephant, his Nisha Muhammed Khan, and other relations, fell prisoners into our hands. Samsám Alí Khan Dauran Amir ul Omra Bahádur, the first minister of the empire, was wounded. One of his sons, with his brother, Muzefer Khan, was slain; and another of his sons, Mír Aáshue, was taken prisoner. He himself died the following day of his wounds.

Wasili Khan, the commander of the emperor's body guard, Shadab Khan, Amir Kuli Khan, Ali Muhammed Khan, Mir Husen Khan, Khája Ashref Khan, Alí

yar Khan, Aakil Beg Khan, Shahdad Khán Afghan, Ahmed Ali Khan, Razin Rai Khan, commander of the artillery, as also Shir Khalu, with about three hundred other nobles and other leaders, of whom fifteen were commanders of seven thousand, of four, and of three thousand, were slain.

Muhammed Shah, with Nizam ul Mulk, ruler of the seven provinces of the Dec'hin, and a chief noble of the empire; Kamer ul Din Khan, chief vizier, and some other nobles of less note, protected by a covering-party which had been left, made good their retreat within the entrenchments, and escaped their shock of our victorious swords.

This action lasted two hours; and for two hours and a half more were our conquering soldiers engaged in pursuit. When one hour of the day remained, the field was entirely cleared of the enemy; and as the entrenchments of their camp was strong, and the fortifications formidable, we would not permit our army to assault it.

An immense treasure, a number of grand elephants, the artillery of the emperor, and great spoils of every description, were the reward of victory. Upwards of twenty thousand of the enemy were slain on the field of battle, and a much greater number were made prisoners.

Immediately after this action, we surrounded the emperor's camp, and took measures to prevent all communication with the adjacent country, preparing at the same time our cannon and mortars to lev el with the ground the fortification which had been erected.

As the utmost confusion reigned in the imperial camp, and all discipline was abandoned, the emperor, compelled by irresistible necessity, after the lapse of one day, sent Nizam-ul-Mulk, on Thursday the 17th, to our royal camp; and the day following, Muhammed Shah himself, attended by his nobles, came to our heaven-like presence, in an afflicted state.

When the emperor was approaching, as we are ourselves of a Turkoman family, and Muhammed Shah is a Turkoman, and the lineal descendant of the noble house of Gaurgáni, we sent our dear son, Nasir Ali Khan, beyond the bounds of our camp to meet him. The emperor entered our tents, and delivered over to him the signet of our empire. He remained that day a guest in our royal tent.

Considering our affinity as Turkomans, and also reflecting on the favours and honours that befitted the dignity and majesty of a king of kings, we bestowed such upon the emperor, and ordered his royal pavilions, his family, and his nobles, to be preserved; and we have established him in a manner equal to his great dignity.

At this time, the emperor with his family, and all the lords of Hindustan who marched from camp, are arrived at Delhi; and on Thursday the 29th of Zilkâd, we moved our glorious standard towards that capital.

It is our royal intention, from the consideration of the high birth of Muhammed Shah, of his de-

scent from the house of Gaurgáni, and of his affinity to us, a Turkoman, to fix him on the throne of empire, and to place the crown of royalty upon his head.

Praise be to God, glory to the Most High, who has granted us the power to perform such action! For this great grace, which we have received from the Almighty, we must ever remain grateful.

God has made the seven great seas like unto the vapour of the desart, beneath our glorious and conquering footsteps, and those of our faithful and victorious heroes. He has made, in our victorious mind, the thrones of kings, and the deep ocean of earthly glory, more despicable than the light bubble that floats on the surface of the wave; and no doubt his extraordinary mercy, which he has now shown, will be evident to all mankind.

As we have taken possession of a great number of cannon, we send 26,000 moghals of Iran and Turan, with a detachment from our own conquering army, and a body of artillery, with some large elephants, whom we have directed to march to Cabul. No doubt our sons will inform us of the affairs of that quarter.

After the arrival of your letter, we will either order the detachment, which we have sent, to proceed to Balkh, or go to Herat.

We have appointed the high in dignity, Aáshur Khan, to march to Balkh, after the Nau-róz (22d March) which he no doubt will do.

Consider our glorious victory as derived from the bounty of the Creator of fortune beyond all calculation. Make copies of this our royal mandate, and disperse them over our empire, that the well-wishers of our throne may be happy, and rejoice, and our secret enemies be dejected and confounded. Be you constantly employed in adorning and arranging your government; placing your hopes in the favour of the Most High, so that, by the blessing of God, all those, whether near or distant, that are not reconciled to our glorious state, and are brooding mischief, may be caught in their own snares: and all real friends, who are under our dominion, may attain their wishes, and prosper under the auspices of our munificent government.

Dated 29th Zilkad, 1115 Hejira, Shahjehanabad, or Delhi.

Account of the Temple and Rites of Juggernaut in Orissa. From Dr. Buchanan's Christian Researches in Asia.

Buddrock in Orissa, May 30, 1808.

"We know that we are approaching Juggernaut (and yet we are more than fifty miles from it), by the human bones which we have seen for some days strewed by the way. At this place we have been joined by several large bodies of pilgrims, perhaps 2000 in number, who have come from various parts of Northern India. Some of them, with whom I have conversed, say that they have been two months on their march, travelling slowly in the hottest season of the year, with their wives and children. Some old persons

are among them who wish to die at Juggernaut. Numbers of pilgrims die on the road; and their bodies generally remain unburied. on a plain by the river, near the pilgrim's caravansera at this place, there are more than a hundred skulls. The dogs, jackals, and vultures seem to live here on human prey. The vultures exhibit a shocking tameness. The obscene animals will not leave the body sometimes till we come close to them. This Buddruck is a horrid place. Wherever I turn my eyes, I meet death in some shape or other. Surely Juggernaut cannot be worse than Buddruck.

In sight of Juggernaut,
12th June, 1806.

—"Many thousands of pilgrims have accompanied us for some days past. They cover the road before and behind, as far as the eye can reach. At nine o'clock this morning, the temple of Juggernaut appeared in view at a great distance. When the multitude first saw it, they gave a shout, and fell to the ground and worshipped. I have heard nothing to-day but shouts and acclamations by the successive bodies of pilgrims. From the place where I now stand, I have a view of a host of people like an army, encamped at the outer gate of the town of Juggernaut; where a guard of soldiers is posted to prevent their entering the town, until they have paid the pilgrim's tax. —I passed a devotee to-day, who laid himself down at every step, measuring the road to Juggernaut by the *length of his body,* as a penance of merit to please the god.

Outer Gate of Juggernaut,
12th June, 1806.

"—A disaster has just occurred. As I approached the gate, the pilgrims crowded from all quarters around me, and shouted, as they usually did when I passed them on the road, an expression of welcome and respect. I was a little alarmed at their number, and looked round for my guard. A guard of soldiers had accompanied me from Cuttack, the last military station; but they were now about a quarter of a mile behind with my servants and the baggage. The pilgrims cried out that they were entitled to some indulgence, that they were poor, they could not pay the tax; but I was not aware of their design. At this moment, when I was within a few yards of the gate, an old Sanyassee (or holy man) who had travelled some days by the side of my horse, came up and said, 'Sir, you are in danger, the people are going to rush through the gate when it is opened for you.' I immediately dismounted, and endeavoured to escape to one side; but it was too late. The mob was now in motion, and with a tumultuous shout pressed violently towards the gate. The guard within seeing my danger opened it, and the multitude rushing through, carried me forward in the torrent a considerable space: so that I was literally borne into Juggernaut by the Hindoos themselves. A distressing scene followed. As the number and strength of the mob increased, the narrow way was choaked up by the mass of people; and I apprehended that many of them would have been suffocated, or

bruised to death. My horse was yet among them. But suddenly one of the sideposts of the gate, which was of wood, gave way and fell to the ground. And perhaps this circumstance alone prevented the loss of lives. Notice of the event was immediately communicated to Mr. Hunter, the superintendant of the temple, who repaired to the spot, and sent an additional guard to the inner gate, lest the people should force that also; for there is an outer and an inner gate to the town of Juggernaut; but both of them are slightly constructed. Mr. Hunter told me that similar accidents sometimes occur, and that many have been crushed to death by the pressure of the mob. He added, that sometimes a body of pilgrims (consisting chiefly of women and children and old men), trusting to the physical weight of their mass, will make, what he called a *charge* on the armed guards, and overwhelm them; the guards not being willing, in such circumstances, to oppose their bayonets.

Juggernaut, 14th June, 1806.

"—I have seen Juggernaut. The scene at Buddruck is but the vestibule to Juggernaut. No record of ancient or modern history can give, I think, an adequate idea of this valley of death; it may be truly compared with the valley of Hinnom. The idol called Juggernaut has been considered as the Moloch of the present age; and he is justly so named, for the sacrifices offered up to him by self-devotement, are not less criminal, perhaps not lest numerous, than those recorded of the Moloch of Canaan. Two other idols accompany Juggernaut, namely, Boloram and Shubudra, his brother and sister; for there are three deities worshipped here. They receive equal adoration, and sit on thrones of nearly equal height.

"—This morning I viewed the temple; a stupendous fabric, and truly commensurate with the extensive sway of 'the horrid king.' As other temples are usually adorned with figures emblematical of their religion, so Juggernaut has representations (numerous and varied) of that vice which constitutes the essence of *his* worship. The walls and gates are covered with indecent emblems, in massive and durable sculpture. I have also visited the sand plains by the sea, in some places whitened with the bones of the pilgrims; and another place, a little way out of the town, called by the English the Golgotha, where the dead bodies are usally cast forth, and where dogs and vultures are ever seen.

"The grand Hindoo festival of the Rutt Jattra, takes place on the 18th inst. when the idol is to be brought forth to the people. I reside during my stay here, at the house of James Hunter, Esq. the Company's collector of the tax on pilgrims, and superintendant of the temple, formerly a student in the College of Fort William; by whom I am hospitably entertained, and also by Captain Patton, and Lieut. Woodcock, commanding the military force. Mr. Hunter distinguished himself at the College by his proficiency in the Oriental languages. He is a gentleman of polished manners and of classical taste. The agreeable

society of these gentlemen is very refreshing to my spirits in the midst of the present scenes. I was surprised to see how little they seemed to be moved by the scenes of Juggernaut. They said they were now so accustomed to them, they thought little of them. They had almost forgot their first impressions. Their houses are on the sea shore, about a mile or more from the temple. They cannot live nearer, on account of the offensive effluvia of the town. For, independently of the enormity of the superstition, there are other circumstances which render Juggernaut noisome in an extreme degree. The senses are assailed by the squalid and ghastly appearance of the famished pilgrims; many of whom die in the streets of want or of disease; while the devotees, with clotted hair and painted flesh, are seen practising their various austerities, and modes of self-torture. Persons of both sexes, with little regard to concealment, sit down on the sands close to the town in public view; and the *sacred bulls* walk about among them and eat the *ordure*.

"The vicinity of Juggernaut to the sea probably prevents the contagion, which otherwise would be produced by the putrefactions of the place. There is scarcely any verdure to refresh the sight near Juggernaut; the temple and town being nearly encompassed by hills of sand, which has been cast up in the lapse of ages by the surge of the ocean. All is barren and desolate to the eye; and in the ear there is the never-intermitting sound of the roaring sea.

6

Juggernaut, 18th June, 1806.

"I have returned home from witnessing a scene which I shall never forget. At twelve o'clock of this day, being the great day of the feast, the Moloch of Hindostan was brought out of his temple, amidst the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of his worshippers. When the idol was placed on his throne, a shout was raised by the multitude, such as I had never heard before. It continued equable for a few minutes and then gradually died away. After a short interval of silence, a murmur was heard at a distance; all eyes were turned towards the place, and behold a *grove* advancing. A body of men, having green branches, or palms, in their hands, approached with great celerity. The people opened a way for them; and when they had come up to the throne, they fell down before him that sat thereon and worshipped. And the multitude again sent forth a voice 'like the sound of a great thunder.' But the voices I now heard were not those of melody or of joyful acclamation; for there is no harmony in the praise of Moloch's worshippers. Their number indeed brought to my mind the countless multitude of the Revelations; but their voices gave no tuneful Hosanna or Hallelujah; but rather a yell of approbation, united with a kind of *hissing* applause. I was at a loss how to account for this latter noise, until I was directed to notice the women, who emitted a sound like that of *whistling*, with the lips circular and the tongue vibrating: as if a serpent would speak by

their organs, uttering human sounds.

"The throne of the idol was placed on a stupendous car or tower, about sixty feet in height, resting on wheels which indented the ground deeply, as they turned slowly under the ponderous machine. Attached to it were six cables, of the size and length of a ship's cable, by which the people drew it along. Thousands of men, women, and children pulled by each cable, crowding so closely, that some could only use one hand. Infants are made to exert their strength in this office, for it is accounted a merit of righteousness to move the god. Upon the tower were the priests and satellites of the idol, surrounding his throne. I was told that there were about a hundred and twenty persons upon the car altogether. The idol is a block of wood, having a frightful visage painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody colour. His arms are of gold, and he is dressed in gorgeous apparel. The other two idols are of a white and yellow colour. Five elephants preceded the three towers, bearing towering flags, dressed in crimson caparisons, and having bells hanging to their caparisons, which sounded musically as they moved.

"I went on in the procession, close by the tower of Moloch; which, as it was drawn with difficulty, 'grated on its many wheels harsh thunder.' After a few minutes it stopped, and now the worship of the god began. A high priest mounted the car in front of the idol, and pronounced his obscene stanzas in the ears of the people; who responded at intervals in the same strain. 'These songs,' said he, 'are the delight of the god. His car can only move when he is pleased with the the song.' The car moved on a little way, and then stopped. A boy of about twelve years was then brought forth to attempt something yet more lascivious, if peradventure the god would move. The 'child perfected the praise' of his idol with such ardent expression and gesture, that the god was pleased, and the multitude, emitting a sensual yell of delight, urged the car along. After a few minutes it stopped again. An aged minister of the idol then stood up, and with a long rod in his hand, which he moved with indecent action, completed the variety of this disgusting exhibition. I felt a consciousness of doing wrong in witnessing it. I was also somewhat appalled at the magnitude and horror of the spectacle; I felt like a guilty person on whom all eyes were fixed, and I was about to withdraw. But a scene of a different kind was now to be presented. The characteristics of Moloch's worship are obscenity and blood. We have seen the former: now comes the blood.

"After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower as it was moving along, lying on his face, with his arms stretched forward. The multitude passed round him, leaving the space clear, and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the god. He is said to *smile*

when the libation of the blood is made. The people threw cowries, or small money, on the body of the victim, in approbation of the deed. He was left to view a considerable time, and was then carried by the *hurries* to the Golgotha, where I have just been viewing his remains. How much I wished that the Proprietors of India Stock could have attended the wheels of Juggernaut, and seen this peculiar source of their revenue.

Juggernaut, 20th June, 1806.

Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears.
MILTON.

"—The horrid solemnities still continue. Yesterday a woman devoted herself to the idol. She laid herself down on the road in an oblique direction, so that the wheel did not kill her instantaneously, as is generally the case, but she died in a few hours. This morning, as I passed the Place of Skulls, nothing remained of her but her bones.

"And this, thought I, is the worship of the Brahmins of Hindostan, and their worship in its sublimest degree! What then shall we think of their private manners, and their moral principles! For it is equally true of India as of Europe—If you would know the state of the people, look at the state of the temple.

"I was surprised to see the Brahmins with their heads uncovered in the open plain, falling down in the midst of the *sooders* before 'the horrid shape,' and mingling so complacently with 'that polluted caste.' But this proved what I had before heard, that so great a god is this, that the dignity of high caste disappears before him. This great king recognises no distinction of rank among his subjects, all men are equal in his presence.

Juggernaut, 21st June, 1806.

"The idolatrous processions continue for some days longer, but my spirits are so exhausted by the constant view of these enormities, that I mean to hasten away from this place sooner than I at first intended. I beheld another distressing scene this morning at the Place of Skulls; a poor woman lying dead, or nearly dead, and her two children by her, looking at the dogs and vultures which were near. The people passed by without noticing the children. I asked them where was their home. They said 'they had no home but where their mother was.'—O, there is no pity at Juggernaut! no mercy, no tenderness of heart in Moloch's kingdom! Those who support his kingdom, err, I trust, from ignorance: 'they know not what they do.'

"As to the number of worshippers assembled here at this time, no accurate calculation can be made. The natives themselves, when speaking of the numbers at particular festivals, usually say, that a lack of people (100,000) would not be missed. I asked a Brahmin how many he supposed were present at the most numerous festival he had ever witnessed. 'How can I tell,' said he, 'how many grains there a in a handful of sand?'

"The languages spoken here are various, as there are Hindoos from every country in India: but the two chief languages in use by those who are resident, are the Orissa and the Telinga. The border of the Telinga country is only a few miles distant from the tower of Juggernaut.

Chilka Lake, 24th June.

"—I felt my mind relieved and happy, when I had passed beyond the confines of Juggernaut. I certainly was not prepared for the scene: but no one can know what it is who has not seen it. From an eminence on the pleasant banks of the Chilka Lake (where no human bones are seen), I had a view of the lofty tower of Juggernaut far remote; and while I viewed it, its abominations came to mind. It was on the morning of the Sabbath. Ruminating long on the wide and extended empire of Moloch in the heathen world, I cherished in my thoughts the design of some Christian Institution, which, being fostered by Britain, my Christian country, might gradually undermine this baleful idolatry, and put out the memory of it for ever."

Annual Expenses of the Idol Juggernaut, presented to the English Government.

[Extracted from the official accounts.]

		Rupees.	*£ sterling.*
1.	Expenses attending the table of the idol	36,115 or	4,514
2.	Ditto of his dress or wearing apparel .	2,712 ..	339
3.	Ditto of the wages of his servants....	10,057 ..	1,259
4.	Ditto of contingent expenses at the different seasons of pilgrimage.....	10,989 ..	1,373
5.	Ditto of his elephants and horses	3,030 ..	378
6.	Ditto of his rutt or annual state carriage	6,713 ..	839
		Rupees 69,616	£8,702

"In item third, 'wages of his servants,' are included the wages of the *courtesans*, who are kept for the service of the temple.

"Item sixth, what is here called in the official account 'the state carriage,' is the same as the car or tower. Mr. Hunter informed me that the three state carriages were decorated this year (in June 1806) with upwards of 200*l.* sterling worth of English broad cloth.

"Of the rites celebrated in the interior of Juggernaut, called the *daily service*, I can say nothing of my own knowledge, not having been within the temple."

Account of the Syrian Christians in India. From the same.

"The Syrian Christians inhabit the interior of Travancore and Malabar, in the south of India, and have been settled there from the early ages of Christianity.

The first notices of this ancient people in recent times are to be found in the Portuguese histories. When Vasco de Gama arrived at Cochin on the coast of Malabar, in the year 1503, he saw the sceptre of the Christian king; for the Syrian Christians had formerly regal power in Malay-Ala. The name or title of their last king was Beliarte; and he dying without issue, the dominion devolved on the king of Cochin and Diamper.

"When the Portuguese arrived, they were agreeably surprised to find upwards of a hundred Christian churches on the coast of Malabar. But when they became acquainted with the purity and simplicity of their worship, they were offended. 'These churches,' said the Portuguese, 'belong to the Pope.' 'Who is the Pope?' said the natives, 'we never heard of him.' The European priests were yet more alarmed, when they found that these Hindoo Christians maintained the order and discipline of a regular Church under episcopal jurisdiction: and that, for 1300 years past, they had enjoyed a succession of bishops appointed by the Patriarch of Antioch. 'We,' said they, 'are of the true faith, whatever you from the west may be; for we come from the place where the followers of Christ were first called Christians.'

"When the power of the Portuguese became sufficient for their purpose, they invaded these tranquil churches, seized some of the clergy, and devoted them to the death of heretics. Then the inhabitants heard for the first time that there was a place called the *Inquisition*; and that its fires had been lately lighted at Goa, near their own land. But the Portuguese, finding that the people were resolute in defending their ancient faith, began to try more conciliatory measures. They seized the Syrian bishop, Mar Joseph, and sent him prisoner to Lisbon, and then convened a synod at one of the Syrian churches called Diamper, near Cochin, at which the Romish Archbishop Menezes presided. At this compulsory synod one hundred and fifty of the Syrian clergy appeared. They were accused of the following practices and opinions:—'That they had married wives; that they owned but two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper; that they neither invoked saints, nor worshipped images, nor believed in purgatory: and that they had no other orders or names of dignity in the Church, than bishop, priest, and deacon.' These tenets they were called on to abjure, or to suffer suspension from all Church benefices. It was also decreed that all the Syrian books on ecclesiastical subjects that could be found, should be burned; 'in order,' said the inquisitors, 'that no pretended apostolical monuments may remain.'

"The churches on the sea-coast were thus compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope; but they refused to pray in Latin, and insisted on retaining their own language and liturgy. This point they said they would only give up with their lives. The Pope compromised with them: Menezes purged their liturgy of its errors; and they retain their Syriac language, and have a Syriac college unto this day. These are called Syro-

Roman churches, and are principally situated on the sea-coast.

"The churches in the interior would not yield to Rome. After a show of submission for a little while, they proclaimed eternal war against the Inquisition; they hid their books, fled to the mountains, and sought the protection of the native princes, who had always been proud of their alliance.

"Two centuries had elapsed without any particular information concerning the Syrian Christians in Malay-ala. It was doubted by many whether they existed at all; but if they did exist, it was thought probable that they must possess some interesting documents of Christian antiquity. The author conceived the design of visiting them, if practicable, in his tour through Hindostan. He presented a short memoir on the subject, in 1805, to Marquis Wellesley, then governor-general of India; who was pleased to give orders that every facility should be afforded to him in the prosecution of his inquiries. About a year after that nobleman had left India, the author proceeded on his tour. It was necessary that he should visit first the court of the Rajah Travancore, in whose dominions the Syrian Christians resided, that he might obtain permission to pass to their country. The two chief objects which he proposed to himself in exploring the state of this ancient people, were these:—First, to investigate their literature and history, and to collect biblical manuscripts. Secondly, if he should find them to be an intelligent people, and well acquainted with the Syriac Scriptures, to endeavour to make them instruments of illuminating the southern part of India, by engaging them in translating their Scriptures into the native languages. He had reason to believe that this had not yet been done; and he was prepared not to wonder at the delay, when he reflected how long it was before his own countrymen began to think it their duty to make versions of the Scriptures, for the use of other nations.

Palace of Travancore,
19th Oct. 1806.

"I have now been a week at the Palace of Trivanduram, where the Rajah resides. A letter of introduction from lieutenant-colonel Macaulay, the British resident at Travancore, procured me a proper reception. At my first audience his Highness was very inquisitive as to the objects of my journey. As I had servants with me of different casts and languages, it was very easy for the Brahmins to discover every particular they might wish to know, in regard to my profession, pursuits, and manner of life. When I told the Rajah that the Syrian Christians were supposed to be of the same religion with the English, he said, he thought that could not be the case, else he must have heard it before; if, however, it was so, he considered my desire to visit them as being very reasonable. I assured his highness that their *Shaster* and ours was the same; and shewed him a Syriac New Testament which I had at hand. The book being bound and gilt after the European manner, the Rajah shook his head, and said he was sure there was

not a native in his dominions who could read that book. I observed that this would be proved in a few days. The Dewan (or Prime Minister) thought the character something like what he had seen sometimes in the houses of the *Sooriani*. The Rajah said he would afford me every facility for my journey in his power. He put an emerald ring on my finger, as a mark of his friendship, and to secure me respect in passing through his country; and he directed his Dewan to send proper persons with me as guides.

"I requested that the Rajah would be pleased to present a catalogue of all the Hindoo manuscripts in the temples of Travancore to the College of Fort William in Bengal. The Brahmins were very averse to this; but when I shewed the Rajah the catalogues of the books in the temples of Tanjore, given by the Rajah of Tanjore, and of those of the temple of Ramisseram, given me by order of the Rannie (or Queen) of Ramnad, he desired it might be done: and orders have been sent to the Hindoo college of Trichoor for that purpose.

Chinganoor, a Church of the Syrian Christians, Nov. 10, 1806.

"From the palace of Travancore I proceeded to Mavely-car, and thence to the hills at the bottom of the high Ghauts which divide the Carnatic from Malayala. The face of the country in general, in the vicinity of the mountains, exhibits a varied scene of hill and dale, and winding streams. These streams fall from the mountains, and preserve the vallies in perpetual verdure. The woods produce pepper, cardamoms, and cassia, or common cinnamon; also frankincense and other aromatic gums. What adds much to the grandeur of the scenery in this country is, that the adjacent mountains of Travancore are not *barren*, but are covered with forests of *teak* wood (the Indian oak) producing, it is said, the largest timber in the world.

"The first view of the Christian churches in this sequestered region of Hindostan, connected with the idea of their tranquil duration for so many ages, cannot fail to excite pleasing emotions in the mind of the beholder. The form of the oldest buildings is not unlike that of some of the old parish churches in England; the style of building in both being of Saracenic origin. They have sloping roofs, pointed arch windows, and buttresses supporting the walls. The beams of the roof, being exposed to view, are ornamented; and the ceiling of the choir and altar is circular and fretted. In the cathedral churches the shrines of the deceased bishops are placed on each side of the altar. Most of the churches are built of a reddish stone, squared and polished at the quarry; and are of durable construction. The bells of the churches are cast in the founderies of the country: some of them are of large dimensions, and have inscriptions in Syriac and Malayalim. In approaching a town in the evening, I once heard the sound of the bells among the hills; a circumstance which made me forget for a moment that I was in Hindostan, and reminded me of another country.

The first Syrian Church which I saw was at Maveley-car; but the Syrians here are in the vicinity of the Romish Christians, and are not so simple in their manners as those nearer the mountains. They had often been visited by Romish emissaries in former times: and they at first suspected that I belonged to that communion. They had heard of the English, but strangely supposed that they belonged to the Church of the Pope in the west. They had been so little accustomed to see a friend, that they could not believe that I was come with any friendly purpose. Added to this, I had some discussions with a most intelligent priest, in regard to the original language of the Four Gospels, which he maintained to be Syriac; and they suspected, from the complexion of my argument, that I wished to weaken the evidences for their antiquity. Soon, however, the gloom and suspicion subsided; they gave me the right hand of fellowship, in the primitive manner; and one of their number was deputed to accompany me to the churches in the interior.

"When we were approaching the church of Chinganoor, we met one of the *Cassanars*, or Syrian clergy. He was dressed in a white loose vestment with a cap of red silk hanging down behind. Being informed who he was, I said to him in the Syriac language, 'Peace be unto you.' He was surprised at the salutation, but immediately answered, 'The God of peace be with you.' He accosted the Rajah's servants in the language of the country to know who I was; and immediately returned to the village to announce our approach. When we arrived, I was received at the door of the church by three *Kasheeshas*, that is, presbyters, or priests, who were habited in like manner, in white vestments. Their names were Jesu, Zecharias, and Urias, which they wrote down in my journal, each of them adding to his name the title of *Kasheesha*. There were also present two *Shumshanas*, or deacons. The elder priest was a very intelligent man, of reverend appearance, having a long white beard, and of an affable and engaging deportment. The three principal Christians, or lay elders, belonging to the church, were named Abraham, Thoma, and Alexandros. After some conversation with my attendants, they received me with confidence and affection; and the people of the neighbouring villages came round, women as well as men. The sight of the women assured me that I was once more (after a long absence from England) in a Christian country: for the Hindoo women, and the Mahomedan women, and, in short, all women who are not Christians, are accounted by the men an inferior race; and, in general, are confined to the house for life, like irrational creatures. In every countenance now before me I thought I could discover the intelligence of Christianity. But at the same time I perceived, all around, symptoms of poverty and political depression. In the churches, and in the people, there was the air of fallen greatness. I said to the senior priest, 'You appear to me like a people who have known better

days.' 'It is even so,' said he. 'We are in a degenerate state compared with our forefathers.' He noticed, that there were two causes of their present decay.—About three hundred years ago, an enemy came from the west, bearing the name of Christ, but armed with the inquisition: and compelled us to seek the protection of the native princes; and the native princes have kept us in a state of depression ever since. They indeed recognize our ancient personal privileges, for we rank in general next to the *Nairs*, the nobility of the country; but they have encroached by degrees on our property, till we have been reduced to the humble state in which you find us. The glory of our church has passed away; but we hope your nation will revive it again.' I observed that 'the glory of a church could never die, if it preserved the Bible.' 'We have preserved the Bible,' said he; 'the Hindoo Princes never touched our liberty of conscience. We were formerly on a footing with them in political power; and they respect our religion. We have also converts from time to time; but in this Christian duty we are not so active as we once were; besides, it is not so creditable now to become Christian, in our low estate.' He then pointed out to me a Namboory Brahmin (that is, a Brahmin of the highest cast) who had lately become a Christian, and assumed the white vestment of a Syrian priest. 'The learning too of the Bible,' he added, 'is in a low state amongst us. Our copies are few in number; and that number is diminishing instead of increasing; and the writing out a whole copy of Sacred Scriptures is a great labour, where there is no profit and little piety.' I then produced a printed copy of the Syriac New Testament. There was not one of them who had ever seen a printed copy before. They admired it much; and every priest, as it came into his hands, began to read a portion, which he did fluently, while the women came round to hear. I asked the old priest whether I should send them some copies from Europe. 'They would be worth their weight in silver,' said he. He asked me whether the Old Testament was printed in Syriac, as well as the New. I told him it was, but I had not a copy. They professed an earnest desire to obtain some copies of the *whole* Syriac Bible; and asked whether it would be practicable to obtain one copy for every church. 'I must confess to you,' said Zecharias, 'that we have very few copies of the *Prophetical* Scriptures in the church. Our church languishes for want of the Scriptures.' But he added, 'the language that is most in use among the people is the Malayalim (or Malabar) the vernacular language of the country. The Syriac is now only the learned language, and the language of the church: but we generally expound the Scriptures to the people in the vernacular tongue.'

"I then entered on the subject of the translation of the Scriptures. He said, 'a version could be made with critical accuracy; for there were many of the Syrian clergy who were perfect masters of both languages, having spoken them from their infancy. But,'

said he, 'our bishop will rejoice to see you, and to discourse with you on this and other subjects.' I told them that if a translation could be prepared, I should be able to get it printed, and to distribute copies among their fifty-five churches at a small price. 'That indeed would give joy,' said old Abraham. There was here a murmur of satisfaction among the people. 'If I understand you right,' said I, 'the greatest blessing the English church can bestow upon you is the Bible.' 'It is so,' said he. 'And what is the next greatest,' said I. 'Some freedom and personal consequence as a people.' By which he meant political liberty. 'We are here in bondage, like Israel in Egypt.' I observed that the English nation would doubtless recognize a nation of fellow Christians; and would be happy to interest itself in their behalf, as far as our political relation with the prince of the country would permit. They wished to know what were the principles of the English government, civil and religious. I answered, that our government might be said to be founded generally on the principles of the Bible. 'Ah,' said old Zecharias, 'that must be a glorious government, which is founded on the principles of the Bible,' The priests then desired I would give them some account of the history of the English nation, and of our secession from their enemy, the church of Rome. And in return, I requested they would give me some account of their history.—My communications with the Syrians are rendered very easy, by means of an interpreter whom I brought with me all the way from the Tanjore country. He is an Hindoo by descent, but is an intelligent Christian, and was a pupil and catechist of the late Mr. Swartz. The Rev. Mr. Kolhoff recommended him to me. He formerly lived in Travancore, and is well acquainted with the vernacular tongue. He also reads and writes English pretty well, and is as much interested in favour of the Syrian Christians as I myself. Besides Mr. Swartz's catechist, there are two natives of Travancore here, who speak the Hindostanee language, which is familiar to me. My knowledge of the Syriac is sufficient to refer to texts of Scripture; but I do not well understand the pronunciation of the Syrians. I hope to be better acquainted with their language before I leave the country.

Ranniel, a Syrian Church, Nov. 12th, 1806.

"This church is built upon a rocky hill on the banks of the river; and is the most remote of all the churches in this quarter. The two *Kasheehas* here are Lucas and Mattai (Luke and Matthew.) The chief lay members are Abraham, Georgius, Thoma, and Philippus. Some of the priests accompany me from church to church. I have now visited eight churches, and scarcely believe that I am in the land of the Hindoos; only that I now and then see a Hindoo temple on the banks of the river. I observed that the bells of most of the churches are within the building, and not in a tower. The reason they said was this: when a Hindoo temple happens to be near a church, the

Hindoos do not like the bell to sound loud, for they say it frightens their god.—I perceive that the Syrian Christians assimilate much to the Hindoos in the practice of frequent ablutions for health and cleanliness, and in the use of vegetables and light food.

"I attended divine service on the Sunday. Their liturgy is that which was formerly used in the churches of the Patriarch of Antioch. During the prayers, there were intervals of silence; the priests praying in a low voice, and every man praying for himself. These silent intervals add much to the solemnity and appearance of devotion. They use incense in the churches, it grows in the woods around them, and contributes much, they say, to health, and to the warmth and comfort of the church during the cold and rainy season of the year. At the conclusion of the service, a ceremony takes place, which pleased me much. The priest (or bishop, if he be present) comes forward, and all the people pass by him as they go out, receiving his benediction individually. If any man has been guilty of any immorality, he does not receive the blessing; and this, in their primitive and patriarchal state, is accounted a severe punishment. —Instruction by preaching is little in use among them now. Many of the old men lamented the decay of piety, and religious knowledge; and spoke with pleasure of the record of ancient times. They have some ceremonies nearly allied to those of the Greek church. Here, as in all churches in a state of decline, there is too much formality in the worship. But they have the Bible and a scriptural Liturgy; and these will save a Church in the worst of times. These may preserve the spark and life of religion, though the flame be out. And as there were but few copies of the Bible among the Syrians, (for every copy was transcribed with the pen) it is highly probable that, if they had not enjoyed the advantage of the daily prayers, and daily portions of Scripture in their Liturgy, there would have been in the revolution of ages, no vestige of Christianity left among them.

"The doctrines of the Syrian Christians are few in number, but pure, and agree in essential points with those of the Church of England: so that, although the body of the Church appears to be ignorant, and formal, and dead, there are individuals who are alive to righteousness, who are distinguished from the rest by their purity of life, and are sometimes censured for too rigid a piety.

"The following are the chief doctrines of this ancient Church:

"1. They hold the doctrine of a vicarious Atonement for the sins of men, by the blood and merits of Christ, and of the justification of the soul before God, 'by faith alone,' in that atonement.

"2. They maintain the Regeneration, or new birth of the soul to righteousness, by the influence of the Spirit of God, which change is called in their books, from the Greek, the Meta-Noia, or change of mind.

"3. In regard to the Trinity, the creed of the Syrian Christians accords with that of St. Athanasius, but without the damnatory clauses. In a written and official

communication to the English Resident of Travancore, the metropolitan states it to be as follows:

'We believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons in one God, neither confounding the persons nor dividing the substance, one in three, and three in one. The Father generator, the Son generated, and the Holy Ghost proceeding. None is before or after the other; in majesty, honour, might, and power coequal; Unity in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity. He then proceeds to disclaim the different errors of Arius, Sabellius, Macedonius, Manes, Marcianus, Julianus, Nestorius, and the Chalcedonians; and concludes, 'That in the appointed time, through the disposition of the Father and the Holy Ghost, the Son appeared on earth, for the salvation of mankind; that he was born of the Virgin Mary, through the means of the Holy Ghost, and was incarnate God and man.'

"In every church, and in many of the private houses, here are manuscripts in the Syriac language: and I have been successful in procuring some old and valuable copies of the Scriptures and other books, written in different ages and in different characters.'

"*Cande-nad, a church of the Syrian Christians, November 23*, 1806.

"This is the residence of Mar Dionysius, the Metropolitan of the Syrian Church. A number of the priests from the other churches had assembled by desire of the bishop, before my arrival. The bishop resides in a building attached to the church. I was much struck with his first appearance. He was drest in a vestment of dark red silk; a large golden cross hung from his neck, and his venerable beard reached below his girdle. Such, thought I, was the appearance of Chrysostom in the fourth century. On public occasions, he wears the episcopal mitre; a muslin robe is thrown over his under garment; and in his hand he bears the crosier, or pastoral staff.—He is a man of highly respectable character in his church, eminent for his piety, and for the attention he devotes to his sacred functions. I found him to be far superior in general learning to any of his clergy whom I had yet seen. He told me that all my conversations with his priests since my arrival in the country had been communicated to him. 'You have come,' said he, 'to visit a declining church, and I am now an old man: but the hopes of its seeing better days cheers my old age, though I may not live to see them.'—I submitted to the bishop my wishes in regard to the translation and printing of the Holy Scriptures. 'I have already fully considered the subject,' said he, 'and have determined to superintend the work myself, and to call the most learned of my clergy to my aid. It is a work which will illuminate these dark regions, and God will give it his blessing.' I was much pleased when I heard this pious resolution of the venerable man; for I had now ascertained that there are upwards of 200,000 Christians in the South of India, besides the Syrians, who speak the Malabar language.—

The next subject of importance in my mind, was the collection of useful manuscripts in the Chaldaic and Syriac languages; and the bishop was pleased to say that he would assist my inquiries and add to my collection. He descanted with great satisfaction on the hope of seeing printed Syriac Bibles from England; and said they would be 'a treasure to his church.'

"*Cande-nad, 24th Nov.* 1806.

"Since my coming amongst this people, I had cherished the hope that they might be one day united with the Church of England. When I reflected on the immense power of the Romish Church in India, and on our inability to withstand its influence, alone, it appeared to be an object of great consequence to secure the aid and co-operation of the Syrian Church, and the sanction of its antiquity in the East. I thought it might be serviceable, at least to lay such a foundation by the discussion of the subject, as our church might act upon hereafter, if it should think it expedient. I was afraid to mention the subject to the bishop at our first interview; but he himself intimated that he would be glad if I would communicate freely upon it with two of his clergy. I had hitherto observed somewhat of a reserve in those with whom I had conversed on this matter: and now the cause was explained. The bishop's chaplains confessed to me that they had doubts as to the purity of English ordination. 'The English,' said they, 'may be a warlike and great people; but their church, by your own account, is but of a recent origin. Whence do you derive your ordination?' 'From Rome.' 'You derive it from a church which is our ancient enemy, and with which we would never unite.'—They acknowledged that there might be salvation in every church where 'the name of Christ was named;' but in the question of an union, it was to be considered that they had existed a pure church of Christ from the earliest ages; that if there was such a thing in the world as ordination by the laying on of hands, in succession from the Apostles, it was probable that they possessed it; that there was no record of history or tradition to impeach their claim. I observed that there was reason to believe that the same ordination had descended from the Apostles, to the Church of Rome. 'It might be so: but that church had departed from the faith.' I answered that the impurity of the channel had not corrupted the ordinance itself, or invalidated the legitimacy of the imposition of hands; any more than the wickedness of a high priest in Israel could disqualify his successors. The Church of England assumed that she derived apostolical ordination *through* the Church of Rome, as she might have derived it *through* the Church of Antioch. I did not consider that the Church of England was entitled to reckon her ordination to be higher or more sacred than that of the Syrian Church. This was the point upon which they wished me to be explicit. They expected that in any official negotiation on this subject, the antiquity and purity of Syrian ordination should be expressly admitted.

"Our conversation was reported to the bishop. He wished me to state the advantages of an union. One advantage would be, I observed, that English clergymen, or rather missionaries ordained by the Church of England, might be permitted hereafter to preach in the numerous churches of the Syrians in India, and aid them in the promulgation of pure religion, against the preponderating and increasing influence of the Romish Church; and again, that ordination by the Syrian bishop might qualify for preaching in the English churches in India; for we had an immense empire in Hindostan, but few preachers: and of these few scarcely any could preach in the native languages. The bishop said, 'I would sacrifice much for such an union: only let me not be called to compromise any thing of the dignity and purity of our church.' I told him, we did not wish to degrade, we would rather protect and defend it. All must confess it was Christ's church in the midst of a heathen land. The Church of England would be happy to promote its welfare, to revive its spirit, and to use it as an instrument of future good in the midst of her own empire. I took this occasion to observe that there were some rites and practices in the Syrian Church, which our church might consider objectionable or nugatory. The bishop confessed that some customs had been introduced during their decline in the latter centuries, which had no necessary connection with the constitution of the church, and might be removed without inconvenience. He asked whether I had authority from my own church to make any proposition to him. I answered that I had not: that my own church scarcely knew that the Syrian Church existed: but I could anticipate the wishes and purposes of good men. He thought it strange that there was no bishop in India to superintend so large an empire; and said he did not perfectly comprehend our ecclesiastical principles. I told him that we had sent bishops to other countries; but that our Indian empire was yet in its infancy. Next day, the bishop, after conferring with his clergy on the subject, returned an answer in writing to the following effect: 'That an union with the English Church, or, at least, such a connection as should appear to both churches practicable and expedient, would be a happy event, and favourable to the advancement of religion in India.' In making this communication, he used his official designation, 'Mar Dionysius, Metropolitan of Malibar.' I asked the bishop if he would permit two of the young Cassanars to go to England to finish their education, and then return to India. He said he should be very happy to give his permission, if any should be found who were willing to go. I have accordingly made the offer to two youths of good abilities, who are well skilled in the Syriac language."

Account of the Inquisition at Goa. From the same.

"*Goa; Convent of the Augustinians, Jan.* 23, 1808.

"On my arrival at Goa, I was

received into the house of Captain Schuyler, the British Resident. The British force here is commanded bp Colonel Adams, of his Majesty's 78th Regiment, with whom I was formerly well acquainted in Bengal. Next day I was introduced by these gentlemen to the Vice-Roy of Goa, the Count de Cabral. I intimated to his Excellency my wish to sail up the river to Old Goa, (where the Inquisition is,) to which he politely acceded. Major Pareira of the Portuguese establishment, who was present, and to whom I had letters of introduction from Bengal, offered to accompany me to the city, and to introduce me to the Archbishop of Goa, the Primate of the Orient.

"I had communicated to Colonel Adams, and to the British Resident, my purpose of enquiring into the state of the Inquisition. These gentlemen informed me, that I should not be able to accomplish my design without difficulty; since every thing relating to the Inquisition was conducted in a very secret manner, the most respectable of the lay Portuguese themselves being ignorant of its proceedings; and that, if the priests were to discover my object, their excessive jealousy and alarm would prevent their communicating with me, or satisfying my inquiries on any subject.

"On receiving this intelligence, I perceived that it would be necessary to proceed with caution. I was, in fact, about to visit a republic of priests; whose dominion had existed for nearly three centuries; whose province it was to prosecute heretics, and particularly the teachers of heresy; and from whose authority and sentence there was no appeal in India.

"It happened that Lieutenant Kempthorne, commander of his Majesty's brig Diana, a distant connection of my own, was at this time in the harbour. On his learning that I meant to visit Old Goa, he offered to accompany me; as did Captain Stirling, of his Majesty'y 84th regiment, which is now stationed at the forts.

"We proceeded up the river in the British Resident's barge accompanied by Major Pareira, who was well qualified by a thirty years residence to give information concerning local circumstances. From him I learned that there were upwards of two hundred churches and chapels in the province of Goa, and upwards of two thousand priests.

"On our arrival at the city, it was past twelve o'clock: all the churches were shut, and we were told that they would not be opened again till two o'clock. I mentioned to Major Pareira, that I intended to stay at Old Goa some days; and that I should be obliged to him to find me a place to sleep in. He seemed surprised at this intimation, and observed that it would be difficult for me to obtain reception in any of the churches or convents, and that there were no private houses into which I could be admitted. I said I could sleep any where; I had two servants with me, and a travelling bed. When he perceived that I was serious in my purpose, he gave directions to a civil officer to clear out a room in a building which had been long uninha-

bited, and which was then used as a warehouse for goods. Matters at this time presented a very gloomy appearance; and I had thoughts of returning with my companions from this inhospitable place. In the mean time we sat down in the room I have just mentioned, to take some refreshment, while Major Pareira went to call on some of his friends. During this interval, I communicated to Lieutenant Kempthorne the object of my visit. I had in my pocket 'Dellon's Account of the Inquisition at Goa;' and I mentioned some particulars. While we were conversing on the subject, the great bell began to toll; the same which Dellon observes always tolls, before day-light, on the morning of the Auto da Fè. I did not myself ask any questions of the people concerning the Inquisition; but Mr. Kempthorne made inquiries for me: and he soon found out that the Santa Casa, or holy office, was close to the house where we were then sitting. The gentlemen went to the window to view the horrid mansion; and I could see the indignation of free and enlightened men arise in the countenance of the two British officers, while they contemplated a place where formerly their own countrymen were condemned to the flames, and into which they themselves might now suddenly be thrown, without the possibility of rescue.

"At two o'clock we went out to view the churches, which were now open for the afternoon service; for there are regular daily masses; and the bells began to assail the ear in every quarter.

"The magnificence of the churches of Goa far exceeded any idea I had formed from the previous description. Goa is properly a city of churches; and the wealth of provinces seems to have been expended in their erection. The ancient specimens of architecture at this place far excel any thing that has been attempted in modern times in any other part of the east, both in grandeur and in taste. The chapel of the palace is built after the plan of St. Peter's at Rome, and is said to be an accurate model of that paragon of architecture. The church of St. Dominic, the founder of the Inquisition, is decorated with paintings of Italian masters. St. Francis Xavier lies enshrined in a monument of exquisite art, and his coffin is enchased with silver and precious stones. The cathedral of Goa is worthy of one of the principal cities of Europe! and the church and convent of the Augustines (in which I now reside) is a noble pile of building, situated on an eminence, and has a magnificent appearance from afar.

"But what a contrast to all this grandeur of the churches is the worship offered within! I have been present at the service in one or other of the chapels every day since I arrived; and I seldom see a single worshipper but the ecclesiastics. Two rows of native priests, kneeling in order before the altar, clothed in coarse black garments, of sickly appearance, and vacant countenance, perform here, from day to day, their laborious masses, seemingly unconscious of any other duty or obligation of life,

"The day was now far spent,

and my companions were about to leave me. While I was considering whether I should return with them, Major Pareira, said he would first introduce me to a priest, high in office, and one of the most learned men in the place. We accordingly walked to the convent of the Augustinians, where I was presented to Joseph a Doloribus, a man well advanced in life, of pale visage, and penetrating eye, rather of a reverend appearance, and possessing great fluency of speech and urbanity of manners. At first sight he presented the aspect of one of those acute and prudent men of the world, the learned and respectable Italian Jesuits, some of whom are yet found, since the demolition of their order, reposing in tranquil obscurity, in different parts of the east. After half an hour's conversation in the Latin language, during which he adverted rapidly to a variety of subjects, and enquired concerning some learned men of his own church, whom I had visited in my tour, he politely invited me to take up my residence with him, during my stay at Old Goa. I was highly gratified by this unexpected invitation; but Lieutenant Kempthorne did not approve of leaving me in the hands of the Inquisitor. For judge of our surprise, when we discovered that my learned host was one of the inquisitors of the holy office, the second member of that august tribunal in rank, but the first and most active agent in the business of the department. Apartments were assigned to me in the college adjoining the convent, next to the rooms of the Inquisitor himself; and here I have been now four days at the very fountain head of information, in regard to those subjects which I wished to investigate. I breakfast and dine with the Inquisitor almost every day, and he generally passes his evenings in my apartment. As he considers my enquiries to be chiefly of a literary nature, he is perfectly candid and communicative on all subjects.

"Next day after my arrival, I was introduced by my learned conductor to the Archbishop of Goa. We found him reading the Latin letters of St. Francis Xavier. On my adverting to the long duration of the city of Goa, while other cities of Europeans in India had suffered from war or revolution, the Archbishop observed, that the preservation of Goa, was owing to the prayers of St. Francis Xavier. The Inquisitor looked at me to see what I thought of this sentiment. I acknowledged that Xavier was considered by the learned among the English to have been a great man: what he wrote himself, bespeaks him a man of learning, of original genius, and great fortitude of mind; but what others have written for him and of him, tarnished his fame, by making him the inventor of fables. The Archbishop signified his assent. He afterwards conducted me into his private chapel, which is decorated with images of silver, and then into the archiepiscopal library, which possesses a valuable collection of books. As I passed through our convent, in returning from the archbishop's, I observed among the paintings in the cloisters, a portrait of the famous Alexis de Menexes, Archbishop of Goa, who held the synod of

Diamper near Cochin in 1599, and burned the books of the Syrian Christians. From the inscription underneath I learned that he was the founder of the magnificent church and convent in which I am now residing.

"On the same day I received an invitation to dine with the chief inquisitor, at his house in the country. The second Inquisitor accompanied me, and we found a respectable company of priests, and a sumptuous entertainment. In the library of the chief Inquisitor I saw a register, containing the present establishment of the inquisition at Goa, and the names of all the officers. On my asking the chief Inquisitor whether the establishment was as extensive as formerly, he said it was nearly the same. I had hitherto said little to any person concerning the Inquisition, but I had indirectly gleaned much information concerning it, not only from the Inquisitors themselves, but from certain priests, whom I visited at their respective convents: particularly from a father in the Franciscan Convent, who had himself repeatedly witnessed an Auto da Fé.

"*Goa, Augustinian Convent, 26th Jan.* 1808.

"On Sunday, after divine service, which I attended, we looked over together the prayers and portions of Scripture for the day, which led to a discussion concerning some of the doctrines of Christianity. We then read the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, in the Latin Vulgate. I asked the Inquisitor whether he believed in the influence of the Spirit there spoken of. He distinctly admitted it; conjointly, however, he thought, in some obscure sense, with water. I observed, that water was merely an emblem of the purifying effects of the Spirit, and could be but an emblem. We next adverted to the expression of St. John in his first Epistle: 'This is he that came by water and blood: even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood:'—blood to atone for sin, and water to purify the heart; justification and sanctification; both of which were expressed at the same moment on the cross. The Inquisitor was pleased with the subject. By an easy transition we passed to the importance of the Bible itself, to illuminate the priests and people. I noticed to him that after looking through the colleges and schools, there appeared to me to be a total eclipse of scriptural light. He acknowledged that religion and learning were truly in a degraded state. I had visited the theological schools, and at every place I expressed my surprise to the tutors, in presence of the pupils, at the absence of the Bible, and almost total want of reference to it. They pleaded the custom of the place, and the scarcity of copies of the book itself. Some of the younger priests came to me afterwards, desiring to know by what means they might procure copies. This inquiry for Bibles was like a ray of hope beaming on the walls of the Inquisition.

"I pass an hour sometimes in the spacious library of the Augustinian Convent, and think myself suddenly transported into one of the libraries of Cambridge. There are many rare volumes, but they

are chiefly theological, and almost all of the sixteenth century. There are few classics; and I have not yet seen one copy of the original Scriptures in Hebrew or Greek.

"*Goa, Augustinian Convent, 27th Jan.* 1808.

"On the second morning after my arrival, I was surprised by my host, the Inquisitor, coming into my apartment clothed in black robes from head to foot: for the usual dress of his order is white. He said he was going to sit on the tribunal of the Holy office. 'I presume, father, your august office does not occupy much of your time?' 'Yes,' answered he, 'much. I sit on the tribunal three or four days every week.'

"I had thought, for some days, of putting Dellon's book into the Inquisitor's hands; for if I could get him to advert to the facts stated in that book, I should be able to learn, by comparison, the exact state of the Inquisition at the present time. In the evening he came in, as usual, to pass an hour in my apartment. After some conversation I took the pen in my hand to write a few notes in my journal; and, as if to amuse him, while I was writing, I took up Dellon's book, which was lying with some others on the table, and handing it across to him, asked him whether he had ever seen it. It was in the French language, which he understood well. 'Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa,' pronounced he, with a slow articulate voice. He had never seen it before, and began to read with eagerness. He had not proceeded far, before he betrayed evident symptoms of uneasiness. He turned hastily to the middle of the book, and then to the end, and then ran over the table of contents at the beginning, as if to ascertain the full extent of the evil. He then composed himself to read, while I continued to write. He turned over the pages with rapidity, and when he came to a certain place, he exclaimed, in the broad Italian accent, 'Mendacium, Mendacium.' I requested he would mark those passages which were untrue, and we should discuss them afterwards, for that I had other books on the subject. 'Other books,' said he, and he looked with an inquiring eye on those on the table. He continued reading till it was time to retire to rest, and then begged to take the book with him.

"It was on this night that a circumstance happened which caused my first alarm at Goa. My servants slept every night at my chamber door, in the long gallery, which is common to all the apartments, and not far distant from the servants of the convent. About midnight I was waked by loud shrieks and expressions of terror, from some person in the gallery. In the first moment of surprise I concluded it must be the Alguazils of the holy office, seizing my servants to carry them to the Inquisition. But, on going out, I saw my own servants standing at the door, and the person who caused the alarm (a boy of about fourteen) at a little distance, surrounded by some of the priests, who had come out of their cells on hearing the noise. The boy said he had seen a spectre, and it was a considerable time before the agitations of his body

and voice subsided. Next morning at breakfast the Inquisitor apologized for the disturbance, and said the boy's alarm proceeded from a 'phantasma animi,' a phantasm of the imagination.

"After breakfast we resumed the subject of the Inquisition. The Inquisitor admitted that Dellon's descriptions of the dungeons, of the torture, of the mode of trial, and of the Auto da Fè were, in general, just; but he said the writer judged untruly of the motives of the Inquisitors, and very uncharitably of the character of the holy church; and I admitted that, under the pressure of his peculiar suffering, this might possibly be the case. The Inquisitor was now anxious to know to what extent Dillon's book had been circulated in Europe. I told him that Picart had published to the world extracts from it, in his celebrated work called "Religious Ceremonies, together with plates of the system of torture and burning at the Auto da Fè. I added, that it was now generally believed in Europe that these enormities no longer existed, and that the Inquisition itself had been totally suppressed; but that I was concerned to find that this was not the case. He now began a grave narration to shew that the Inquisition had undergone a change in some respects, and that its terrors were mitigated.

"I had already discovered, from written or printed documents, that the Inquisition of Goa was suppressed by royal edict in the year 1775, and established again in 1799. The Franciscan father, before mentioned, witnessed the annual Auto da Fè, from 1770, to 1775. 'It was the humanity and tender mercy of a good king,' said the old father, 'which abolished the Inquisition.' But immediately on his death, the power of the priests acquired the ascendant, under the Queen Dowager, and the tribunal was re-established, after a bloodless interval of five years. It has continued in operation ever since. It was restored in 1779, subject to certain restrictions, the chief of which are the two following, 'That a greater number of witnesses should be required to convict a criminal than were before necessary;' and that the Auto da Fè should not be held publicly as before; but that the sentences of the tribunal should be executed privately, within the walls of the Inquisition.

"In this particular, the constitution of the new Inquisition is more reprehensible than that of the old one; for as the old father expressed it, 'Nunc sigillum non revelat Inquisito.'—Formerly the friends of those unfortunate persons who were thrown into its prison, had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing them once a year walking in the procession of the Auto da Fè; or if they were condemned to die, they witnessed their death, and mourned for the dead. But now they have no means of learning for years whether they be dead or alive. The policy of this new mode of concealment appears to be this, to preserve the power of the Inquisition, and at the same time to lessen the public odium of its proceedings, in the presence of British dominion and civilization. I asked the father his opinion

concerning the nature and frequency of the punishments within the walls. He said he possessed no certain means of giving a satisfactory answer; that every thing transacted there was declared to be 'sacrum et secretum.' But this he knew to be true, that there were constantly captives in the dungeons; that some of them are liberated after long confinement, but that they never speak afterwards of what passed within the place. He added that, of all the persons he had known, who had been liberated, he never knew one who did not carry about with him what might be called 'the mark of the Inquisition;' that is to say, who did not shew in the solemnity of his countenance, or in his peculiar demeanor, or his terror of the priests, that he had been in that dreadful place.

"The chief argument of the Inquisitor to prove the melioration of the Inquisition was the superior humanity of the Inquisitors. I remarked that I did not doubt the humanity of the existing officers; but what availed humanity in an Inquisitor? he must pronounce sentence according to the laws of the tribunal, which are notorious enough; and a relapsed heretic must be burned in the flames, or confined for life in a dungeon, whether the Inquisitor be humane or not. 'But if,' said I, 'you would satisfy my mind completely on this subject, shew me the Inquisition.' He said it was not permitted to any person to see the Inquisition. I observed that mine might be considered as a peculiar case: that the character of the Inquisition, and the expediency of its longer continuance had been called in question; that I had myself written on the civilization of India, and might possibly publish something more upon that subject, and that it could not be expected that I should pass over the Inquisition without notice, knowing what I did of its proceedings; at the same time I should not wish to state a single fact without his authority, or at least his admission of its truth. I added that he himself had been pleased to communicate with me very fully on the subject, and that in all our discussions we had both been actuated, I hoped, by a good purpose. The countenance of the Inquisitor evidently altered on receiving this intimation, nor did it ever after wholly regain its wonted frankness and placidity. After some hesitation, however, he said he would take me with him to the Inquisition the next day.—I was a good deal surprised at this acquiescence of the Inquisitor, but I did not know what was in his mind.

"*Goa, Augustinian Convent, 28th January*, 1808.

"When I left the Forts to come up to the Inquisition, Colonel Adams desired me to write to him; and he added, half-way between jest and earnest, 'If I do not hear from you in three days, I shall march down the 78th and storm the Inquisition.' This I promised to do. But, having been so well entertained by the Inquisitor, I forgot my promise. Accordingly, on the day before yesterday, I was surprised by a visit from Major Braamcamp, Aid-de-Camp to his Excellency

the Vice-Roy, bearing a letter from Colonel Adams, and a message from the Vice-Roy, proposing that I should return every evening and sleep at the Forts, on account of the unhealthiness of Goa.

"This morning after breakfast my host went to dress for the holy office, and soon returned in his Inquisitorial robes. He said he would go half an hour before the usual time for the purpose of shewing me the Inquisition. I thought that his countenance was more severe than usual; and that his attendants were not so civil as before. The truth was, the midnight scene was still on my mind. The Inquisition is about a quarter of a mile distant from the convent, and we proceeded thither in our manjeels. On our arrival at the place, the Inquisitor said to me, as we were ascending the steps of the outer stair, that he hoped I should be satisfied with a transient view of the Inquisition, and that I would retire whenever he should desire it. I took this as a good omen, and followed my conductor with tolerable confidence.

"He led me first to the great hall of the Inquisition. We were met at the door by a number of well-dressed persons, who, I afterwards understood, were the familiars and attendants of the holy office. They bowed very low to the Inquisitor, and looked with surprise at me. The great hall is the place in which the prisoners are marshalled for the procession of the Auto da Fè. At the procession described by Dellon, in which he himself walked barefoot, clothed with the painted garment, there were upwards of one hundred and fifty prisoners. I traversed this hall for some time, with a slow step, reflecting on its former scenes, the Inquisitor walking by my side, in silence. I thought of the fate of the multitude of my fellow-creatures who had passed through this place, condemned by a tribunal of their fellow-sinners, their bodies devoted to the flames, and their souls to perdition. And I could not help saying to him, 'Would not the holy church wish, in her mercy, to have those souls back again, that she might allow them a little further probation?' The Inquisitor answered nothing, but beckoned me to go with him to a door at one end of the hall. By this door he conducted me to some small rooms, and thence to the spacious apartments of the chief Inquisitor. Having surveyed these he brought me back again to the great hall; and I thought he seemed now desirous that I should depart. 'Now, father,' said I, 'lead me to the dungeons below; I want to see the captives.'—'No,' said he, 'that cannot be.'—I now began to suspect that it had been in the mind of the Inquisitor, from the beginning, to shew me only a certain part of the Inquisition, in the hope of satisfying my enquiries in a general way. I urged him with earnestness, but he steadily resisted, and seemed to be offended, or rather agitated by my importunity. I intimated to him plainly, that the only way to do justice to his own assertions and arguments, regarding the present state of the Inquisition, was to shew me the prisons and the

captives. I should then describe only what I saw; but now the subject was left in awful obscurity.—'Lead me down,' said I, 'to the inner building, and let me pass through the two hundred dungeons, ten feet square, described by your former captives. Let me count the number of your present captives, and converse with them. I want to see if there be any subjects of the British government to whom we owe protection. I want to ask how long they have been here, how long it is since they beheld the light of the sun, and whether they ever expect to see it again. Shew me the chamber of torture; and declare what modes of execution, or of punishment are now practised within the walls of the Inquisition, in lieu of the public Auto da Fè. If, after all that has passed, father, you resist this reasonable request, I shall be justified in believing, that you are afraid of exposing the real state of the Inquisition in India.' To these observations the Inquisitor made no reply; but seemed impatient that I should withdraw. 'My good father,' said I, 'I am about to take my leave of you, and to thank you for your hospitable attentions, (it had been before understood that I should take my final leave at the door of the Inquisition, after having seen the interior,) and I wish always to preserve on my mind a favourable sentiment of your kindness and candour. You cannot, you say, shew me the captives and the dungeons; be pleased then merely to answer this question; for I shall believe your word:—how many prisoners are there now below, in the cells of the Inquisition?' The Inquisitor replied, 'That is a question which I cannot answer.' On his pronouncing these words, I retired hastily towards the door, and wished him farewell. We shook hands with as much cordiality as we could at the moment assume; and both of us, I believe, were sorry that our parting took place with a clouded countenance.

"From the Inquisition I went to the place of burning in the Camp Santo Lazaro, on the river side, where the victims were brought to the stake at the Auto da Fè. It is close to the palace, that the Vice-Roy and his court may witness the execution; for it has ever been the policy of the Inquisition to make these spiritual executions appear to be the executions of the state. An old priest accompanied me, who pointed out the place, and described the scene. As I passed over this melancholy plain, I thought on the difference between the pure and benign doctrine, which was first preached to India in the apostolic age, and that bloody code, which after a long night of darkness, was announced to it under the same name! And I pondered on the mysterious dispensation, which permitted the ministers of the Inquisition, with their racks and flames, to visit these lands before the heralds of the Gospel of peace. But the most painful reflection was, that this tribunal should yet exist, unawed by the vicinity of British humanity and dominion. I was not satisfied with what I had seen or said at the Inquisition, and I determined to go back again.

The Inquisitors were now sitting on the tribunal, and I had some excuse for returning; for I was to receive from the chief Inquisitor a letter, which he said he would give me, before I left the place, for the British Resident in Travancore, being an answer to a letter from that officer.

"When I arrived at the Inquisition, and had ascended the outer stairs, the door-keepers surveyed me doubtingly, but suffered me to pass, supposing that I had returned by permission and appointment of the Inquisitor. I entered the great hall, and went up directly towards the tribunal of the Inquisition, described by Dellon, in which is the lofty crucifix. I sat down on a form, and wrote some notes; and then desired one of the attendants to carry in my name to the Inquisitor. As I walked up the hall, I saw a poor woman sitting by herself, on a bench by the wall, apparently in a disconsolate state of mind. She clasped her hands as I passed, and gave me a look expressive of her distress. This sight chilled my spirits. The familiars told me she was waiting there to be called up before the tribunal of the Inquisition. While I was asking questions concerning her crime, the second Inquisitor came out in evident trepidation, and was about to complain of the intrusion; when I informed him I had come back for the letter from the chief Inquisitor. He said it should be sent after me to Goa; and he conducted me with a quick step towards the door. As we passed the poor woman I pointed to her, and said to him with some emphasis, 'Behold, father, another victim of the holy Inquisition!' He answered nothing. When we arrived at the head of the great stair, he bowed and I took my last leave of Josephus a Doloribus, without uttering a word.

"It will be well understood for what purpose the foregoing particulars concerning the Inquisition at Goa, are rehearsed in the ears of the British nation. 'The Romans,' says Montesquieu, 'deserve well of human nature, for making it an article in their treaty with the Carthaginians, that they should abstain from sacrificing their children to their gods.' It has been observed by respectable writers, that the English nation ought to imitate this example, and endeavour to induce her allies 'to abolish the human sacrifices of the Inquisition;' and a censure has been passed on our government for its indifference to this subject. The indifference to the Inquisition is attributable, we believe, to the same cause which has produced an indifference to the religious principles which first organized the Inquisition. The mighty despot, who suppressed the Inquisition in Spain, was not swayed probably by very powerful motives of humanity; but viewed with jealousy a tribunal, which usurped an independant dominion; and he put it down, on the same principle that he put down the Popedom, that he might remain Pontiff and Grand Inquisitor himself. And so he will remain for a time, till the purposes of Providence shall have been accomplished by him. But are we to look on in silence, and

to expect that further meliorations in human society are to be effected by despotism, or by great revolutions? 'If,' say the same writers, 'while the Inquisition is destroyed in Europe by the power of despotism, we could entertain the hope, and it is not too much to entertain such a hope, that the power of liberty is about to destroy it in America; we might, even amid the gloom that surrounds us, congratulate our fellow-creatures on one of the most remarkable periods in the history of the progress of human society, the final erasure of the Inquisition from the face of the earth.' It will indeed be an important and happy day to the earth, when this final erasure shall take place; but the period of such an event is nearer, we apprehend, in Europe and America, than it is in Asia; and its termination in Asia depends as much on Great Britain as on Portugal. And shall not Great Britain do her part to hasten this desirable time? Do we wait, as if to see whether the power of infidelity will abolish the other Inquisitions of the earth? Shall not we, in the mean while, attempt to do something, on Christian principles, for the honour of God and of humanity? Do we dread even to express a sentiment on the subject in our legislative assemblies, or to notice it in our treaties? It is surely our duty to declare our wishes, at least, for the abolition of these inhuman tribunals, (since we take an active part in promoting the welfare of other nations,) and to deliver our testimony against them in the presence of Europe.

"This case is not unlike that of the immolation of females in Bengal: with this aggravation in regard to that atrocity, that the rite is perpetrated in our own territories. Our humanity in England revolts at the occasional description of the enormity; but the matter comes not to our own business and bosoms, and we fail even to insinuate our disapprobation of the deed. It may be concluded then, that while we remain silent and unmoved spectators of the flames of the widow's pile, there is no hope that we shall be justly affected by the reported horrors of the Inquisition."

POETRY.

THE VISION OF DON RODERICK.

By Walter Scott.

Rearing their crests amid the cloudless skies,
And darkly clustering in the pale moonlight,
Toledo's holy towers and spires arise,
As from a trembling lake of silver white;
Their mingled shadows intercept the sight
Of the broad burial-ground outstretched below,
And nought disturbs the silence of the night;
All sleeps in sullen shade, or silver glow,
All save the heavy swell of Teio's ceaseless flow.

II.

All save the rushing swell of Teio's tide,
Or, distant heard, a courser's neigh or tramp;
Their changing rounds as watchful horsemen ride,
To guard the limits of King Roderick's camp.
For, through the river's night-fog rolling damp,
Was many a proud pavillion dimly seen,
Which glimmer'd back, against the moon's fair lamp,
Tissues of silk and silver twisted sheen,
And standards proudly pitch'd, and warders arm'd between.

III.

But of their Monarch's person keeping ward,
Since last the deep-mouth'd bell of vespers toll'd,
The chosen soldiers of the royal guard
Their post beneath the proud Cathedral hold:
A band unlike their Gothic sires of old,
Who, for the cap of steel and iron mace,
Bear slender darts, and casques bedeck'd with gold,
While silver-studded belts their shoulders grace,
Where ivory quivers ring in the broad falchion's place.

IV.

In the light language of an idle court,
They murmur'd at their master's long delay,
And held his lengthen'd orisons in sport:—
'What! will Don Roderick here till morning stay,
To wear in shrift and prayer the night away?
And are his hours in such dull penance past
For fair Florinda's plunder'd charms to pay?—
Then to the east their weary eyes they cast,
And wish'd the lingering dawn would glimmer forth at last.

V.

But, far within, Toledo's Prelate lent
An ear of fearful wonder to the King;
The silver lamp a fitful lustre sent,
So long that sad confession witnessing:
For Roderick told of many a hidden thing,
Such as are lothly uttered to the air,
When Fear, Remorse, and Shame, the bosom wring,
And Guilt his secret burthen cannot bear,
And Conscience seeks in speech a respite from Despair.

VI.

Full on the Prelate's face, and silver hair,
The stream of failing light was feebly roll'd;
But Roderick's visage, though his head was bare,
Was shadow'd by his hand and mantle's fold,
While of his hidden soul the sins he told,
Proud Alaric's descendant could not brook,
That mortal man his bearing should behold,
Or boast that he had seen, when conscience shook,
Fear tame a monarch's brow, remorse a warrior's look.

VII.

The old man's faded cheek waxed yet more pale,
As many a secret sad the king bewray'd;
And sign and glance eked out the unfinished tale,
When in the midst his faltering whisper staid.—
"Thus royal Witiza was slain,"—he said:
"Yet, holy father, deem not it was I."—
Thus still Ambition strives her crimes to shade—
"Oh rather deem 'twas stern necessity!
Self-preservation bade, and I must kill or die,

VIII.

" And if Florinda's shrieks alarmed the air,
If she invoked her absent sire in vain,
And on her knees implored that I would spare,
Yet, reverend priest, thy sentence rash refrain!—
All is not as it seems—the female train
Know by their bearing to disguise their mood:"—
But Conscience here, as if in high disdain,
Sent to the Monarch's cheek the burning blood—
He stay'd his speech abrupt—and up the Prelate stood.

IX.

" O hardened offspring of an iron race!
What of thy crimes Don Roderick, shall I say?
What alms, or prayers, or penance can efface
Murder's dark spot, wash treason's stain away!
For the foul ravisher how shall I pray,
Who, scarce repentant, makes his crime his boast?
How hope, Almighty vengeance shall delay,
Unless in mercy to yon Christian host,
He spare the shepherd, lest the guiltless sheep be lost."—

X.

Then kindled the dark Tyrant in his mood,
And to his brow returned its dauntless gloom;
" And welcome then," he cried, " be blood for blood,
For treason treachery, for dishonour doom!
Yet will I know whence come they, or by whom.
Shew, for thou canst—give forth the fated key,
And guide me, Priest, to that mysterious room,
Where, if aught true in old tradition be,
His nation's future fates a Spanish King shall see."—

XI.

" Ill-fated prince! recall the desperate word,
Or pause ere yet the omen thou obey!
Bethink, yon spell-bound portal would afford
Never to former Monarch entrance way;
Nor shall it ever ope, old records say,
Save to a King, the last of all his line,
What time his empire totters to decay,
And treason digs, beneath, her fatal mine,
And, high above, impends avenging wrath divine."—

XII.

—" Prelate! a Monarch's fate brooks no delay;
Lead on!"—The ponderous key the old man took,
And held the winking lamp, and led the way,
By winding stair, dark aisle, and secret nook,
Then on an ancient gate-way bent his look;
And, as the key the desperate King essay'd,
Low muttered thunders the Cathedral shook,
And twice he stopped, and twice new effort made,
Till the huge bolts rolled back, and the loud hinges bray'd.

XIII.

Long, large, and lofty, was that vaulted hall;
Roof, walls, and floor, were all of marble stone,
Of polished marble, black as funeral pall,
Carved o'er with signs and characters unknown.
A paly light, as of the dawning, shone
Through the sad bounds, but whence they could not spy;
For window to the upper air was none;
Yet by that light, Don Roderick could descry
Wonders that ne'er till then were seen by mortal eye.

XIV.

Grim centinels, against the upper wall,
Of molten bronze, two Statues held their place;
Massive their naked limbs, their stature tall,
Their frowning foreheads golden circles grace.
Moulded they seemed for kings of giant race,
That lived and sinned before the avenging flood;
This grasped a scythe, that rested on a mace;
This spread his wings for flight, that pondering stood,
Each stubborn seemed and stern, immutable of mood.

XV.

Fixed was the right-hand Giant's brazen look
Upon his brother's glass of shifting sand,
As if its ebb he measured by a book
Whose iron volume loaded his huge hand
In which was wrote of many a falling land,
Of empires lost, and kings to exile driven;
And o'er that pair their names in scrolls expand—
" Lo Destiny and Time! to whom by Heaven
The guidance of the earth is for a season given."—

XVI.

Even while they read, the sand-glass wastes away;
And, as the last and lagging grains did creep,
That right-hand Giant 'gan his club upsway,
As one that startles from a heavy sleep.
Full on the upper wall the mace's sweep
At once descended with the force of thunder,
And hurtling down at once, in crumbled heap,
The marble boundary was rent asunder,
And gave to Roderick's view new sights of fear and wonder.

XVII.

For they might spy, beyond that mighty breach,
Realms as of Spain in visioned prospect laid,
Castles and towers, in due proportion each,
As by some skilful artist's hand pourtray'd:
Here, cross'd by many a wild Sierra's shade,
And boundless plains that tire the traveller's eye;
There rich with vineyard and with olive glade,
Or deep-embrowned by forests huge and high,
Or washed by mighty streams, that slowly murmured by.

XVIII.

And here, as erst upon the antique stage
Passed forth the bands of masquers trimly led,
In various forms, and various equipage,
While fitting strains the hearers fancy fed,
So, to sad Roderick's eye in order spread,
Successive pageants filled that mystic scene,
Shewing the fate of battles e'er they bled,
And issue of events that had not been;
And ever and anon strange sounds were heard between.

XIX.

First shrilled an unrepeated female shriek!—
It seemed as if Don Roderick knew the call,
For the bold blood was blanching in his cheek.—
Then answered kettle-drum and atabal,
Gong-peal and cymbal-clank the ear appal,
The Tecbir war-cry, and the Lelies yell,
Ring wildly dissonant along the hall.
Needs not to Roderick their dread import tell—
"The Moor!" he cried, "the Moor!—ring out the Tocsin bell!

XX.

" They come! they come! I see the groaning lands
White with the turbans of each Arab horde,
Swart Zaarah joins her misbelieving bands,
Alla and Mahomet their battle-word,
The choice they yield the Koran or the sword.—
See how the Christians rush to arms amain!—
In yonder shout the voice of conflict roared;
The shadowy hosts are closing on the plain—
Now, God and Saint Iago strike, for the good cause of Spain!"

XXI.

" By heaven, the Moors prevail! the Christians yield!—
Their coward leader gives for flight the sign!
The sceptered craven mounts to quit the field—
Is not yon steed Orelia?—Yes, 'tis mine!
But never was she turned from battle-line:
Lo! where the recreant spurs o'er stock and stone!—
Curses pursue the slave and wrath divine!
Rivers ingulph him!—" Hush," in shuddering tone,
The Prelate said; " rash Prince, yon visioned form's thine own."—

XXII.

Just then, a torrent crossed the flier's course;
The dangerous ford the Kingly Likeness tried;
But the deep eddies whelmed both man and horse,
Swept like benighted peasant down the tide;
And the proud Mosleman spread far and wide,
As numerous as their native locust band;
Berber and Ismael's sons the spoils divide,
With naked scimitars mete out the land,
And for their bondsmen base the freeborn natives brand.

XXIII.

Then rose the grated Harem, to inclose
The loveliest maidens of the Christian line;
Then, menials to their misbelieving foes,
Castile's young nobles held forbidden wine;
Then, too, the holy Cross salvation's sign,
By impious hands was from the altar thrown,
And the deep aisles of the polluted shrine,
Echoed, for holy hymn and organ tone,
The Santon's frantic dance, the Fakir's gibbering moan.

XXIV.

How fares Don Roderick?—E'en as one who spies
Flames dart their glare o'er midnight's sable woof,
And hears around his children's piercing cries,
And sees the pale assistants stand aloof;
While cruel Conscience brings him bitter proof,
His folly, or his crime, have caused his grief;
And, while above him nods the crumbling roof,
He curses earth and Heaven—himself in chief—
Desperate of earthly aid, despairing Heaven's relief!

XXV.

That scythe-armed giant turned his fatal glass,
And twilight on the landscape closed her wings;
Far to Asturian hills the war sounds pass,
And in their stead rebeck or timbrel rings;
And to the sound the bell-deck'd dancer springs,
Bazars resound as when their marts are met,
In tourney light the Moor his jerrid flings,
And on the land as evening seemed to set,
The Imaum's chaunt was heard from mosque or minaret.

XXVI.

So passed that pageant. Ere another came,
The visionary scene was wrapped in smoke,
Whose sulph'rous wreaths were crossed by sheets of flame;
With every flash a bolt explosive broke,
Till Roderick deemed the fiends had burst their yoke,
And waved 'gainst heaven the infernal gonfalone!
For War a new and dreadful language spoke,
Never by ancient warrior heard or known;
Lightning and smoke her breath, and thunder was her tone.

XXVII.

From the dim landscape roll the clouds away—
The Christians have regained their heritage:
Before the Cross has waned the Crescent's ray,
And many a monastery decks the stage,
And lofty church, and low-brow'd hermitage.
The land obeys a Hermit and a Knight,—
The Genii these of Spain for many an age;
This clad in sackcloth, that in armour bright,
And that was Valour named, this Bigotry was hight.

XXVIII.

Valour was harnessed like a Chief of old,
Armed at all points, and prompt for knightly gest;
His sword was tempered in the Ebro cold,
Morena's eagle-plume adorned his crest,
The spoils of Afric's lion bound his breast.
Fierce he stepped forward and flung down his gage,
As if of mortal kind to brave the best.
Him followed his Companion dark and sage,
As he, my Master sung, the dangerous Archimage.

XXIX.

Haughty of heart and brow the Warrior came,
In look and language proud as proud might be,
Vaunting his lordship, lineage, fights and fame,
Yet was that bare-foot Monk more proud than he;
And as the ivy climbs the tallest tree,
So round the loftiest soul his toils he wound,
And with his spells subdued the fierce and free,
Till ermined Age, and Youth in arms renowned,
Honouring his scourge and hair-cloth, meekly kissed the ground.

XXX.

And thus it chanced that Valour. peerless Knight,
Who ne'er to King or Kaisar veiled his crest,
Victorious still in bull-feast, or in fight,
Since first his limbs with mail he did invest,
Stooped ever to that Anchoret's behest;
Nor reasoned of the right nor of the wrong,
But at his bidding laid the lance in rest,
And wrought fell deeds the troubled world along,
For he was fierce as brave, and pitiless as strong.

XXXI.

Oft his proud gallies sought some new-found world,
That latest sees the sun, or first the morn;
Still at that Wizard's feet their spoils he hurl'd,—
Ingots of ore from rich Potosi borne,
Crowns by Caciques, aigrettes by Omrahs worn,
Wrought of rare gems, but broken, rent, and foul:
Idols of gold from heathen temples torn,
Bedabbled all with blood.—With grisly scowl
The hermit marked the stains, and smiled beneath his cowl.

XXXII.

Then did he bless the offering, and bade make
Tribute to heaven of gratitude and praise;
And at his word the choral hymns awake,
And many a hand the silver censer sways.
But with the incense breath these censers raise,
Mixt streams from corpses smouldering in the fire;
The groans of prisoned victims mar the lays,
And shrieks of agony confound the quire,
While, mid the mingled sounds, the darkened scenes expire.

XXXIII.

Preluding light, were strains of music heard,
As once again revolved that measured sand;
Such sounds as when, for sylvan dance prepared,
Gay Xeres summons forth her vintage band;
When for the light Bolero ready stand
The Mozo blithe, with gay Muchacha met,
He conscious of his broidered cap and band,
She of her netted locks and light corsette,
Each tiptoe perched to spring, and shake the castanet.

XXXIV.

And well such strains the opening scene became;
For Valour had relaxed his ardent look,
And at a lady's, feet, like lion tame,
Lay stretched, full loth the weight of arms to brook;
And softened Bigotry, upon his book,
Pattered a task of little good or ill:
But the blithe peasant plied his pruning hook,
Whistled the muleteer o'er vale and hill,
And rung from village-green the merry Seguidille.

XXXV.

Grey Royalty, grown impotent of toil,
Let the grave sceptre slip his lazy hold,
And careless saw his rule become the spoil
Of a loose Female and her Minion bold;
But peace was on the cottage and the fold,
From court intrigue, from bickering faction far;
Beneath the chesnut tree Love's tale was told;
And to the tinkling of the light guitar,
Sweet stooped the western sun, sweet rose the evening star.

THE LANDING OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

From the same.

LIV.

While all around was danger, strife, and fear,
  While the earth shook, and darkened was the sky,
And wide Destruction stunned the listening ear,
  Appalled the heart, and stupified the eye,—
Afar was heard that thrice-repeated cry,
  In which old Albion's heart and tongue unite,
Whene'er her soul is up and pulse beats high,
  Whether it hail the wine cup or the fight,
And bid each arm be strong, or bid each heart be light.

LV.

Don Roderick turn'd him as the shout grew loud—
  A varied scene the changeful vision show'd,
For, where the ocean mingled with the cloud,
  A gallant navy stemm'd the billows broad,
From mast and stern St. George's symbol flow'd,
  Blent with the silver cross to Scotland dear:
Mottling the sea their landward barges row'd,
  And flash'd the sun on bayonet, brand, and spear,
And the wild beach returned the seaman's jovial cheer.

LVI.

It was a dread, yet spirit stirring sight!
  The billows foamed beneath a thousand oars,
Fast as they land the red cross ranks unite,
  Legions on legions brightening all the shores.
Then banners rise, and cannon-signal roars,
  Then peals the warlike thunder of the drum,
Thrills the loud fife, the trumpet-flourish pours,
  And patriot hopes awake, and doubts are dumb,
For, bold in Freedom's cause, the bands of Ocean come!

LVII.

A various host they came—whose ranks display
Each mode in which the warrior meets the fight,
The deep battalion locks its firm array.
And meditates his aim the marksman light;
Far glance the lines of sabres flashing bright,
Where mounted squadrons shake the echoing mead,
Lacks not artillery breathing flame and night,
Nor the fleet ordnance whirl'd by rapid steed,
That rivals lightning's flash in ruin and in speed.

LVIII.

A various host—from kindred realms they came,
Brethren in arms, but rivals in renown—
For yon fair bands shall merry England claim,
And with their deeds of valour deck her crown.
Her's their bold port, and her's their martial frown,
And her's their scorn of death in freedom's cause,
Their eyes of azure, and their locks of brown,
And the blunt speech that bursts without a pause,
And freeborn thoughts, which league the Soldier with the Laws.

LIX.

And O! lov'd warriors of the Minstrel's land!
Yonder your bonnets nod, your tartans wave!
The rugged form may mark the mountain band,
And harsher features, and a mien more grave;
But ne'er in battle field throbb'd heart so brave
As that which beats beneath the Scottish plaid,
And when the pibroch bids the battle rave,
And level for the charge your arms are laid,
Where lives the desperate foe, that for such onset staid!

LX.

Hark! from yon stately ranks what laughter rings,
Mingling wild mirth with war's stern minstrelsy,
His jest while each blithe comrade round him flings,
And moves to death with military glee:
Boast, Erin, boast them! tameless, frank, and free,
In kindness warm, and fierce in danger known,
Rough Nature's children, humorous as she:
And He, yon Chieftain—strike the proudest tone
Of thy bold harp green Isle!—the Hero is thine own.

THE BRIDAL OF PSYCHE.

From Mrs. Tighe's Psyche.

Increasing wonder filled her ravished soul,
For now the pompous portals opened wide,
There, pausing oft, with timid foot she stole
Through halls high domed, enriched with sculptured pride,
While gay saloons appeared on either side,
In splendid vista opening to her sight;
And all with precious gems so beautified,
And furnished with such exquisite delight,
That scarce the beams of heaven emit such lustre bright.

The amethyst was there of violet hue,
And there the topaz shed its golden ray,
The chrysoberyl, and the sapphire blue
As the clear azure of a sunny day,
Or the mild eyes where amorous glances play;
The snow-white jasper, and the opal's flame,
The blushing ruby, and the agate grey,
And there the gem which bears his luckless name
Whose death by Phœbus mourned ensured him deathless fame.

There the green emerald, there cornelians glow,
And rich carbuncles pour eternal light,
With all that India and Peru can shew,
Or Labrador can give so flaming bright
To the charmed mariner's half-dazzled sight:
The coral-paved baths with diamonds blaze:
And all that can the female heart delight
Of fair attire, the last recess displays,
And all that Luxury can ask, her eye surveys.

Now through the hall melodious music stole,
And self-prepared the splendid banquet stands,
Self-poured the nectar sparkles in the bowl,
The lute and viol touched by unseen hands
Aid the soft voices of the choral bands;
O'er the full board a brighter lustre beams
Than Persia's monarch at his feast commands:
For sweet refreshment all inviting seems
To taste celestial food, and pure ambrosial streams.

But when meek Eve hung out her dewy star,
And gently veiled with gradual hand the sky,
Lo! the bright folding doors retiring far,
Display to Psyche's captivated eye
All that voluptuous ease could e'er supply
To sooth the spirits in serene repose:
Beneath the velvet's purple canopy
Divinely formed a downy couch arose,
While alabaster lamps a milky light disclose.

Once more she hears the hymeneal strain;
Far other voices now attune the lay;
The swelling sounds approach, a while remain,
And then retiring faint dissolved away:
The expiring lamps emit a feebler ray,
And soon in fragrant death extinguished lie:
Then virgin terrors Psyche's soul dismay,
When through the expiring gloom she nought can spy,
But softly rustling sounds declare some Being nigh.

Oh, you for whom I write! whose hearts can melt
At the soft thrilling voice whose power you prove,
You know what charm, unutterably felt,
Attends the unexpected voice of Love:
Above the lyre, the lute's soft notes above,
With sweet enchantment to the soul it steals,
And bears it to Elysium's happy grove;
You best can tell the rapture Psyche feels
When Love's ambrosial lip the vows of Hymen seals.

LOVE SLEEPING.

From the Same.

Allowed to settle on celestial eyes
Soft Sleep exulting now exerts his sway.
From Psyche's anxious pillow gladly flies
To veil those orbs, whose pure and lambent ray
The powers of heaven submissively obey.
Trembling and breathless then she softly rose,
And seized the lamp, where it obscurely lay,
With hand too rashly daring to disclose
The sacred veil which hung mysterious o'er her woes.

Twice, as with agitated step she went,
The lamp expiring shone with doubtful gleam,
As though it warned her from her rash intent:
And twice she paused, and on its trembling beam
Gazed with suspended breath, while voices seem
With murmuring sound along the roof to sigh;
As one just waking from a troublous dream,
With palpitating heart and straining eye,
Still fixed with fear remains, still thinks the danger nigh.

Oh, daring Muse! wilt thou indeed essay
To paint the wonders which that lamp could shew?
And canst thou hope in living words to say
The dazzling glories of that heavenly view?
Ah! well I ween, that if with pencil true
That splendid vision could be well exprest,
The fearful awe imprudent Psyche knew
Would seize with rapture every wondering breast,
When Love's all-potent charms divinely stood confest.

All imperceptible to human touch,
His wings display celestial essence light,
The clear effulgence of the blaze is such,
The brilliant plumage shines so heavenly bright
That mortal eyes turn dazzled from the sight;
A youth he seems in manhood's freshest years;
Round his fair neck, as clinging with delight,
Each golden curl resplendently appears,
Or shades his darker brow, which grace majestic wears.

Or o'er his guileless front the ringlets bright
Their rays of sunny lustre seem to throw,
That front than polished ivory more white!
His blooming cheeks with deeper blushes glow
Than roses scattered o'er a bed of snow:
While on his lips, distilled in balmy dews,
(Those lips divine that even in silence know
The heart to touch) persuasion to infuse
Still hangs a rosy charm that never vainly sues.

The friendly curtain of indulgent sleep
Disclosed not yet his eyes' resistless sway,
But from their silky veil there seemed to peep
Some brilliant glances with a softened ray
Which o'er his features exquisitely play,
And all his polished limbs suffuse with light.
Thus through some narrow space the azure day
Sudden its cheerful rays diffusing bright,
Wide darts its lucid beams, to gild the brow of night.

His fatal arrows and celestial bow
Beside the couch were negligently thrown,
Nor needs the god his dazzling arms, to show
His glorious birth, such beauty round him shone
As sure could spring from Beauty's self alone;
The bloom which glowed o'er all of soft desire,
Could well proclaim him Beauty's cherished son;
And Beauty's self will oft these charms admire,
And steal his witching smile, his glance's living fire.

Speechless with awe, in transport strangely lost
Long Psyche stood with fixed adoring eye;
Her limbs immoveable, her senses tost
Between amazement, fear, and ecstasy,
She hangs enamoured o'er the Deity.
Till from her trembling hand extinguished falls
The fatal lamp—He starts—and suddenly
Tremendous thunders echo through the halls,
While ruin's hideous crash bursts o'er the affrighted walls.

GOOD-BYE AND HOW-D'Y-DO.

From Poems by W. R. Spencer.

One day, Good-bye met How-d'y-do,
Too close to shun saluting,
But soon the rival sisters flew,
From kissing, to disputing.

"Away, says How-d'y-do, your mien
"Appals my cheerful nature,
"No name so sad as your's is seen
"In sorrow's nomenclature.

"Whene'er I give one sunshine hour,
"Your cloud comes o'er to shade it;
"Where'er I plant one bosom flow'r,
"Your mildew drops to fade it.

"Ere How-d'y-do has tun'd each tongue
"To hope's delightful measure,
"Good-bye in friendship's ear has rung
"The knell of parting pleasure!

"From sorrows past, my chymic skill
"Draws smiles of consolation,
"Whilst you from present joys distill
"The tears of separation."—

Good-bye replied, " Your statement's true,
" And well your cause you've pleaded;
" But pray, who'd think of How-d'y-do,
" Unless Good-bye preceded?

" Without my prior influence
" Cou'd yours have ever flourish'd;
" And can your hand one flow'r dispense
" But those my tears have nourish'd?

" How oft, if at the court of Love
" Concealment be the fashion,
" When How-d'y-do has fail'd to move,
" Good-bye reveals the passion!

" How oft, when Cupid's fires decline,
" As ev'ry heart remembers,
" One sigh of mine, and only mine,
" Revives the dying embers!

" Go, bid the timid lover chuse,
" And I'll resign my charter;
" If he, for ten kind How-d'y-dos,
" One kind Good-bye wou'd barter.

" From Love and Friendship's kindred source
" We both derive existence,
" And they wou'd both lose half their force
" Without our joint assistance.

" 'Tis well the world our merit knows,
" Since time, there's no denying,
" One half in How-d'y-doing goes,
" And t'other in Good-byeing!"

TO THE LADY ANNE HAMILTON.

From the Same.

Too late I staid, forgive the crime,
Unheeded flew the hours;
How noiseless falls the foot of Time,
That only treads on flow'rs!

What eye with clear account remarks
The ebbing of his glass,
When all its sands are di'mond sparks,
That dazzle as they pass?

Ah! who to sober measurement
Time's happy swiftness brings,
When birds of Paradise have lent
Their plumage for his wings?

THE VISIONARY.

From the Same.

When midnight o'er the moonless skies
Her pall of transient death has spread,
When mortals sleep, when spectres rise,
And nought is wakeful but the dead!

No bloodless shape my way pursues,
No sheeted ghost my couch annoys,
Visions more sad my fancy views,
Visions of long departed joys!

The shade of youthful hope is there,
That linger'd long, and latest died;
Ambition all dissolved to air,
With phantom honours at her side.

What empty shadows glimmer nigh!
They once were friendship, truth, and love!
Oh, die to thought, to mem'ry die,
Since lifeless to my heart ye prove!

ON THE BATTLE OF BARROSA.

To Mrs. Taylor, of Hartley-Court, near Reading.

Mother of Lieutenant-Colonel Norcott, of the 95th, whose Conduct was so highly praised by General Graham.

Is there a joy unstain'd, unmingled given,
Or only mix'd with gratitude to Heaven?
Is there a pride so holy, that the blaze,
Which fires the heart, is caught from Virtue's rays?
'Tis when the mother hails her warlike son
From the red field, by conquering valor won!
'Tis when the Mother hears the voice of Fame
"Shout and reverberate" her hero's name!—
Oft * has the bliss through that fond bosom past,
Yet is each triumph dearer than the last:

* Colonel Norcott had served in twelve general engagements prior to the Battle of Barrosa.

Dearer for anxious days, for nightly tears,
For all the pangs she knows, and all she fears.
From one pure spring these tender feelings part,
Spring of celestial love! the Mother's heart.

Thrice happy thou such transports to have prov'd!
Thrice happy Son by such a Mother lov'd!
Whose hope aspiring lulls her fear to rest,
The bravest spirit in the gentlest breast:
Who mildly wise each virtuous precept caught,
And gave the bright example which she taught.

Blessing and blest, oh, long may you remain!
Heaven shield the hero on the battle-plain!
For this each lovely Sister heaves a sigh;
This dews the Brother's and the Father's eye;
The beauteous wife this one great mercy seeks;
These the first words the lisping infant speaks;
And this—Ah! none that tender fear can share,—
This the fond Mother's earliest, latest prayer.
Heaven shield the hero on the battle-plain!
And, blest and blessing, long may you remain!

MARY RUSSELL MITFORD.

Bertram-House, April 2, 1811.

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS.

Sir Robert Wilson on the Russian army.

We gave in our last volume an account of the travels of Dr. Clarke through Russia, and in rendering due homage to the acuteness of observation and liveliness of style which distinguish that amusing work, we did not disguise our regret that the ingenious author had indulged in a tone of such unreserved severity in speaking of the character of the Russian government and people. Without pretending to any personal information on the subject, we saw at once that Dr. Clarke's representations in this head were not to be taken without considerable qualification. There was throughout the whole a tone of sarcasm and passion, which decidedly indicated that the Doctor was writing under the influence of irritated feelings, although the interval which had elapsed since he had left the country might have been expected to have given scope for the return of a more considerate temper of animadversion. And this would probably have been the case had not something of party prepossession interfered to prevent the operation of his natural good humour.

We have been reminded of Dr. Clarke's publication, by the appearance of the volume before us. Sir Robert Wilson indeed does not specifically treat of those subjects which form the matter of Dr. Clarke's volume, and we cannot therefore expect from him any direct information either in confirmation or contradiction of the diatribe of the Cambridge professor. His work, as the title page tells us, is occupied with merely the character and composition of the Russian army: the view, however, which he takes of this aspect of the Russian Empire is highly favourable, and we think that the merits both moral and military which he ascribes to the Russian soldiers, afford a very strong presumption that the general character both of the nobility and peasantry of that country is very far from being fairly or candidly described in the epigrammatic pages of the distinguished traveller before alluded to. Sir Robert Wilson indeed, has no doubt, his prejudices as well as his literary precursor, but besides that, prejudice against prejudice,

we should give the preference to that which bears the most charitable aspect, we think that reason and probability as well as good-nature are on the side of the gallant General, of whose work we shall proceed to give an abstract.

Sir Robert Wilson attended Lord Hutchinson in his mission to Russia in 1806, and was present with the Russian army throughout the whole of the campaigns in Poland. He had consequently both from his personal observations, and from his connection with the staff, the best possible means of acquiring knowledge upon the subjects of which his volume treats; and after making some slight allowance for the natural effect of that 'great and unalienable attachment to the Russian nation,' with which he avows himself to be actuated, we think we may rely with perfect confidence on his statements.

The greater part of the volume is devoted to an account of the Campaigns in 1806 and 1807; but the narrative is prefaced by some general observations respecting the several departments of the Russian military force. Our author gives in the commencement of these remarks a most formidable catalogue of the military qualities of the Russian soldiers. He enumerates their great bodily strength; their martial countenance; their endurance of the extremes of weather and hardship, of the worst and scantiest food; their patience under marches for days and nights of four hours repose and six hours progress; and describes them as at the same time ferocious, and disciplined; obstinately brave, religious, and devoted to their king, their chief, and their country, and superadding to the energetic characteristics of a barbarian people many of the advantages derivable from civilization.

However brave in the field, the defects in the organization of the Russian army make themselves severely felt in the hour of retreat. This was strongly exemplified in the course of the campaigns which are described in the volume before us.

"When Beningzen retired from Yankova, on the approach of Buonaparte, and sought to invade the enemy by forced marches in the dark nights of a Poland winter, although 90,000 men thundered on in close pursuit, the Russian murmur at retreat was so imposingly audacious, the clamour for battle so loud and reiterated, the incipient disorder was so frightfully extending that Beningzen was obliged to promise acquiescence to their demand; and to soothe their discontents, by an assurance that he was marching to reach an appropriate theatre of combat. Gratified in this request, they fought six long days to secure the undisturbed march of six longer, more painful, and more terrific intervening nights; but in which alarm, anxiety and disorder mingled to such a degree, and so shattered the military frame, that victory might have been achieved against them without the glory of a subdued resistance; yet when this army, wearied, famished, and diminished by the loss of 10,000 men, entered at Eylau, their alignement for battle, order regenerated as with the British at Corunna; the memory of former

glories, and the confidence of approaching victory cheered even the most exhausted; and a spectator would have supposed that the joyous acclamations commemorated a success, instead of being an anticipation of the most sanguinary trial that was yet upon the records of this bloody war. Such was their vehement ardour to retrieve imaginary disgrace, and profit of a liberty to engage, that when in the evening before the battle, Beningzen ordered the village of Eylau, which had been abandoned by mistake, to be recovered, and the columns were in motion to the attack, animated by an expression in the command, 'that the Emperor expected his troops to execute the orders,' but afterwards thinking it advisable, as the enemy was greatly reinforced, to desist from the enterprize, he sent his officers to countermand the service, 'No, no,' exclaimed every voice; the Emperor must not be disappointed. And they rushed forward, sheltering their gallant disobedience under the authority of an illusion created by their commander.

"The desolating misery of a night passed without food, without any moisture to quench drought but the iced snow, without any shelter, without any covering but the rags of their garments, with bare and wounded feet, without fuel, without any consolation, and sleep interrupted by the groans of the dying, or preparations for action, not all this complicated bitterness of condition could humble the spirit or weaken the ardour of this illustrious host. Ere morning dawned they stood to their arms impatient for action; and in that most memorable day established a reputation, which immortalized their courage, and greatly influenced the preservation of their army, when its reduced numbers were unequal, without such impression, to secure its protection."

The Russian infantry soldier is described as perfectly subordinate and attached to his officer, by whom he is treated with peculiar kindness. Punishment is not so frequent as in other armies, nor is it inflicted with severity. They exercise with precision and march well, their evolutions being generally the forming of columns and squares with rapidity. Their dress is in good taste, but the materials are bad and the allowance too low for active service; their pay being about half a guinea a year. Their appointments too, are cumbersome, and their arms so heavy and coarse that on 60,000 British stand being distributed, they were given or reserved as distinctions for extraordinary merit. Their ordinary food is of the plainest and coarsest nature. They carried no tents, and bivouaqued without shelter in the depth of the severe winter of 1797. In consequence of this system, however, and of the bad arrangements of the commissariat, the wear and tear of a Russian army is enormous. The recruiting is effected by the magistrates, who select from their respective villages the most efficient young men, according to the number required.

The imperial foot guards do not in number exceed seven thousand men, as however, they are picked from the whole population of the empire, they form a body not to be paralleled in their per-

sonal qualifications by any similar service in Europe. The Russian cavalry, Sir Robert Wilson describes as the best mounted of any on the continent; the heavy Russian horses being matchless for a combination of size, strength, activity, and hardiness: they are chiefly bred in the plains of the Don and Volga.

The Cavalry appointments are described as very good. Our author remarks that the Russian dragoon is entirely an artificial cavalier; as the habits of the country do not prepare and train the inhabitants for horsemanship. The dress is simple and handsome.

We were not prepared by any thing we had previously understood on the subject, for the eulogy which Sir Robert Wilson passes upon the Russian artillery-we shall give his account of it in his own words.

"The Russian artillery is of the most powerful description. No other army moves with so many guns, and with no other army is it in a better state of equipment, or is more gallantly served.

"The piece is well formed, and the carriage solid, without being heavy. The harness and the rope-tackling is of the best quality for service, and all the appurtenances of the gun complete and well arranged. The draught horses are small, but of great muscular strength, strongly loined and with high blood. Four draw the light field-pieces, and eight the twelve pounders; the latter have sometimes indeed ten horses; but then the roads must be such as are only to be met with in Poland before the frost sets in or when it breaks up, and which, during the last campaign, were in such a state that Buonaparte said he had discovered, by crossing the Vistula, *the new element of mud.* The power of these animals is however so great, that on taking up positions, they will plunge through the ditches filled with yielding snow, although so deep as to cover their back, and bury the guns altogether; and when the centre and right wing retired through the Aller after the battle of Friedland, at a point discovered on the emergency, they were partly swimming, and afterwards compelled to ascend the banks, which were almost perpendicular. If the horses had possessed less strength or activity, the whole must have fallen into the hands of the enemy; but the Russians seem well aware of the importance of horsing their artillery well, and the Russian government is wise enough to spare no expense that may be necessary for its efficiency and security.

"The drivers are stout men: like all other drivers, they require superintendence in times of danger, to prevent their escape with the horses, but on various occasions they have also shewn great courage and fidelity; and they have the essential merit of carefully providing subsistence for their horses. Neither gun, tumbril, nor cart belonging to the artillery is ever seen without forage of some kind, and generally collected by the prudence and diligence of the drivers, which might be improper where the issues are assured under regular authority, but which according to the prac-

tices of continental nations, is very commendable and necessary. The artillery-men are of the best description, and the non-commissioned officers equal, but the artillery officers of inferior rank have not the same title to estimation as in the other European services, for their education is not formed with the same care, and their service does not receive the same encouragement. To them is the toil and responsibility, but the honour is by no means assured them. Some favourite officer, completely ignorant of the science and practice of the artillery, is frequently in the day of action appointed for the day to the command of their batteries, and the credit is in the dispatches given to him for a service which depended on long previous systematic arrangements and laborious attention, with which he never was acquainted: an injustice mortifying to the corps, injurious to the individual artillery officer, and gravely detrimental to the general interests.

"The horse artillery is no less well appointed, and the mounted detachments that accompany the guns ride excellent powerful horses, and form both in real character and appearance, a corps not inferior to any in the European services.

"When the Russian army was in Poland, above 500 pieces of field-cannon moved with it generally, and were actually in the battle of Eylau. Beningzen had indeed left in his previous movements towards the Bug 120 pieces, chiefly of 12 pounders in reserve, which fortunately escaped Bernadotte's column, and only entered the field in the evening before the general action. Its safety may indeed be owing to the capture of the courier, which gave Beningzen notice at Mohrungen of Buonaparte's intention to assemble his army and attack him, whilst by the interception of the dispatches Bernadotte's orders to manœuvre on his right and in his rear were delayed two days—important days, for they preserved the Russian army, as well as the reserve cannon, by enabling them to reach Eylau without such farther impediment. This number was certainly out of proportion to the infantry, which at the outset never amounted to 80,000 men, and was particularly inconvenient and embarrassing in countries and seasons when forage was not to be assured. In the latter part of the campaign, when the infantry was by sanguinary actions greatly reduced, the number of guns was a real disadvantage, and endangered the safety of the army by the delays it occasioned.

"During the late campaigns the Russians lost very little artillery. At Pultusk some few after the action were completely smothered in the mud, and the French lost as many of theirs in the same say.

"In the retreat from Yancova to Eylau, notwithstanding the daily serious conflicts, they did not lose ten pieces. At Eylau, they left the next morning 12 pieces that had been damaged, but withdrew above 30 of the enemy's guns. At Heilsberg they lost in the retreat of Prince Bragration, and previous to the attack on the position three or four, at Friedland only 17. And at

Austerlitz their cannon fell into the enemy's hands, from an error in the road, and not from the achievements of victory in that field, although Buonaparte in his dispatches announces their capture as so many trophies gained on that day.—According to the French bulletins indeed, the Russians lost 300 pieces of cannon from December to June, of which above 200 pieces were lost at, and previous to the battle of Eylau; but the falsehood was so gross, that to account for their disappearance, he shrewdly ordered them to be melted for the erection of a bronze statute to the memory of General Haultpoult, an excellent officer of cavalry, killed at Eylau. But the 64th bulletin of the French army, out-herods herod—'On this subject it has been remarked, that the Emperor has never lost any cannon in the armies he commanded, whether in the first campaigns of Egypt, whether with that of the Army of Reserve, with that of Austria and Moravia, or in Prussia and Poland.'—If this fact is to rest on French authority, certainly none was or ever will be lost; but a more impudent falsehood was never published for French credulity.

"The Russians, however, wisely do not attach too much reputation or disgrace to the possession or loss of a gun. They think that it is better to fight it to the last moment, and let an enemy gain it dearly, than withdraw it too soon for a preservation that also preserves the enemy.

"The Cossaque artillery, worked by Cossaques, which is a late institution, consisted of 24 pieces, extremely light, and the carriages were fashioned with a care and nicety which did great credit to Russian workmanship. This park joined at Heilsberg, after the battle of Eylau, and in a march of 3000 wersts, one werst $\frac{3}{4}$ of an English mile, in the course of 14 weeks, not one horse was disabled or died, and it was soon afterwards brought into action, and did considerable execution on the enemy near Allerstein, nor was one piece lost during the whole campaign."

The Cossacks form perhaps, the most interesting portion of the Russian population. They succeeded in propitiating the good will even of Dr. Clarke, and the merits which our author ascribes to them as soldiers are only in harmony with those other estimable qualities which most travellers allow to distinguish their general character. Speaking of them as horse soldiers, Sir Robert says,

"Mounted on a very little ill-conditioned, but well-bred horse, which can walk at the rate of five miles an hour with ease, or, in his speed, dispute the race with the swiftest—with a short whip on his wrist (as he wears no spur)—armed with the lance, a pistol in his girdle, and a sword, he never fears a competitor in single combat; but in the late war he irresistibly attacked every opposing squadron in the field. Terror preceded his charge, and in vain discipline endeavoured to present an impediment to the protruding pikes. The Cuirassiers alone preserved some confidence, and appeared to baffle the arm and the skill of the Cossaque; but in the battle of Preuss Eylau, when the

Cuirassiers made their desperate charge on the Russian centre, and passed through an interval, the Cossaques instantly bore down on them, speared them, unhorsed them, and, in a few moments, five hundred and thirty Cossaques reappeared in the field equipped with the spoils of the slain *. But they did not propose to cover their bodies with this iron harness in future combats; they were sensible that an heart fortified by courage requires no coat of mail. They were worn but for the day, to make them more valuable to those for whom they were destined, and then, by subscription, they paid the expense of their conveyance to the Don and the Volga, where they are suspended as memorials of their prowess, and respect for the pride of their kindred, and the glory of their nations.

"When Murat, after the battle of Eylau, advanced with the French cavalry to menace the Russians, and induce Beningzen to evacuate Konigsberg, the Cossaques attacked his posts in every direction, killed a very considerable number, and made prisoners, in the course of the succeeding 16 days, of 1,600 dragoons and hussars, which loss obliged Murat to retire, and Buonaparte to abandon Eylau and the open country in front of Guttstadt. They afterwards, in the Russian retreat, (being supported by some squadrons of Regular cavalry,) made such desperate attacks, that Buonaparte was obliged to form squares with his infantry, and was himself in such great danger that the whole French cavalry was brought down in full gallop to cover him.

"It was in this retreat that their Attaman Platow evinced a trait of that superior mind by which he attained his station, and which, if he had received a liberal education, would have rendered him one of the first men of the age, as indisputably he is one of the most eminent warriors. After Buonaparte had brought up a second corps †. of his army, supported by the whole body, he advanced with rapidity, resolved to overwhelm the rear guards of Platow and Bragration; before they passed the bridges of the river, which flowed behind them, and to which they had to descend ‡.

"The Cossaques saw the impending danger, and began to press back in confusion. Platow checked, but found the disorder increasing. He immediately sprang from his horse, exclaiming to the Cossaques, 'Let those who are base enough abandon their Attaman.' The corrected lines paused. He gradually moved; with a waving hand kept back those who trespassed; sent his orders with calmness; reached the town in order; halted at the bridge until every man had passed, destroyed it, and still on foot, proceeded on the other side of the town, struggling above ancle deep through the heavy sand;

* Many more were killed, and Cuirasses were found even three weeks afterwards.

† The brigades of Pajol, Durosnel, and Bruyères, and the division of heavy cavalry under the orders of General Nansouty.

‡ A wounded Frenchman observed, "Ils ne sont pas content de nous piquer, mais ils nous lardent."

nor could the most tremendous cannonade, and the incessant fire of the French battalions, crowning the opposite heights, and who commenced their vollies as they formed successively, accelérate his pace, or induce him to mount his horse, until the object was attained, and superior duty obliged him, for the direction of other operations. His mien, his venerable and soldier-like appearance, his solemn dignity of manner, combined with the awful incidents of the scene, to render this one of the most imposing and interesting sights that could be witnessed.

"But although the Cossaques, on some occasions, have discomfited, by direct attacks, regular cavalry, it must not be supposed that they are calculated to act generally in line. Their service is of a different character, which requires a greater latitude and liberty of operation. They act in dispersion, and when they do reunite to charge, it is not with a systematic formation, but *en masse*, or what in Germany is called the swarm attack; but even then the order should originate from their own officers, who best know their genius and powers, or, which is frequently the case, be the effect of a voluntary impulse that simultaneously animates the whole body, and which is expressed by a yell of excitement more frightful and terrific than the war-whoop of the Canadian savage.

"Dexterous in the management of an horse that is guided only by the snaffle, they can twist and bend their course through the most intricate country at full speed, and Platow, in front of Heilsberg, when Buonaparte was retiring on the Parsarge, at the head of his regiment charged into a pine wood filled with French infantry *en tirailleur*, (who had, during the whole day, disputed possession with 4,000 Russian infantry,) carried it in an instant, and decided the affair.

"Notwithstanding, however, their military services, the security which their vigilance assures their army, and the distress their enterprizes and stratagems occasion the enemy, they are injurious in countries where the good-will of the inhabitants is of immediate importance, or where moderation and regularity can alone provide the armies with their subsistence. Then the Cossaques are too frequently scourges of terror and desolation more fatal to friends than foes; sweeping and devastating in the lawless thoughtlessness of barbarian invaders, without any consideration of future necessities."

The Cossacks it seems still enjoy a kind of national independence notwithstanding their subjection to the Russian Emperor. They retain their own laws; are exempt from taxes and every other obligation except that which compels every male to serve gratuitously for five years in the imperial army. They are governed by their own Attaman, who is chosen from among themselves; and who till lately was almost an independent prince.

Sir Robert tells us of a striking instance of that generous spirit which is said to animate the Cossaque troops. The British officer here mentioned, we believe to be our gallant author himself.

"When a British officer was

observing the retreat of Marshal Ney from Gûttstadt, his dress and telescope attracted the attention of the enemy, who directed some cannon at him: the first ball struck the moist earth under his horse, and covered the animal and rider with the sods;—a second ball was fired with similar accuracy, when the attendant Cossaque rushed up to him with resentment in his features, and pointing at his helmet, desired him to change it with his cap; and on the officer's refusal, he attempted to snatch it from his head and substitute his own, but during this contest a shower of musquet balls rendered the horses wild, and they flew apart. When the Cossaque was afterwards asked by the Attaman, with feigned anger, for his own explanation of such disrespectful conduct;—he replied, "I saw that the enemy directed their fire at the English officer on account of his casque and plume—I was appointed by you to protect him—I knew you had marched with many Cossaques, but only one stranger; it was therefore my duty to avert mischief from him by attracting it to myself, and by so doing preventing the sorrow you and every Cossaque would feel at the loss of a guest perishing in your service."

Sir Robert speaks favourably of the Russian cavalry officers, and of those in the higher ranks of the infantry. The inferior officers of this last service, however, though brave and zealous, are, he admits, with few exceptions, by no means qualified by their habits or education to fill a post of command. The consequence of this is that the society in the infantry regiments is generally so indifferent, that the nobility commence their career in the guards and the cavalry, until they are eligible for the higher posts in the infantry battalions of the line. The want of regimental officers is, therefore, more felt in this army than in any other in Europe; and Sir Robert remarks, that it is extraordinary that the troops should behave so well under such circumstances of disadvantage. This state of things has originated with the lowness of the pay, and the little encouragement which has been given to officers who have not the distinction of birth. The system, however, is represented as improving, and all possible countenance is given to foreigners entering the service. The Russian staff, notwithstanding its attention to departmental minutiæ, is very inefficient in its general system. The commissariat too, is described as wretched, though the fault lies rather with the poverty of the government than the neglect of the commissaries. In the campaign of 1807, the derangement was excessive. From the rapid manner in which Buonaparte effected the subjugation of Prussia, no magazines had been prepared on the Russian frontier, and during the winter the want of food approached to absolute famine. A great mortality did in fact take place among the inhabitants from actual hunger; and Sir Robert observes, that it is extraordinary that the army did not break up and disperse, not from a mutinous spirit, but from actual necessity. Konigsberg was not more than 20 miles from Eylau, and though that field had long been select-

ed for the battle, and it was notorious that the army would arrive there without food, not a loaf of bread was on the ground, so that they were fighting and starving from the 7th to the 9th. General Beningzen, for himself and staff, could get but a bowl of potatoes at midnight after the battle, and from the evening before the battle had not eaten any thing.

The account of the Russian hospitals is equally unsatisfactory. The wounded were dressed on the field of battle for the first time at Friedland. Formerly the government took no care of such of the soldiers as were disabled from future service by their wounds, not wishing to burthen the finances of the empire with such an expence; and even at Friedland it was remarked by an officer of high rank and, (Sir Robert assures us), of most humane character, 'that a cannon ball was the best doctor for men without limbs.' The Russian soldier, however, is beginning to be dissatisfied with this neglect, and a better system has been adopted; but the country has not the means of supplying a sufficient number of well-instructed medical officers, and the pay is too moderate to invite foreigners.

Such is the general character of the Russian army, as given by Sir Robert Wilson, in the work before us; and the praise which he bestows he subsequently justifies by the statements contained in the historical narrative, which fills the rest of the volume, This narrative is highly interesting, and we regret that, from the nature of it, it does not conveniently admit of an abstract. We shall, however, select a specimen or two for the amusement of our readers, and with this view present them with a portion of the account of the sanguinary battle of Preuss-Eylau.

"Soon after day-break the Russian cannon opened, and played very heavily, but rather at hazard, as the French columns were principally concealed by the favouring swells of the ground and the town and suburbs of Preuss Eylau. The French cannon quickly replied with vigour and effect, as every man of the Russian army was exposed from head to heel.

"About half an hour after the cannonade began, the French made an advanced movement with their left in column, supported by a strong body of cavalry, to turn the Russian right, and another strong column passed out of the town of Preuss Eylau by the church, with the intention of storming the centre, whilst 150 pieces of cannon covered their approach, and 40 pieces of the Imperial Guard played upon the centre Russian battery. These troops had not advanced above three hundred yards, repelling the Russian tirailleurs, when the Russian cannon shot, admirably directed, ploughed through the mass, and so shattered their order, that after a minute's pause they inclined for shelter behind a detached house, but, being still exposed, they rushed back in the wildest disorder to the town; whilst the other columns and the cavalry, also oppressed with bullets and grape, broke and fled, pursued by the Russian cavalry and light infantry, who again dislodged the enemy from the village and avenue of

trees which they had sought to occupy the preceding evening.

"The French, repulsed in their first assaults, maintained a very heavy fire of artillery from their heights and the salient points of the town, and as the whole Russian army was still exposed to their observation and fire, with much effect, as to the destruction of men *.

"Some time afterwards, several French columns attempted to carry the village of Serpallen in front of the Russian left, and in advance of which village there had been, from day-break, a sharp fire of musquetry; but General Baggavoute, who was stationed there, having received a reinforcement of two regiments of cavalry, attacked the enemy and drove them with great loss back upon the wood which bordered the right of the French position. Animated by this success, and further reinforced by the cavalry, the Russians charged various detached columns of communication with the completest success, and took several eagles, so that the enemy was obliged to re-assemble his forces towards his own centre. The village of Serpallen had however been set in flames during the contest.

"Heavy snow storms obscuring the atmosphere, and driving with great violence in the faces of the Russians †, had hitherto favoured the approaches of the enemy, and a very heavy storm falling about mid-day, presented an occasion which the enemy did not omit to use, or the Russians to prepare against. When the darkness was clearing, six columns of the enemy, including the French guards, and supported by the cavalry and a numerous artillery, were discovered close upon the first line of the Russians. At that instant General Beningzen gallopped forward with his staff, directed the reserves to advance, and marched down to meet the enemy, whilst his exulting troops shouted acclaiming peals of victory.

"The brave Russians, (it is difficult to refrain from enthusiastic expressions of praise when their conduct at this awful moment is recollected) inclining inwards, eagerly pressed on, indifferent to the shower of balls that plunged through their ranks, and uniting with the first line, the whole charged home upon the enemy, who, panic-struck by this unexpected attack, instantly gave way, abandoning their cannon and several eagles, and pursued, when the army ceased to advance, by the musquetry fire of one of the deploying columns, and the artillery of all the batteries.

"The efforts of the French cavalry had been equally unsuccessful; the Russian cavalry overwhelmed them, pursued them to the French batteries, took two eagles and twenty cannon from the fugitive infantry rallying upon

* Several batteries particularly fired at the Commander in Chief, who was recognized by his great suite.

† The burning village of Serpallen rolled also a black volume of smoke along the line.

their heights, and extended the almost unparalleled carnage to their very reserves.

"A regiment of French cuirassiers had, during the storm, gained an interval in the Russian line, between their centre and left wing; but the Cossaques and some hussars, immediately as they were perceived, bore down upon them. The cuirassiers, apparently like men stupified by the magnitude of their own enterprise, and unprepared for success, rushed with a considerable detour through the rear of the camp, and then turned towards the right of the Russian right wing, but their bodies successively tracked the course, and only eighteen escaped alive.

"The Russian army, which had now advanced several hundred paces, was, if possible, more than ever exposed; but the columns remained as a rampart to be battered down, thus proving the superiority of their active and passive courage over an enemy who only advanced with a faultering step to be destroyed, or retired behind the cover that his position offered for shelter.

"The enemy's attack having been thus completely baffled, measures were taking to secure the victory on General Lestocq's arrival, who was momentarily expected to appear, as officers had come from him, and orders had been sent for him to expedite his march, when a French corps was observed advancing from a wood to turn the Russian left; and almost immediately a very severe fire was directed upon the Russians, who endeavoured to maintain Serpallen, but notwithstanding their gallantry and perseverance, were obliged to abandon it. Two regiments were then sent to extend the Russian left to Sausgarten, but the French advanced with such impetuosity that they rapidly gained ground towards the rear of the Russian army, and as another body of the enemy* was seen advancing upon the right of the corps which was hitherto turning their position, the left wing and the greater part of the centre was thrown back almost at right angles with the right wing. In the circumstances under which this movement was executed, disorder could scarcely be avoided†, and the enemy reached the farmhouse behind the centre of the position, which had been General Beningzen's head quarters on the previous evening, whilst their artillery, posted on favourable eminences, played with great execution throughout the field.

"Never was a change more sudden. The victors were yielding the field to the vanquished, and surprize and alarm were rapidly displacing confidence, and paralizing exertion.

"But whilst anxiety was at its height, and a supporting movement of the enemy from Preuss Eylau was apprehended, as one division alone remained in the

* Davoust's.

† This movement had been anticipated when the position was taking up, and it was suggested, to prevent confusion by covering the receding troops with fire, and sustaining their firmness with the confidence of precaution, that a battery should be established in the copse behind the right of the Russian centre.

Russian right wing,—at that critical moment, General Lestocq, (whose approach had been so long announced, and whose arrival had been so long earnestly expected, but who had to perform his march pressed by Marshal Ney's corps) entered the field by the village of Althoff, where a battalion of grenadiers and some Cossaques were left to check the progress of Marshal Ney—proceeded uninterrupted by the left of the enemy's army, to which his right flank was exposed—passed the Russian right —rapidly moved in three columns along the open tract in its rear, and advanced upon the village of Kutschitten, already occupied by the enemy."

The opportune arrival of the Prussians retrieved the day; the Russian left also rallied; the enemy was driven back in disorder, and the farm house recovered. Night now closed in, and the firing ceased on both sides. The victory was decidedly with the Russians, but about eleven o'clock the Prussian generals assembled, still on horseback, and general Beningzen informed them that he had determined, notwithstanding his success, to fall back upon Konigsberg, as he had no bread to give the troops, and his ammunition was expended. All the generals present expressed their dissent from this plan; and intreated the commander-in-chief to follow up the victory he had so dearly atchieved. Beningzen, however, persisted in his intention, and about midnight the army was put under march. The Russian loss in this action amounted to twenty thousand men, in killed, and wounded. That of the enemy was not estimated to be much less than thirty thousand.

The affair at Heilsberg is described with much animation.

"Buonaparte seemed determined to retrieve his error on the 9th, and to crush the advanced guard of the Russians by weight of fire and cavalry attacks. The Russians, driven from the broken ground, in vain endeavoured to maintain their position on the plain—They were obliged to form alternate lines to sustain by fire their retrograde movements, yet the successive retreat of each was rapid, and the loss momentarily augmented. The Russian cavalry presented good countenance, but being so outnumbered, were unable to check the enemy. Prince Bragration sent for reinforcements. Some infantry were advanced to support him, and 15 squadrons of Prussian cavalry, with a battery of horse artillery, by their most gallant bravery, afforded him great relief*, but still the enemy, by feeding his advanced lines, proceeded; and about four in the afternoon, when Prince Bragration sent for further aid, General Beningzen ordered forward more cavalry, and directed the Prince to keep retiring, and allure the enemy under the guns of this part of his position, armed with 150 pieces of cannon, and reinforced by all his troops, except the guards and some cavalry, from the position on the right bank. About six the enemy had approached sufficient-

* Five squdrons Auer dragoons—five squadrons Baczho dragoons—five squadrons Uhlans.

ly near, when the allied cavalry withdrew by the flanks, and a cannonade of extraordinary fury commenced, which compelled the enemy to recede from the reach of grape; but they threw their left in a small wood about five hundred yards in front of the Russian centre, and establishing their batteries, played upon all parts of the Russian lines, which extended from the river to the right about half a mile, whilst as night fell, swarms of tirailleurs advanced, and maintained an incessant and close fire—misprising darkness the commonly respected friend of humanity.*.

"About seven the French columns suddenly again moved forward, and charging rapidly, carried the advanced work of the Russian position, with three guns. —It was a critical moment; but Russia had officers and troops equal to the crisis.

"Prince Gartchikow, commanding the right wing, instantaneously ordered the charge. The huzzas of his troops assured victory. They darted forward, overwhelmed all opposition, captured two eagles, and pursued until they threw their right upon the wood which the enemy had occupied. Then the cannon again thundered, and the musquetry rolled, illuminating the atmosphere with continued flame—gradually the combat relaxed, and the Russian lines re-ascended to their position.

"A little before ten at night, a deserter came over to the Russians, through the fire, and informed the General that another assault was preparing from the wood. Suitable arrangements had scarcely been made, when the dark bodies of the columns were seen sweeping forward. Again the batteries opened, and the fury of the battle again raged, but the assailants, unable to force their progress, fled back wrecked and almost annihilated. The action became then more feeble, and about 11 o'clock, the enemy along their line of tirailleurs, shouted *arrêtez le combat*, when this grand, and peculiarly rare scene closed, and the massacre (for no other term can be so properly applied) terminated; but the cessation of the tumultuous uproar of war was followed by a more melancholy din —the groans of wounded, who anticipating the morrow's renewal of the fight, or tortured by pain, in vain implored removal, relief, and even death.

"Heavy rain fell in the early part of the night, and rendered the clayey ground behind the Russian batteries so slippery that the various arrangements of the night were greatly incommoded, and the troops experienced much distress.

"Before day break the Russians again stood to their arms, momentarily expecting fresh efforts on the part of the enemy.

"When light broke the French were arrayed in order of battle, but a spectacle, indescribably disgusting, more engaged attention than the hostile dispositions.

"The ground between the wood

* It is said that Buonaparte had drawn his sword, and told the troops destined for the attack, (of which Oudinot's division of grenadiers, the fusileers of the guard, and the division of St. Hilaire formed the advance) "The Emperor is accustomed always to sleep in the head-quarters of his enemy."

and the Russian batteries, about a quarter of a mile, was a sheet of naked human bodies, which friends and foes had during the night mutually stripped, although numbers of these bodies still retained consciousness of their situation. It was a sight that the eye loathed, but from which it could not remove.

"The position of the bodies proved the desperate ardour of the attack. The ditches, the glacis were filled with them, to which they now served as a protection, unless Buonaparte's columns would or could have marched upon this pavement of their fallen comrades."

The Russians lost 7000 men killed or wounded, in this affair. That of the French army is reckoned to have been 10, or 12,000 men.

We regret that we have not space for the very clear and lively account which our author gives of the battle of Friedland. We may remark, however, that the Russian loss on that occasion was not great. The killed and wounded were ten generals, about 500 officers, and 12,000 men. The prisoners did not exceed 500, and only 17 pieces of cannon were taken. Buonaparte in his bulletins speaks of 18,000 Russians killed in the battle, and calculates their total loss at 60,000, of which 40,000 were prisoners. Being, as Sir R. Wilson observes, 20,000 more than Beningzen had brought into the field.

Humboldt's Political Essay on the Affairs of New Spain, &c.

This is one of the most important and interesting works that have for a long time come before the public. Few countries present more to stimulate the curiosity whether of the politician, the naturalist, or the philosopher, than the Spanish colonies in America; and there are, perhaps, none respecting which our information hitherto has been more meagre and unsatisfactory. The Spaniards are not of a character either very inquisitive or very communicative; their own writers and travellers have hitherto told us little of the state of those magnificent regions which the fortune and valour of a more enterprising generation had subjected to their sway; and it has not in general been the policy of the court of Madrid to encourage the investigations of foreigners. Happily, however, an exception has been made in the instance of the Baron Alexander de Humboldt, and it would have been difficult to have found a person more admirably qualified in every respect to avail himself of the opportunity thus allowed to him. He seems, indeed, to combine every requisite and accomplishment for a traveller in a degree to which we do not recollect any parallel among the most celebrated of his predecessors. Ardent, active, indefatigable in his researches, vigilant in observation, he unites with these characteristic excellencies of the traveller, intellectual endowments of the highest order, together with a comprehensiveness of scientific acquirements which has seldom been equalled even by the most sedentary of philosophers.

The volume before us contains

but a section of the labours of M. de Humboldt, but, perhaps, no one other of his publications will be found to include so much matter calculated to excite general interest. It relates to a colony by much the most important and flourishing of the transatlantic possessions of the Spanish monarchy; and as the view which it takes of the Mexican kingdom is *political*, the information it presents is of a nature in which every class of readers will probably be interested.

It is not our purpose to give a detailed analysis of the whole work; indeed such an attempt would demand a degree of space altogether inconsistent with the limits which are prescribed to our volume. We merely set forth a general character of the contents, interspersed with extracts of such parts, as seem proper to afford an idea of the style of our author's observations.

M. de Humboldt arrived at Mexico, by the South Sea, in March 1803. He had previously traversed the province of Caraccas, and visited the banks of the Oronoko, the Rio Negro, New Granada, Quito, and the coast of Peru; and the superiority of cultivation and civilization which be observed in New Spain, induced him to pay particular attention to that kingdom, in which he spent a year. The result of his researches, geographical and statistical, he found had swelled to too great a bulk to admit of their convenient introduction into the historical account of his tour; and he was in consequence induced to form them into a particular work, devoted to New Spain, alone. This is the book before us, and it is divided into six principal sections. The first is composed of general considerations on the extent and physical aspect of New Spain. The second treats of the general population and division of the casts. In the third we have a statistical view of the several intendencies, with an account of their population and area, drawn up from the author's own astronomical observations. The fourth book is devoted to the consideration of the state of agriculture and of the metallic mines; and the fifth, to the progress of manufactures and commerce. The sixth consists of researches into the public revenue and the military defence of the country.

In the third chapter of the first book, M. de Humboldt takes an interesting view of the physical aspect of Mexico. "Of the whole surface of the kingdom, one-half is situated under the tropics and the other belongs to the temperate zone. The climate, however, is considerably modified by the inequality of the surface. Of the 50,000 square leagues situated in the torrid zone, more than three-fifths enjoy rather a cold or temperate than a burning climate. The whole interior of the viceroyalty of Mexico forms an immense plain elevated from six to eight thousand feet above the level of the sea. The coasts alone possess a warm climate fit for the productions of the West Indies; but these lower regions, which produce in abundance sugar, indigo, cotton, and bananas, are the seats of disease; of the yellow fever especially; and the port of

Acapulco is one of the most unhealthy places of the earth. Ascending the acclivity of the cordilleras, at the elevation of from four to five thousand feet, we find a soft spring temperature, which never varies more than 8 or 9 degrees, and the average of which for the whole year is about 62° of Fahrenheit. There is a third region, distinguished by the natives as the *Tierras Frias*, and comprehending the plains elevated more than seven thousand feet above the sea; and in this is included the whole table land of Mexico, the medium temperature of which is about the same as that of Rome. M. de Humboldt remarks that "These general considerations on the physical division of New Spain are extremely interesting in a political view. In France, even in the greatest part of Europe, the employment of the soil depends almost entirely on geographical latitude; but in the equinoctial regions of Peru, New Grenada, and Mexico, the climate, productions, aspect, I may say physiognomy, of the country, are solely modified by the elevation of the soil above the level of the sea. The influence of geographical position is absorbed in the effect of this elevation. Lines of cultivation similar to those drawn by Arthur Young and M. Decandolle on the horizontal projections of France can only be indicated on sections of New Spain. Under the 19° and 22° of latitude, sugar, cotton, particularly cacas and indigo, are only produced abundantly at an elevation of from 6 to 800 metres. The wheat of Europe occupies a zone on the declivity of the mountains, which generally commences at 1400 metres, and ends at 3000 metres. The banana tree (*musa paradisiaca*), the fruit of which consitutes the principal nourishment of all the inhabitants of the tropics, bears almost no fruit above 1550 metres; the oaks of Mexico grow only between 800 3000 metres; and the pines never descend towards the coast of Vera Cruz farther down than 1850, nor rise near the region of perpetual snow to an elevation of more than 4000 metres.

"The provinces called *internas*, situated in the temperate zone (particularly those included between the 30° and 38° of latitude) enjoy, like the rest of North America, a climate essentially different from that of the same parallels in the old continent. A remarkable inequality prevails between the temperature of the different seasons. German winters succeeded to Neapolitan and Sicilian summers. It would be superfluous to assign here other causes for this phenomenon than the great breadth of the continent and its prolongation towards the north pole."

Mexico, like Old Spain, suffers from the want of water, and navigable rivers. In the whole of the equinoctial part of the kingdom there are only small rivers, the mouths of which, however, are of considerable size. The narrow form of the continent prevents the collection of a great mass of water. The interior of the country, especially a great part of the high table land of Anahuac, is destitute of vegetation, often reminding the traveller

of the plains of the two Castiles. Trees are few; and their want has augmented since the arrival of the Europeans, who have not only destroyed without planting, but in draining great extents of ground have occasioned a more important evil. Muriate of soda and lime, nitrate of potash, and other saline substances, not only cover the surface of the soil thus redeemed, but spread, with extraordinary rapidity, and hence the table land of Mexico, in many places, bears an unhappy resemblance to the saline steppes of central Asia.

The eastern coast of the kingdom can hardly be said to possess a port. Vera Cruz is merely a bad anchorage between some shallows. On the shore of the Pacific Ocean we have the magnificent ports of San Francisco, in New Calefornia, San Blas, in Guadalaxana, and above all Acapulco; which last is one of the finest basins in the world. But both coasts are, for several months of the year, rendered inaccessible by violent tempests, which prevent all navigation. The north-west winds blow in the gulph of Mexico from the autumnal to the spring equinox. The west coast is, during the summer, visited by violent hurricanes from the south-west. Thus, at different periods, almost all the coasts of New Spain are dangerous for navigation.

M. de Humboldt estimates the population of New Spain at 5,800,000 souls. He contradicts the prevailing opinion that the number of Indians has seriously decreased since the European conquests. On the contrary, he contends that the native population has for the last century been considerably on the increase. So far from having been extirpated, the Indians of New Spain amount to above two millions, and a half, reckoning those only which have no mixture of European and African blood; they thus form two-fifths of the whole population of Mexico. It is remarkable that the copper-coloured race are rarely to be found in the north of New Spain, or in what are called the Provincias Internas.

We cannot give the portrait of the Indian character better than in M. de Humboldt's own words.

"We perceive in the Mexican Indian neither that mobility of sensation, gesture, or feature, nor that activity of mind for which several nations of the equinoxial regions of Africa are so advantageously distinguished. There cannot exist a more marked contrast than that between the impetuous vivacity of the Congo negro, and the apparent phlegm of the Indian. From a feeling of this contrast the Indian women not only prefer the negroes to the men of their own race, but also to the Europeans. The Mexican Indian is grave, melancholic, and silent, so long as he is not under the influence of intoxicating liquors. This gravity is particularly remarkable in Indian children, who at the age of four or five display much more intelligence and maturity than white children. The Mexican loves to throw a mysterious air over the most indifferent actions. The most violent passions are never painted in his features; and there is something frightful in seeing

him pass all at once from absolute repose to a state of violent and unrestrained agitation. The Peruvian Indian possesses more gentleness of manners; the energy of the Mexican degenerates into harshness. These differences may have their origin in the different religions and different governments of the two countries in former times. This energy is displayed particularly by the inhabitants of Tlascala. In the midst of their present degradation, the descendants of those republicans are still to be distinguished by a certain haughtiness of character, inspired by the memory of their former grandeur.

"Accustomed to a long slavery, as well under the domination of their own sovereigns as under that of the first conquerors, the natives of Mexico patiently suffer the vexations to which they are frequently exposed from the whites. They oppose to them only a cunning, veiled under the most deceitful appearances of apathy and stupidity. As the Indian can very rarely revenge himself on the Spaniards, he delights in making a common cause with them for the oppression of his own fellow citizens. Harassed for ages, and compelled to a blind obedience, he wishes to tyrannize in his turn. The Indian villages are governed by magistrates of the copper-coloured race; and an Indian alcade exercises his power with so much the greater severity, because he is sure of being supported by the priest or the Spanish *subdelegado*. Oppression produces every where the same effects, it every where corrupts the morals.

"As the Indians almost all of them belong to the class of peasantry and low people, it is not so easy to judge of their aptitude for the arts which embellish life. I know no race of men who appear more destitute of imagination. When an Indian attains a certain degree of civilization, he displays a great facility of apprehension, a judicious mind, a natural logic, and a particular disposition to subtilize or seize the finest differences in the comparison of objects. He reasons coolly and orderly, but he never manifests that versatility of imagination, that glow of sentiment, and that creative and animating art which characterize the nations of the south of Europe, and several tribes of African negroes.

"The music and dancing of the natives partake of this want of gaiety which characterizes them. M. Bonpland and myself observed the same thing in all South America. Their songs are terrific and melancholic. The Indian women show more vivacity than the men; but they share the usual misfortunes of the servitude to which the sex is condemned among nations where civilization is in its infancy."

The Indians are exempted from all indirect impost. They pay no Alcavala; but are subjected to a capitation tax, called *tributos*, which is paid by all the male Indians between the ages of ten and fifty. This varies in its amount in different provinces of the kingdom. In the greater part of Mexico it is at present about eleven francs. Though they cannot complain of oppressive taxation, they have in other respects

much to object to in the system by which they are governed. By the laws of Charles V. the Indians are, in fact, put into a state of perpetual pupilage under the whites; and are disqualified from signing any act, or entering into any obligation beyond the value of fifteen francs.

The other races which compose the population of the Spanish American colonies, are the individuals born in Europe, vulgarly called Grachupines—the Spanish creoles, or whites of European extraction, born in America—the Mestizos, descendants of whites and Indians—the Mulattos, descendants of whites and negros—the Zambos, descendants of negros and Indians—and finally the African negros. M. de Humboldt tells us, that "The Spanish laws allow the same rights to all whites; but those who have the execution of the laws endeavour to destroy an equality which shocks the European pride. The government, suspicious of the Creoles, bestows the great places exclusively on the natives of Old Spain. For some years back they have disposed at Madrid even of the most trifling employments in the administration of the customs and the tobacco revenue. At an epoch when every thing tended to a uniform relaxation in the springs of the state, the system of venality made an alarming progress. For the most part it was by no means a suspicious and distrustful policy, it was pecuniary interest alone which bestowed all employments on Europeans. The result has been a jealousy and perpetual hatred between the Chapetons and the Creoles. The most miserable European, without education, and without intellectual cultivation, thinks himself superior to the whites born in the new continent. He knows that, protected by his countrymen, and favoured by chances common enough in a country where fortunes are as rapidly acquired as they are lost, he may one day reach places to which the access is almost interdicted to the natives, even to those of them distinguished for their talents, knowledge, and moral qualities. The natives prefer the denomination of *Americans* to that of Creoles. Since the peace of Versailles, and, in particular, since the year 1789, we frequently hear proudly declared, 'I am not a *Spaniard*, I am an *American!*' words which betray the workings of a long resentment. In the eye of law every white Creole is a Spaniard; but the abuse of the laws, the false measures of the colonial government, the example of the United States of America and the influence of the opinions of the age, have relaxed the ties which formerly united more closely the Spanish Creoles to the European Spaniards. A wise administration may re-establish harmony, calm their passions and resentments, and yet preserve for a long time the union among the members of one and the same great family scattered over Europe and America, from the Patagonian coast to the north of California."

The following remarks upon the state of science and society among the Mexican Creoles, are interesting. "The Spanish laws prohibit all entry into the Ameri-

can possessions to every European not born in the peninsula. The words European and Spaniard are become synonymous in Mexico and Peru. The inhabitants of the remote provinces have therefore a difficulty in conceiving that there can be Europeans who do not speak their language; and they consider this ignorance as a mark of low extraction, because, every where around them, all, except the very lowest class of the people, speak Spanish. Better acquainted with the history of the sixteenth century than with that of our own times, they imagine that Spain continues to possess a decided preponderance over the rest of Europe. To them the peninsula appears the very centre of European civilization. It is otherwise with the Americans of the capital. Those of them who are acquainted with the French or English literature fall easily into a contrary extreme; and have still a more unfavourable opinion of the mother country than the French had at a time when communication was less frequent between Spain and the rest of Europe. They prefer strangers from other countries to the Spaniards; and they flatter themselves with the idea that intellectual cultivation has made more rapid progress in the colonies than in the peninsula.

"This progress is indeed very remarkable at the Havannah, Lima, Santa Fe, Quito, Popayan, and Caraccas. Of all these great cities the Havanah bears the greatest resemblance to those of Europe in customs, refinements of luxury, and the tone of society. At Havanah the state of politics and their influence on commerce is best understood. However, notwithstanding the efforts of the *patriotic society of the island of Cuba*, which encourages the sciences with the most generous zeal, they prosper very slowly in a country where cultivation and the price of colonial produce engross the whole attention of the inhabitants. The study of the mathematics, chemisty, mineralogy, and botany, is more general at Mexico, Santa Fe, and Lima. We every where observe a great intellectual activity, and among the youth a wonderful facility of seizing the principles of science. It is said that this facility is still more remarkable among the inhabitants of Quito and Lima than at Mexico and Santa Fe. The former appear to possess more versatility of mind and a more lively imagination; while the Mexicans and the natives of Santa Fe have the reputation of greater perseverance in the studies to which they have once addicted themselves."

The scientific establishments in the city of Mexico are upon a scale of magnificence highly honourable to the liberality of the government. The academy of fine arts possesses a revenue of 125,000 francs; of which the government contributes one-half. M. de Humboldt observes that "It is impossible not to perceive the influence of this establishment on the taste of the nation. This influence is particularly visible in the symmetry of the buildings, in the perfection with which the hewing of stone is conducted, and in the ornaments of the capitals and stucco relievos. What

a number of beautiful edifices are to be seen at Mexico! nay, even in provincial towns like Guanaxato and Queretaro! These monuments, which frequently cost a million and a million and a half of francs, would appear to advantage in the finest streets of Paris, Berlin, and Petersburg. M. Tolsa, professor of sculpture at Mexico, was even able to cast an equestrian statue of King Charles the Fourth; a work which, with the exception of the Marcus Aurelius at Rome, surpasses in beauty and purity of style every thing which remains in this way in Europe. Instruction is communicated *gratis* at the Academy of Fine Arts. It is not confined alone to the drawing of landscapes and figures; they have had the good sense to employ other means for exciting the national industry. The academy labours successfully to introduce among the artisans a taste for elegance and beautiful forms. Large rooms, well lighted by Argand's lamps, contain every evening some hundreds of young people, of whom some draw from relievo or living models, while others copy drawings of furniture, chandeliers, or other ornaments in bronze. In this assemblage (and this is very remarkable in the midst of a country where the prejudices of the nobility against the casts are so inveterate) rank, colour, and race is confounded: we see the Indian and the Mestizo sitting beside the white, and the son of a poor artisan in emulation with the children of the great lords of the country. It is a consolation to observe, that under every zone the cultivation of science and art establishes a certain equality among men, and obliterates for a time, at least, all those petty passions of which the effects are so prejudicial to social happiness."

The physical sciences meet with equal encouragement, and are cultivated with much success.

Wealth is more unequally distributed in Mexico than in any other of the Spanish colonies. our author states, that "At Caraccas, the heads of the richest families possess a revenue of 200,000 livres. In the island of Cuba we find revenues of more than 6 or 700,000 francs. In these two industrious colonies agriculture has founded more considerable fortunes than has been accumulated by the working of the mines in Peru. At Lima an annual revenue of 80,000 francs is very uncommon. I know in reality of no Peruvian family in the possession of a fixed and sure revenue of 130,000 francs. But in New Spain there are individuals who possess no mines, whose revenue amounts to a million of francs. The family of the Count de la Valenciana, for example possess alone, on the ridge of the Cordillera, a property worth more than 25 millions of francs, without including the mine of Valenciana near Guanaxuato, which, *communibus annis*, yields a net revenue of a million and a half of livres. This family, of which the present head, the young Count de Valenciana, is distinguished for a generous character and a noble desire of instruction, is only divided into three branches; and they possess

altogether, even in years when the mine is not very lucrative, more than 2,200,000 francs of revenue. The Count de Regla, whose youngest son, the Marquis de San Christobal, distinguished himself at Paris for his physical and physiological knowledge, constructed at the Havanah, at his own expence, in acajou and cedar (*cedrella*) wood, two vessels of the line of the largest size, which he made a present of to his sovereign. It was the seam of la Biscaina, near Pachuca, which laid the foundation of the fortune of the house of Regla. The family of Fagoaga, well known for its beneficence, intelligence, and zeal for the public good, exhibits the example of the greatest wealth which was ever derived from a mine. A single seam which the family of the Marquis of Fagoaga possesses in the district of Sombrerete left in five or six months, all charges deducted, a nett profit of 20 millions of francs."

Mines, though the principal, are not the only sources of great fortunes in Mexico. Many individuals possess great landed estates, and this is the case with the rich descendants of Cortez, or the Marquess del Valle. The head of this house is the Duke of Monteleon, who has an immense property in the province of Oaxaca. The nett produce amounts to 550,000 francs, and the ordinary expences of management is about 125,000 francs.

The inequality of fortune is still greater among the clergy: of whom a number suffer extreme poverty, while others possess revenues surpassing those of many of the sovereign princes in Germany. The number of the clergy, of whom one-half are regulars, does not exceed ten thousand individuals.

There are not many negroes in New Spain; in 1795, their number was not above six thousand.

M. de Humboldt estimates the total of individuals of mixed blood at nearly 2,400,000. His account of the gradation of distinctions, which this admixture gives rise to, is curious.

"The son of a white (Creole or European), and a native of copper-colour, is called *Mestizo*. His colour is almost a pure white; and his skin is of a particular transparency. The small beard and small hands and feet, and a certain obliquity of the eyes, are more frequent indications of the mixture of Indian blood than the nature of the hair. If a *Mestiza* marry a white man, the second generation differs hardly in any thing from the European race. As very few negroes have been introduced into New Spain, the Mestizos probably compose seven-eighths of the whole casts. They are generally accounted of a much more mild character than the *mulattoes*, descended from whites and negresses, who are distinguished for the violence of their passions and a singular volubility of tongue. The descendants of negroes and Indian women bear at Mexico, Lima, and even at the Havannah, the strange name of *Chino*. Chinese. On the coast of Caraccas, and, as appears from the laws, even in New Spain, they are called *zambos*. This last denomination is now principally li-

mited to the descendants of a negro and a female mulatto, or a negro and a Chinese female. From these common zambos, they distinguish the *zambos prietos*, who descend from a negro and a female zamba. From the mixture of a white man with a mulatto comes the cast of *quarterons*. When a female quarteron marries a European or creole, her son bears the name of *quinteron*. A new alliance with a white banishes to such a degree the remains of colour, that the children of a white and female quinteron are white also. The casts of Indian or African blood preserve the odour peculiar to the cutaneous transpiration of those two primitive races. The Peruvian Indians, who in the middle of the night distinguish the different races by their quick sense of smell, have formed three words to express the odour of the European, the Indian American, and the negro: they call the first *pezuña*, the second *posco*, and the third *grajo*. Moreover, the mixtures, in which the colour of the children becomes deeper than that of their mother, are called *salta-aatras*, or back-leaps.

"In a country governed by whites, the families reputed to have the least mixture of negro or mulatto blood are also naturally the most honoured. In Spain it is almost a title of nobility to descend neither from Jews nor Moors. In America, the greater or less degree of whiteness of skin decides the rank which man occupies in society. A white who rides barefooted on horseback thinks he belongs to the nobility of the country. Colour establishes even a certain equality among men, who, as is universally the case where civilization is either little advanced or in a retrograde state, take a particular pleasure in dwelling on the prerogatives of race and origin. When a common man disputes with one of the titled lords of the country, he is frequently heard to say, 'Do you think me not so white as yourself?' This may serve to characterize the state and source of the actual aristocracy. It becomes, consequently, a very interesting business for the public vanity to estimate accurately the fractions of European blood which belong to the different casts. According to the principles sanctioned by usage, we have adopted the following proportions:

Casts.	Mixture of blood.
Quarterons -	$\frac{1}{4}$ negro $\frac{3}{4}$ white
Quinterons -	$\frac{1}{8}$ negro $\frac{7}{8}$ white
Zambo - -	$\frac{3}{4}$ negro $\frac{1}{4}$ white
Zambo prieto	$\frac{7}{8}$ negro $\frac{1}{8}$ white

"It often happens that families suspected of being of mixed blood demand from the high court of justice (*l'audiencia*) to have it declared that they belong to the whites. These declarations are not always corroborated by the judgment of the senses. We see very swarthy mulattoes who have had the address to get themselves *whitened* (this is the vulgar expression). When the colour of the skin is too repugnant to the judgment demanded, the petitioner is contented with an expression somewhat problematical. The sentence then simply bears 'that such or such individuals may con-

sider themselves as whites (*que se tengan por blancos*)."

We have very far from exhausted in this abstract the mass of new and valuable information which M. de Humboldt has collected together in the volumes before us. We regret that our limits do not allow us to dwell longer upon them at present.

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